

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Your advice is acceptable without prejudice to my right to revive it and to move the motion in case no settlement is arrived at.

**Mr. Speaker:** This would not be affected.

**श्री मन्त्रु लिमये :** अभी सदन को स्थगित किया जाय ।

**Shri G. N. Dixit (Etawah):** On a point of order, Sir. I refer to rule 338. My submission is that the motion was put to the House and it was decided by this House yesterday. Whatever may happen outside of the House in the conference or talks, so far as this House is concerned, in view of rule 338, the valuable time of the House should not be taken on a motion which was decided yesterday because no motion can be taken up on which 'his House has come to a decision' in a session.

**Shri Tyagi:** We are compromising.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member would realise that this is exactly the motion that is on the Order Paper. I have already made it clear that the blame should not be thrown entirely upon me that I have got it entered and that I want to re-open it. It was done in consultation with the Leader of the House. Why should he not take the responsibility? Members of the Congress Party are all accusing me.

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Leader of the House is not the House.

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha):** When your department sent this notice of Shri Kamath to me for my consent that it should be put on the Agenda, I gave my consent because I did not want to shut it out. But that does not mean that we have accepted it.

**श्री बागड़ी :** तो क्या चुस्की दे रहे थे अगर मंजूर नहीं कर रहे थे ? अगर मंजूर नहीं कर रहे थे तो और क्या कर रहे थे ?

**Mr. Speaker:** Then, when do we meet—at 1 or 1.30? Which is convenient to the Leader of the House.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Any time at 3 or 4 o'clock.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Why not at 2 o'clock?

**Mr. Speaker:** If it is convenient to all, I have no objection. Then, I will request the leaders to come to my room at 2 o'clock—I am requesting the Leader of the House as well—in order to find some solution.

12.45 hrs.

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

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up further consideration of the Motion of No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers.

**श्री मा० सा० द्विवेदी (हमीरपुर):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को आज्ञा से एक शब्द कहना चाहता था कि कल मैं ने अपने भाषण में एक, दो शब्द ऐसे इस्तेमाल किये थे जिनको कि संसदीय परम्परा के अनुसार उचित नहीं समझा जा सकता जैसे गद्दार\*\* इत्यादि और मैं उनको वापिस लेता हूँ ।

**Mr. Speaker:** That will be considered as withdrawn.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** Let the House know what the words are.

\*\*See hon. Member's speech on the subject in Debates, dated 3-11-66.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is on record.

**श्री बड़े (खारगोन) :** यह मालूम तो होता चाहिये कि क्या क्या शब्द वापिस लिये जा रहे हैं ?

**Mr. Speaker:** This debate would continue up to 3-30 today and the Prime Minister would reply on Monday. The Mover also shall have his right of reply.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalazhava) :** Will we have had 12 hours by that time?

**Mr. Speaker:** It will be 13 hours.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** How would you expunge the words if you do not know what they are?

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no question of expunction. He has withdrawn them.

**Shri Sonavane (Pandharpur)**  
rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** He might come and take the Chair. Shri Dwivedy.

12.46 hrs.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara) :** Sir, we have discussed this motion of no-confidence rather in an atmosphere surcharged with emotion. I have listened to the speeches, and read some of them in the proceedings, made by hon. Members of the Congress Party who have thought it proper to castigate this motion as a motion which has come out of desperation and with an eye on the elections.

12.47 hrs.

[SHRI SONAVANE in the Chair]

I would have thought that the Congress Party and the Prime Minister would take a very serious view of the situation prevailing in the country,

specially here in this House in the last session. Why is it that a motion of no-confidence was sought to be moved when after two or three months we are going to the people, the real sovereign of this country, who have to decide whether they have any confidence in this Government or not? It is because we all feel that the situation in the country is so alarming and threatening that unless something radical is done to prevent this there will be the end of democracy and of the rule of law. I should say during these few months, let alone what has happened all these years, if this Government has been able to provide anything to this country, it is not stability and orderly society and the continuation of this Government even for a day would lead us to chaos, uncertainty, and instability.

They should also understand that with this no-confidence motion almost all major parties would have brought forward such a motion in this House. Why is it so? The existence of the present Government is an irritant to the people of this country. If there are violent eruptions, movements, defiance of authority and a feeling has gone round the country that so far as the Central authority is concerned it has no grip over anything, not even on the State Governments or the Government machinery, it is because of the weak-kneed policy and the incapacity of the present Government to rule this country.

Sir, in the course of a Resolution I suggested that in order to give an opportunity to the people of this country to decide one way or the other, without any restrictions whatsoever, what their opinion is, what their verdict is, they should resign three months before the elections and give complete freedom to the people of this country to decide their future. That they will not do, they will not listen to any words of reason. These are the people who did not listen even to the Father of the Nation who had

visualised these things, who had thought that if Congress, as it is constituted today, continues, there will be disaster. Therefore, he had advised and almost made a last will that the Congress should be disbanded. They have not listened to that and they will not listen to this advice. Therefore, the only thing that remains is to vote this Government out of power.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehradun):** Who comes?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The people of India will come. Therefore, if they do not do it, then I am sure the people of India in the coming elections will see that they are not put back to power.

Let us see what is the situation in this country. There is an utter failure in all respects. I make this sweeping remark because I want them to point out in what respect, in what sphere, they have made some progress which is significant about which anybody in this country will come forward and say that we are very happy, we are very proud that during this Congress rule for 19 years, our progress has been made in this direction or in that direction. We have to look at the situation from the overall point of view. What do we find today? I do not want to go into the question of failure in this sector or that sector. It is quite evident, it is quite known, to everybody in this country that we have failed miserably. It is not only because of wrong priorities, wrong policies, that have been followed all these 19 years, and there have been administrative failures, but the main failure today is the failure in the political field, the failure of the political leadership. That is the most important thing.

In the case of a federal constitution, in the case of a federal type of Government if the Central authority is undetermined, then you can as well imagine what would happen to this

country. All these things are happening. I want to ask every Member of this House: Is it because of the Opposition as has been characterised? If it is so, then it also shows how weak you are. If the Opposition is able to create a situation in this country for chaos, for violence, for defiance of authority, then it is a clear proof that there is no authority existing in this country and that you are not administering the country....

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** You refer to the federal authority. You forget the federal Government, the United States of America, which has not been able to curb racial riots where Negroes have been trampled under foot. (Interruption).

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** My friend Mr. Alva will support me and will agree with me that his eyes should be on this country and not on countries from which he gets inspiration.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** No; because you are holding USA as the model.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Why is it that in the course of a few months, the situation in the country has become so bad? That is the main thing which I want to discuss and want to point out.

Now, the Constitution has to be respected in this country. You accuse others in Parliament saying, "We are always worried as to what is happening. Parliamentary authority is being undermined. We are all worried about it." But I want to ask you: Has any serious attempt been made to find out whether the executive authority of this Government, the Government itself, has given due respect to the Constitution? The Constitution is being utilised not for the overall national interest but for their own Party interest. There is political interference in all spheres even while utilising the Constitution. I want to point out one factor about it. Take, for instance, the constitutional provi-

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

sion for invoking President's rule. Everyone of us wanted that such a situation may arise in the country when such a provision would be necessary for the President. How has it been done? In Kerala, you did it because you were defeated in the elections. There was no other valid reason behind it. In Punjab, it was done because of internal quarrel in the Congress organisation. The Party was not in a position to come together and decide anything. And it was again withdrawn because, there was a Party pressure that they must have some Government and so it could not be extended even till the elections which are coming only a few months after. Where is the sanctity? The Governor is made to report that way. You must have read that the President's promulgation order for the taking over of administration in Punjab had to wait till the Governor was appointed to go there and to make a report to satisfy the constitutional provisions. Can there be any better caricature of our Constitution than this? This is what is happening. And you do not intervene where it is necessary. What happened in Orissa? The Congress President is to decide who will be given what portfolio. The Chief Minister has to submit to the political leadership although it is within the constitutional rights, the inherent rights, of the Chief Minister to distribute portfolios as he likes. When you do not respect the Constitution, when you regard the Constitution as an instrument to utilise for your political purposes, for solving their political difficulties, how can you accuse the people outside? If this Government is not governing this country according to the Constitution, according to the law, it has no authority to expect from people any respect for law and order.

**Shri M. R. Krishna (Peddaballi):** What did you do in Kerala when the P.S.P. was in power?

**Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur):** That was the only good time that the people had.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** In regard to every matter, we find a situation like this, an interference in each and every sphere. This is a situation which prevailed in China some years back. Mr. Dean Acheson in his white paper stated that whatever amount of money might be given to China, whatever attempts might be made to improve the conditions of that country, because the Central political authority had completely collapsed, there was no assurance that that country would ever improve. And we know what happened as a result of that. The democratic set-up was replaced by a dictatorial set-up, a Communist Government.

Take this steel plant agitation. You give a steel plant to Andhra....

**Shri Tyagi:** Not yet.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The Cabinet Sub-Committee has decided it. You are going to make a statement. You have assured the Chief Minister of Andhra. Therefore, he has gone and on the advice of the Chief Minister of Andhra, the fast was given up. One can easily imagine who really started this game. This is being done not on any economic considerations. If it was not possible for you after the report of the Committee, was available, how was it possible for you to do it now? It is because of the political pressure. It is because you want to improve your political future in that part of the country....

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member should address the Chair and not use the word 'you'.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** It is because this Government wants to utilise it for their own political purpose that they are surrendering to the mob, to the crowd and the schemes are going to be decided in streets and not in Parliament. Once you have given this; you are now giving in for the sake of elections.

13 hrs.

I would have been very happy if the Congress Parliamentary Party had considered those matters which have great repercussions; they were concerned more about cow slaughter; two hours were devoted by the wise men of the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive to announce a policy on cow slaughter, but they were never concerned with man slaughter that is going on in this country; never were they concerned about it; never have they come with positive proposals to improve the situation in the country.

Take, for instance, the famine conditions. Take the food position. Actually is there a crisis? We know what has happened in Bihar. People are very much agitated. There is no water, no food; nothing is available. The newspaper says that about 10 million people are coming out because they cannot stay and live there. Such miserable conditions are prevailing there. Why? Is it because of failure of monsoon only? It is because of, as had been admitted, corrupt administration that exists in Bihar. You do not invoke the President's rule there. You can do it. But you are just sending some officers. There is no assurance today that food will be made available to the people. Even if there is food production, can you give this assurance that distribution in the country will be on an equitable basis? The administration is so inefficient, so corrupt, that even if there is food production, there is no guarantee that it will reach the people of this country. That is what is happening. I want to ask this: is there any real scarcity in this country? In 1950-51, we had hardly 50 to 60 million tonnes of production and we had 40 crores of people. According to Government's own admission, even in spite of the failure of monsoon, etc., we have reached the production figure of 80 million tonnes and if that is so, considering the fact that there is only 8 crores' increase in population, how can there be scarcity? Where has the grain gone? That is not there because you cannot apply your procurement or purchase sche-

mes; you cannot do anything with the distribution machinery; you are in the hands of the monopolists, the corrupt traders and the administration. As had been rightly stated by Prof. Gadgil, there is a combination of the political leadership, the monopoly traders and the big industrialists, as a result of which 45 per cent of our population are suffering. That is the real situation. Whatever quantity of food you may dump there, it is not going to solve the problem unless the machinery as such is changed. But how can the Central authority do anything? After all, the Prime Minister of the country is elected not because of her merits or because the Members of Parliament wanted her; but she is here at the sweet mercy of the Chief Ministers; they decided as to who would be the Prime Minister of this country; they are the warlords today who are deciding the future of this country. This is a situation in which if this leadership continues....

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may try to conclude.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I have hardly taken 10 or 15 minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** He may take two or three minutes more.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I will take more time.

What I want to say is that even if surplus grains are available, it would not reach the people. There is no leadership. That is my complaint.

Take, for instance, austerity. The Prime Minister, it seems, is visiting Bihar. When in Kerala such a situation took place, immediately she said, "I am giving up rice". Now again in Bihar also they may say, "fast for a day". There was a Tripartite Conference. What purpose has it served to the nation. I do not want to say. There was no necessity for the reiteration of what those people were thinking previously. But I want to know from the Government how much was spent on this, how many persons were ser-

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

ved dinner and what was the menu. Is it austerity?

They had a meeting of the AICC at Ernakulam. What was the expenditure? Who served dinners? Even a Congress member, the ex-Governor, Shri A. P. Jain, had to condemn publicly that this was the austerity that they were showing to the people. Not only this. I am told that even the Food Minister himself attended a dinner organized by the Advertisers' Conference which was completely in contravention of the guest control order. How can you expect the people of this country to be austere? You go on lecturing on austerity but go on spending lavishly wherever you want. If you had met the President of Yugoslavia, you could have asked him how he managed when such a situation happened in that country. I know it for a fact that an Egyptian guest who visited this country was served with nine courses and when he went outside, he said that the country which wants grains from outside to feed her people, could serve nine courses for his entertainment. It is a disgrace. All these matters are not taken seriously.

Take, for instance, corruption. Mr. Nanda took a vow. Now he is silenced because he has been placed at his own place; he cannot utter a word now however well-intentioned he may be. He made Pratap Singh Kairon to resign because of Das Commission's findings, but now he has to eat the humble pie and agree to the inclusion of the very men who have been condemned by the Das Commission, in the new Ministry. That is the pattern that we are setting up in this country.

I want to ask a simple question. Let somebody reply. Here is one Congress member, Mr. Harish Chandra Mathur, who has taken all the credit for what has happened in this country; he was saying that we did this, we did that, we appointed the Steel Inquiry Committee and so on. I want to ask him why is it that you do not make

a fuller statement about Jayanti Shipping even now. I want to ask the Government why Dr. Teja was not arrested in the month of June when he was here. On the 10th June the ordinance for the taking over of Jayanti Shipping was promulgated. Dr. Teja was here on the 4th or 6th June. Why was he not arrested then? You are impounding his passport now.— You did not impound his passport then—prohibiting him from entering this country. You are doing this purposely and deliberately because I am told that there is some correspondence—some letters—in his possession which may expose even the Prime Minister's connection with that firm. I would have liked Mr. H. C. Mathur to refer to this matter. Let it be denied that it is not so.

Mr. Mathur has taken the credit for the Administrative Reforms Commission's report. We are all grateful to the Administrative Reforms Commission for placing so quickly before the country a solution to the very burning problem. This is not a Congress Commission. I know, Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nanda requested the Opposition members to be associated with the Administrative Reforms Commission. We are also associated with it; my hon. friend and colleague, Mr. Hari Vishnu Kamath is a member of the Commission. It is not a Commission of the Congress Party. But he has the temerity to say here 'We have given you to the Lok Pal and the Lok Ayukh, and we have not spared even the Ministers'. I want him to categorically say that Government are going to adopt that. Let him say that. Let us see whether Government are going to adopt this.

I may tell Shri Nanda that whatever he may say here, his own colleagues are going out in the countryside and saying that Nandaji is an outdated person. I can quote.....

**Shri D. C. Sharma** (Gurdaspur): I take objection to that. Shri Nanda is alive and kicking and is as great as ever....

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. The hon. Member is not yielding. So, Shri D. C. Sharma may please sit down.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I shall read out to you the report of a press conference. In the face of this, how can people have any respect for this leadership? That is what I want to know. The hon. Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Vidya Charan Shukla—I am glad he is here at the moment—had a press conference in Raipur, and this is the report that I have received about that press conference. At that press conference, who were present? The Collector of Raipur, the PRO and all press correspondents were present. There, a question was asked of Shri Vidya Charan Shukla about student indiscipline. The question was: 'What are your comments on students' agitation?'. Shri Vidya Charan Shukla's reply was as follows:

"I will not make any comment because that will be in contradiction with Shri G. L. Nanda, the Home Minister. Nandaji...."

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Vidya Charan Shukla):** It is absolutely incorrect. This report is incorrect. I challenge him.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall give an opportunity to the hon. Deputy Minister to explain his position later.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** I want to contradict it right now. It is irresponsible and absolutely wrong.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** He said:

"Nandaji has still got the old police attitude...."

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** I would like to know from which paper he is quoting this.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** He said:

"Nandaji has still got the old police attitude and approach with which I differ...."

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** On a point of order....

**Some hon. Members:** Under what rule?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Under what rule? You must ask him to state the rule first.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** Since he has referred to me, I am raising a point of order.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Let me finish the quotation and then he can raise it. Let me quote it fully and then he can say what he wants. Unless I have read it out in full, how can he raise this point of order?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** Let me say what the point of order is.

**Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai):** The rule must be quoted. Yesterday the Speaker said that the rule must be quoted first.

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : कौन से रूल के तहत ?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** You must help us in establishing this procedure. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. Unless I identify a Member, he should not start speaking. Otherwise, it creates a lot of confusion.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** How can you allow the point of order without knowing what the rule is?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** I shall point out the rule presently.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Shri Shinkre was asked to sit down earlier because he had not quoted the rule. The Speaker had asked him to quote the rule first.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** I shall quote the rule. That rule is very well known.

**Shri Umanath:** He must quote the rule.

**Shri Sheo Narain (Bansi):** On a point of explanation, a Minister can say what he wants at any moment. What is this objection?

**Mr. Chairman:** Hon. Members should not get agitated over this. Let them keep quiet. We have to carry on the deliberations in a cool and calm manner.

**Shri Sheo Narain:** When the Deputy Minister stands up and says that he wants to raise a point of order, he must be allowed.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon):** A Minister has the same rights as a Member. He has no more rights than a Member.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** On a point of personal explanation. I know the rule. It is sub-rule (ii) of rule 352, which says that before a Member makes a personal charge against another Member, a notice has to be given in advance, and before such notice, no personal charge can be made by one Member against another. Now, this charge has been made against me by the hon. Member and it has been sprung upon me as a surprise. Fortunately, I happen to be present at this moment in the House. But the hon. Member before he makes a statement like this must give a proper notice to me and then only this kind of thing can be said here that the Deputy Minister has made a statement of this kind against the Minister concerned; without this proper procedure being followed, if any such allegation is made, that must be withdrawn and expunged from the proceedings of this House, and I want your clear ruling on this matter.

**Shri Umanath:** Did you give notice to Shri A. K. Gopalan when he was inside jail and you charged him?

**Mr. Chairman:** Let us follow some order. I thought that Shri Vidya Charan Shukla wanted to make a statement of personal explanation. He has raised a point of order in regard to that. I do not think there is any point of order. If he wants he can make a statement explaining his position. I shall give him a chance to explain his position.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** There is no question of a chance; it is an absolute lie; it is an absolute falsehood. I want your ruling on this matter of procedure.

**Mr. Chairman:** I have given my ruling. Let him please sit down.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I am thankful to you for your ruling. I have got this information, as I have stated in the beginning. I welcome Shri Vidya Charan Shukla's contradiction....

**Mr. Chairman:** Now, the hon. Member should try to conclude.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** How can I conclude now?

**Mr. Chairman:** He has already taken 32 minutes. Nobody else from any party is speaking. I would request you to just have some patience. The hon. Member has already taken more than 30 minutes. There are other Members who have got to be accommodated also. There are other Opposition Members also who want to speak.

**श्री बागड़ी :** उधर मंत्री लांग अप्रॉक्स में बहस कर रहे हैं। इस से रुकावट पड़ती है। आप उन को रोकें।



**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. I shall look to that affair. Let not the hon. Member worry about it.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I shall read it out in full. It is very good that Shri Vidya Charan Shukla is present here. I have already given you the names of the persons who were at the press conference. It is on good authority that I have got it.

**Mr. Chairman:** He has made the statement already, and now he can pass on to the next point.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I have not read it out completely. That was your mistake. You did not permit me even to complete the sentence.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** What is the name of the printer? What is this paper from which he is quoting?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** A reliable source.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** This was what Shri Shukla said:

"I will not make any comment because that will be in contradiction with Shri G. L. Nanda, the Home Minister. Nandaji has still got the old police attitude and approach with which I differ. I did not find any fault with the students, and the police had behaved most improperly."

Then, turning to the collector, he said:

"We have to change the old methods, but this is all off the record."

Let him say that he has not said these things.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** It is absolutely wrong. I deny it categorically and emphatically; it is absolutely wrong. I would like to know from where the hon. Member is quoting this. There is a well established convention that anything

which is quoted must be laid on the Table of the House, and I would like the hon. Member to authenticate it and then lay it on the Table of the House.

**Shri Tyagi:** I think there is no harm if this paper is laid on the Table of the House.....

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** You may direct him to lay it on the Table of the House.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Vidya Charan Shukla is here, and in his presence, the hon. Member has made that statement. The Deputy Minister has stated what the facts are; let the hon. Member take the hon. Deputy Minister's statement as correct, and then proceed to the next point.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** It will be on record now. Both will be on record. There is no need now....

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Rai-ganj):** Why does he want to put on record something which the Deputy Minister has denied?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** Wherefrom did he get this off-the-record portion? It is concocted.

**Shri A. S. Saigal (Janjgir):** Let him place it before the House.

**Mr. Chairman:** If the hon. Member does not accept....

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** How can I accept?

**Mr. Chairman:**...then he will have to place it on the Table of the House, after certifying it to be the authentic copy.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I can place it...What is it that you want me to accept? He has contradicted it, and the matter ends there.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** It is a matter of procedure. And I want your ruling on it.

**Mr. Chairman:** I have already given the ruling. Shri Vidya Charan Shukla may now accept this position; the hon. Member has said that the matter has ended. Shri Vidya Charan Shukla has given his explanation already and the matter should end there.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** I do not accept this. It is a regular procedure of the House that if any document is quoted by any Member, that must be authenticated by the Member concerned and laid on the Table of the House. Nobody can quote from the air. I insist that the hon. Member must lay on the Table of the House whatever he has quoted. I do not accept the position suggested by you. I insist that it must be laid on the Table of the House.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I do not agree.

**Mr. Chairman:** Now, the hon. Member should try to conclude his speech.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** All these interventions and interruptions have taken more than 20 minutes; they were unnecessary interventions and interruptions.

**Shri A. S. Saigal:** Let him sign it and lay it on the Table of the House.

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** How can I go on amidst these interruptions?

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** It is absolutely irregular. *(Interruption)*

**Mr. Chairman:** I am conducting the proceedings. Hon. Members may please sit down.

I would make one other observation. *(Interruptions)*. Please try to conclude.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** As soon as possible, as quickly as possible, if you will have a little patience

As regards this student indiscipline, how can you expect students to show discipline and respect for authority if this is what is going on, if this is the legacy of the administration that we have in this country? What is happening is reprehensible. Shri Chagla may sermonise to any extent. But that is not going to make the students behave better if we do not behave as gentlemen of the society, if we do not behave as we should.

I would conclude with this observation. I want Shri Nanda to take note of what is happening in the border areas—this is the last point I am making. The position is very insecure. Even in Jammu, there was firing on the students and the aid of the Central Reserve Police was taken. We know what is happening in Assam, how infiltration has taken place and is taking place. What steps are Government really taking to see that our border areas remain inviolate. I do not know what is going to happen; if there is aggression tomorrow, you will be faced with a greater disaster.

Let me tell you about one incident. There is a trade union worker by name Ghanshyam Misra in Darjeeling. He has been missing. He was coming on the road but was kidnapped. From the 7th September, he has been missing. There is no trace of him. The police cannot say where he is. There is a rumour that he has been killed, murdered by the management of tea planters. His wife has died of shock. We wanted Shri Nanda to immediately inquire into the matter. Our man approached the West Bengal Government. The reply that Shri Nanda gave to a question yesterday was that since the West Bengal Government is investigating, he cannot do anything. I want to ask

him: if any reputed Congressmen had been kidnapped, would the authorities of the Central Government sit still with this stock reply that the West Bengal Government is investigating the matter'?

**Some hon. Members:** What happened in the case of Kakodkar?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** What happened in the case of Kakodkar, everybody knows. The CBI machinery went into action. They should do something in this matter. If these things are not settled, there will be no security in the border areas.

Lastly I want to make an appeal. If this sort of things goes on, whatever we have achieved, whatever the people of this country wanted us to establish, namely, democracy in the true sense of the term, is going to be destroyed in this country, not because of the people, not because of lack of co-operation from the Opposition, but because of the misdeeds, inefficiency, corruption and incapability of the present Government in power.

Therefore, I support this Motion. I want conscientious members like Shri Tyagi not to be blind supporters, and not to listen to the whip, but open their eyes and support this Motion so that it can be adopted.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Shukla wishes to make a statement by way of personal explanation.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** I would make a request to you under rule 380. When this remark was made by the hon. Member, Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, I made a request to you that he should either disclose the source of his information, that is, the newspaper or from wherever he got it.....

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** Why should he disclose?

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**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:**...or or authenticate it and lay it on the Table. He has not been able to do so. So I would like you....

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I am not bound to do that, I cannot do that. Nobody can be compelled to disclose his source.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Remember the CBI report which I disclosed.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** It is allegedly said in a press conference. It is not a CBI report or a confidential thing; it is a public matter.

As I have said, I repeat emphatically that it is absolutely wrong. The hon. Member has been completely misguided in quoting that.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** If it is wrong, that is all right.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** I would request him, if he is not convinced about the correctness of his information, to withdraw it. If he agrees to do so, it would be all right. If he does not, I would request you under rule 380, because it is defamatory in nature, to kindly have it expunged from the proceedings of this House. That is my request to the Chair.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think Shri Shukla should be satisfied that his statement has been accepted by Shri Dwivedy; the matter should end there.

Shri Nanda.

**Shri R. S. Pandey (Guna):** I would like to say one thing.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** No question of acceptance or rejection. He has stated what he had to say—that is all.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Shri Shukla is a loyal lieutenant of Shri Nanda.

**Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:** If he accepts my statement, I am satisfied.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** We have taken due note of it.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** Both the Minister and the Deputy Minister are on their legs.

**Shri Hem Barua:** It has been the practice of Ministers to run down one another. Many Ministers have said nasty things about Shri Nanda. I know that.

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda):** I seek your permission for a very brief intervention to deal with a few points. I heard with great care and attention the stalwarts on the Benches opposite . . .

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** We want a full-length speech from him.

**Shri Nanda:** . . . and have pondered over all that they had to say in support of this no confidence motion.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** So far.

**Shri Nanda:** I agree there are features of the situation in the country which must cause an amount of apprehension and uneasiness in our minds.

13.27 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

For example, the rise in prices scarcity conditions and the spirit of violence which is in the air at present. It was natural that the Members of the Opposition should draw pointed attention to these unpleasant things. It is their legitimate role to give prominence to anything that goes wrong in the country. It is legitimate for us also to expect that whatever criticism is made is fair and reasonable and does not depart from certain norms of decent discussion. Members of the Congress Party itself on this side have been forthright and forceful in criticising any lapse on the part of Government, any deficiency or any fail-

ure. We welcome such help from this side and from that side. We value it. But if every time some shortcoming of Government has to be highlighted they must have recourse to this expedient of a no-confidence motion, it is, to say the least, a very unhealthy practice.

**Shri K. C. Sharma (Sardhana):** And foolish too.

**Shri Nanda:** They have talked of devaluation in another context. May I tell them, that they have made themselves responsible for bringing about the devaluation of democracy itself? They are downgrading this very potent instrument in democracy, the instrument of a no-confidence motion, and, as one hon. Member said, have brought it to the level of a meaningless ritual.

We are being asked as to what we have done in the course of this period of 19 years since the achievement of independence. We are conscious of our imperfections. We feel that in particular fields, in certain fields, we should have done so much more, so much better. But look at the vast undertaking on our hands, the numerous problems, the enormous handicaps, and then you get a good measure of the achievements that have been made, the great achievements of this period. It is not that we have been simply carrying out certain programmes of development from one plan to another; it is much more. We are passing through a revolutionary phase in our economic life.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Stagnation.

**Shri Nanda:** One has to have eyes to see, a mind to understand these things. (Interruptions). If they allow me to speak, they will have more time to say something; otherwise, they are losing their own time.

Some people fondly believe that acts of sabotage which they inspire, the *bandhs* which they organise, and that pernicious thing, the *gheras* which they arrange, are signs of a revolution, and they assume, they presume, that they are the makers and the harbingers of a revolution.

**Shri Umanath:** You say we are makers.

**Shri Nanda:** They are living in a world of fantasy. I will not use any stronger word.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** You forget that the Mysore Congressmen organised the *bandh*.

**Shri Nanda:** May I say that all that we are seeing before us is just a passing disorder. There is enough vitality in the people of this country, in this nation, to overcome this, to get over it.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya** (Serampore): To throw you out from power.

**Shri Nanda:** May I tell my non-friends that the people are discerning enough to know who are their friends and who are not their friends.

**Shri Umanath:** Now they are knowing.

**Shri Nanda:** I am not pointing to any particular person, but these expert manufacturers of *bandhs* and violent demonstrations will discover to their horror when the results of the ballot start coming in, will find that they have been assessed at their true worth and the people have no use for them at all. That is what will happen to them.

The revolution of which I have spoken is a different kind of revolution, is an economic and social revolution. The economy of the country is being lifted to another plane, from a plane of stagnation and under-development to another plane, the plane of modern technological progress and growth.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** You are contradicting your own statement. You had said the economy is stagnated, that was your statement.

**Shri Nanda:** Let them realise that we have endeavoured to compress so much change, so much development, in a short period, and the course of transition in such conditions cannot be very nice and smooth, and the unpleasant things we are witnessing here which are always being dinned into our ears, these unwelcome incidents happen because great things are also happening, and they are just small incidents compared to the great things that are happening in this country. There may be less of them if there is a greater appreciation of the interests of the nation among others.

There was something said about violent occurrences. I have to make a few observations regarding this aspect. I do not rule out the possibility of a spontaneous outburst here and there.

**Shri Hem Barua:** You mean violence.

**Shri Nanda:** But by and large these things are being engineered and instigated. There may be some basis in the sense of hardship on the part of a section of the people, but the way they are being exploited, nothing but harm can come to them and all others. The most painful outcome of all this is that some lives are lost, innocent lives; property is destroyed, mostly public property, and a sense of insecurity is created. Those who are responsible for maintenance of law and order have to face, they are exposed to, some kind of contrary criticism, two wholly contradictory standpoints. One is that the police is inactive, they are not doing their job strongly and firmly—that is being said also—and on the other hand there is talk of police excesses, atrocities and all that being perpetrated. In a case here and there, there may be cause for some complaint, some criticism. I do not

[Shri Nanda]

vouch for it that there is always perfect behaviour in the operations of the police. If in any case in any action the police has gone wrong, certainly they have to be curbed and corrected, and we do that, but for the most part, and I want to state that emphatically, considering the manner in which the police and the law and order authorities have to face very difficult situations, they are doing the job as well as possible in the circumstances. They are confronted with very difficult situations, with very baffling situations, and they deserve our sympathy and support.

When a law and order situation develops—we should not allow it to develop it, we should prevent it, we should have done other things; maybe we are at fault also in some of these things in not having imparted enough education to the people to resist these blandishments—but when a law and order situation actually develops, the police has to deal with it as such. There has to be restraint, of course, maximum restraint; also, all precautions possible have to be taken. And then if unavoidable, if force has to be used, it has to be the minimum force, but if violence breaks out and there is intimidation, arson; attack on life and property, this threat to the freedom and security of the people has to be met firmly. Violent crowds will have to be dispersed, destruction has to be prevented.

Law and order is a State subject, but the nation has a certain line of policy in this matter. We have maintained tried our best to maintain, democratic principles. We have not stopped any section of the people from ventilating their grievances, from registering their protest. That is an inalienable right of the people of the country in a democracy to have the means to register their protest, and any demonstration for that purpose is perfectly valid and legitimate and nobody should come in the way; but we cannot allow that democratic right

of protest to encroach upon the fundamental rights of others to carry on their own avocations, to lead their own lives, and there can be no place for intimidation or terror by any section of the society in a democratic setup.

श्री बड़े (खारगोन) : उज्जैन में क्या किया, वहाँ आपकी पुलिस यूनिवर्सिटी में घुस गई ।

Shri Nanda: I have said before that there may be aberrations. We have to deal with them also. I am saying what the situation generally is. We shall not tolerate any lawlessness and violence.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Bastar ruler was shot down like a dog.

Shri Nanda: There is a commission and if anything arises out of that which is against the authorities, certainly necessary action will be taken.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: You will suppress the commission's report.

Shri Nanda: Let those who are dreaming of a socialist society growing in this country know that if disorder prevails and the rule of law is in jeopardy, there is no socialism, there will be no economic progress at all. Some people are exploiting in a flagrant, heartless manner the undoubted difficulties of various sections of the people.

श्री बड़े : लड़के आपके रोते हुए आते हैं, तो आप कहते हैं कि यह स्टेट सब्जेक्ट है ।

Shri Nanda: Let them clearly understand that the Government is not going to allow them to break the fabric of public order in this country.

Shri Shinke (Marmagoa): Is there any order?

Shri Nanda: We shall deal with firmness any threat they pose to law and order in the country.

I thought I must make it clear. It is not a question of any particular party or person. Law has to be maintained irrespective of persons, irrespective of motives of people who are provoking any movement which leads to lawlessness. We have a duty to preserve the foundations of public order and stability. Without that there can be no economic development. It has become a favourite game of some first to deliberately organise conditions in the country in which thousands of people are encouraged to come out and create disorder and then to criticise the Government for taking action to put down the disorders. It does not lie in their mouth then to say that the police are committing excesses. I do not say that there was no excess at all but are the people not entitled to expect the preservation of their rights and freedoms.

I have to deal with another aspect which is connected with this in a way; that is that the manifestations of people's unrest have another angle. They are the by product of growth and development .. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** A new thesis.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** A historical fact.

**Shri Nanda:** I shall presently explain. We have just now had this extremely deplorable disturbance of peace in Andhra. There was the demand for a steel plant. What is this intensity of demand due to? If we had not established a steel plant in Bhilai or in Rourkela or in Durgapur, then there would not have been this deplorable agitation in Andhra..... (*Interruptions*.) I am only trying to bring out what is happening in the country. It is the development which has taken place in other parts which without the other social action which should accompany it is creating certain situations and certain expectations. That is to be controlled in a way but it was not properly controlled. That is our fault. This is happening because. . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Because the Andhra Congressmen incited it.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** It is very bad; we had not incited it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I said Andhra Congressmen, not Punjab Congressmen.

**Shri Nanda:** The total steel capacity in the country before Independence was just about 1.5 million tons and how we have a capacity of 7 million tons and propose to raise it to 14.8 million tons by 1970-71. That is the order of achievement. Take the question of student unrest. I do not want to speak much about it.

**Shri Hem Barua:** When we increase capacity to 14.8 million tons, will there be more disturbances according to your own thesis?

**Shri Nanda:** My thesis was that when awakening comes in the course of democratic development, people become more aware of their rights, and expectations rise and at the same time we have to educate the people as to how this has to be channelled. That has not been done enough.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Mr. Nanda perhaps unwittingly propounded the most dangerous and pernicious thesis.... (*Interruptions*.)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He is not yielding the floor.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Let him yield. You have now shown how much rioting is needed to give a State a steel plant that is the only meaning now.

**Shri Nanda:** I am saying further, if the hon. Member has heard me regarding what I have said about lawlessness and how to deal with it. . .

**Shri Nath Pai:** You say that this is a byproduct of growth.

**Shri Nanda:** This unrest is to an extent the byproduct of growth; yes; it is, to an extent.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, it is a historical phenomenon.

**Shri Nanda:** I also said that the mistake was that we had not done the job of social enlightenment of the people properly enough. Otherwise, it should not have come to that. There is a charge against us that when violence breaks out, then alone certain things are done. I do not know how far it is true. It certainly should not be. Whatever has to be done, if a steel plant has to be given to Andhra, let it be given or let it be done before any kind of violent agitation like this takes place.

श्री मधु लिये (मुंगेर): आप क्या यह अपने को सीख दे रहे हैं।

**Shri Nanda:** I am saying about anything. But if it is not to be done, if it cannot be done, then I do not think violence will compel anything to be done... (Interruptions.) Let that be clear.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Where has Sadachar gone?

**Shri Hem Barua:** Is it self-criticism or self-condemnation?

**Shri Nanda:** People see that things are happening. Development is taking place; good things are coming to them. Others who cannot get the same things at the same time become impatient. We have to teach them that they should wait while something more can be done in due course for them.

**An hon. Member:** Trains are burnt; buses are burnt; then you give the steel plants.

**Shri Nanda:** Nothing should be done because of the burning of buses.

**Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** It is done because of that.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Twenty buses were burnt; that means a steel plant.

**Shri Nanda:** I said that the burning of buses would be a disqualification rather than a qualification for it.

**Shri Hem Barua:** It has become a qualification now.

**Shri Nanda:** Take the student unrest. What is the background of this? The background is the tremendous expansion of education in the country. The number of students in colleges is 1.1 million today as compared to 0.3 million in 1950-51 a four-fold increase. There is a great deal of expenditure being incurred on education. One must acknowledge however that there is no proportionate increase in amenities and facilities. It becomes difficult to prevent some dilution of quality; so it has occurred.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Do you know that there are more illiterate people today than before Independence? 36 crores of Indians are illiterate and the Planning Commission admits it.

**Shri Nanda:** I am talking about students in colleges—not about the illiterates. Employment opportunities have expanded but it is not at the same rate as the rate of increase in education. I was coming to the numbers; numbers count in another way also. There is a phenomenal increase in the population of the country.

**Shri Hem Barua:** What do you do to control it?

**Shri Nanda:** There is a tremendous demand for food, goods and services, on that account.

**Shri Hem Barua:** What have you done to control the rising population—only the loop?

**Shri Nanda:** I have to make this admission. Our health programmes succeeded remarkably; our family programmes have not. That is the explanation for it.

**Shri Nath Pai:** When Dr. Sushila Nayar comes, she will take cudgels against you.



**Shri Nanda:** Statistics are what they are. Birth rate remains what it was but the death rate was estimated to be around 16 per thousand in the current year it is estimated to come to about eight per thousand. This decline in the death rate has been achieved through health programmes. Take the case of malaria. How many were dying every year? Now, death rate due to malaria is almost nil. The same thing about other epidemics. It is due to the health programmes.

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak (Sambalpur):** Not due to your efforts.

**Shri Nanda:** The efforts of the country, the efforts of the nation; the efforts of all of us.

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak:** The efforts of international agencies. (*Interruption*).

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** You must accept what the hon. Minister says.

**Shri Nanda:** This increase in the expectation of life which was 32 in 1950, to 50 now sums up so many things; so much good has been achieved in this country.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Whose figure is that? Who computed it?

**Shri Nanda:** They have been repeated in a number of places. I do not think any authority is needed for it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Authority from you.

**Shri Nanda:** In spite of what my hon. friend Shri Nath Pai said—he rose to point out that it is something which is rather dangerous—I would say that in the shape of the problems which have emerged in this country, there is some kind of penalty for the progress that has been achieved. Shri Masani's colleagues are here; but he is not here now. Shri Masani spelt out in his speech the philosophy of *status quo* as opposed to change. We stand for radical changes in the country. The country needs a change and the coun-

try will not stand a *status quo*. The people's mind are for a change, and that, of course, is a change for the better. They are not content with the *status quo*, how things are; that change has to be speeded up. Those kinds of things for which Shri Masani stands have no place in this country. Whatever might happen,—I have got great respect and admiration for my friends there—their thinking, their line, is not going to be accepted by the people, however hard they may try. I must tell in advance that this is not going to be accepted.

Shri Masani regaled the House with a strange political calculus. He said that the Congress having polled 44.72 per cent votes has no right to be in power. He dilated on that. Then, who has? Some party has to be in power.

**An hon. Member:** No.

**Shri Nanda:** The Swatantra party?

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** All of us together.

**Shri Nanda:** The Swatantra party had 7.89 per cent as against 44.72. Even if you give a weightage of hundred per cent, you do not go very far. Even if you combine with like-minded people whom Shri Masani has mentioned—the Jansangh—I do not know whether they accept that appellation from them—the total vote comes to 33.37 per cent against 44.72 of the Congress and the Communist party—there is nobody here—9.94 per cent. If we keep out the votes—this is a point which must be stressed—of Independence and the non-descript small groups, the Congress today has an absolute majority of the votes of the country. (*Interruption*).

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Today; not tomorrow.

**Shri Shinkre:** If that is so, why did the Government not accept the multiplicity of candidates in the Representation of the People Act?

**Shri Nanda:** It is a discredited thing everywhere. Then, at the end, Shri Masani made a very pathetic admission. I do not know whether Prof. Ranga was there at that time or not. He said that the people regard the Congress as invincible.

**Shri Ranga:** He did not say that.

**Shri Nanda:** Certainly, it is not to his liking; it is very depressing for him.

**Shri Ranga:** Some people said so; please remember that.

**Shri Nanda:** He consoled himself by the discovery that there was some fallacy in this kind of attitude.

**Shri Ranga:** Some people say that and therefore he answered it.

**Shri Nanda:** Let Shri Masani and his friends there know that the Congress is invincible; there is no fallacy in it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Then why do you leave Sabarkantha and go to Hariana?

**Shri Nanda:** I can tell him about Sabarkantha not now, but later on. Now, if Shri Masani cherishes in this illusion, let him shed it. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Nanda:** Then, Shri Masani moved into another fallacy or what he thought was an exposure of the fallacy. He said that the people believed that in the continuation of the Congress lies in their only hope of stability in the country. He says that it is very wrong. The people are sensible. They will not be misled by the fact that in the walk-out here all the parties in the Opposition are comrades in arms. If they will sit down; together to do anything, they will then split into half a dozen splinters. That is the point. Walking-out is all right, but when they sit down, how many of them will be of the same view and how much of them will represent the total, people's man-

date? How much of that? It is true we have got faults and imperfections, as I said; we have got the responsibility of the country and it is up to us to see that if anything is wrong with us, if there are any imperfections, we try to look at them closely and remove them, because we are responsible and we continue to be responsible. Therefore, the responsibility becomes much greater and it does remain. Stability can only be provided by the Congress and no other party can do it as far ahead as I can see.

Then I must say that we are marching and as we march ahead we find that we have struck a bad patch in our onward march, but we shall negotiate it successfully. This is a testing period for this country; it is a test of the mettle of the people of this country, of their inner strength, and I have no doubt that we shall meet this test properly, adequately and successfully, and will emerge stronger as never before. There is a destiny, a faith in the high destiny of this country and this was implicit in the achievement of Independence.

There is just one thing more which I would like to say at the end. One thing must be ensured. It is for all of us that I am saying—Congressmen and friends on the other side. Let us distinguish between party interests and what are high, vital, national interests.

**Shri Shinkre:** That is what we want you to do.

**Shri Nanda:** Let nothing be done which might jeopardise the vital interests and purposes of the nation. Then there will be nothing too difficult for this nation to accomplish.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Ranga.

**Shri Umanath:** I wish to speak; I belong to the third group.

The other groups have first spoken, each in one group. Yesterday, Shri

Masani spoke and now you are allowing a second Member from the same group. I have not been called. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall call him afterwards.

**Shri Umanath:** I am asserting my right as belonging to the third group. Not even one speaker has been called from my group.

**Shri Bade:** My party also should be given time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Your party has taken all the time due to you.

**Shri Bade:** We have 40 minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Your leader has taken 55 minutes.

**Shri Bade:** But he is the Mover.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order order. Shri Ranga.

**Shri Ranga:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, if what Shri Nanda has said is the best that the Congress party can offer in answer to this no-confidence motion, I cannot congratulate either Shri Nanda or the Congress party. What Shri Nanda has said today is only a paraphrasing of what his President, Mr. Kamaraj Nadar has said—that the Congress is invincible, and it going to be returned with redoubled strength and nobody else can defeat it. They alone can provide stability in this country! All these *bandhs* to which the hon. Minister has referred are an answer to that assertion that they have made. Different sections of the people have gone on these *bandhs*. Even students have resorted to these strikes all over India there is the atmosphere of *bandhs* and strikes. Is that not answer enough to my hon. friend who wants us to believe that all these are mere hangs of growth which are sedulously created by some political parties? Supposing we accept his assertion that some political parties have

made it their business to organise them why should the vast masses themselves respond to these *bandhs*? Why does he not open his eyes to that? Their own Press has been saying from time to time that this *bandh* has been a failure, that *bandh* has not succeeded, the other *bandh* did not evoke any response and so on. Why did they do so? Because in certain areas the people did not respond they said so. But in so many other areas why did the people respond? Why does he not give some thought to it? It is not because they are all too anxious about growth and therefore they went into it.

**Shri Nanda:** I said there is some basis in the talk about hardship.

14.00 hrs.

**Shri Ranga:** There are basic difficulties and causes for discontent and dissatisfaction. Such difficulties and such causes for dissatisfaction have made all these people, ordinarily sane-minded people, property-loving people, people who are in love with their own lives and the lives of their own family members, to go into the streets, join the huge crowds, take part in the marches, in the conferences and in the meetings, get themselves excited and afterwards brave the violence of the police. Why did they do so? It is because their sufferings are so great because it has become impossible for them to put up with these sufferings. They have become discontented over such a long time with the manner in which the Government has been carrying on the administration in different parts of the country in different aspects of its own governance with the result that they have become indifferent to the consequences of their participation in these *bandhs*. Does it not strike him that possibly a large section of the people who are taking part in these *bandhs* take this opportunity to express their dissatisfaction and discontent, a kind of a relief, a welcome relief and a welcome

[Shri Ranga]

opportunity to demonstrate their dissatisfaction and discontent against this Government? Why do they not give some thought to this aspect of it.

It was said: "birth pangs of growth". My hon. friend gave this Vishakhapatnam case as an achievement of their own. He was honest enough to say that they failed in developing the social education that was needed. He is going to develop their social education in regard to other areas so that similar things might not happen. What happened here in regard to Vishakhapatnam? Who was responsible for this? I hold this Government as well as the Andhra Government responsible for this. One of the Andhra Ministers was also here in the Central Cabinet. A technical mission has recommended in favour of this steel plant. Why is it that this non-technical minister, a non-technical cabinet, failed in their elementary duty of conceding and accepting that recommendation of their consortium as they have now come to accept? Does this not demonstrate, first of all, their incorrigible incapacity to come to right decisions at the right moment, if not on the basis of their own wisdom at least on the basis of the wisdom displayed to them, offered to them by a technical mission which was appointed by themselves. This is not the first time. On several other occasions also these things have happened. Therefore, my hon. friend cannot very well ask the House to agree with him in dismissing that outburst as being only the result of birth pangs of growth. Was it not engineered? Who engineered it? It is true that several parties have engineered it including the Congress Party. If it had stopped there, there would have been some excuse. Was not the Andhra Government also responsible in part? Were not Ministers here themselves responsible by what they have omitted to do as their elementary duty? Did not the Minister who was then in charge of that Ministry fail in his own duty

by not offering to resign if the Government was not prepared to accept that technical consortium's report? All these people were responsible. This is only a sign, an indication of the manner in which this Government has been failing on so many other fronts also.

Let us take, again, what is happening in Osmania University. There are no death—thank God. There was no need for the police to intervene—thank God. Indeed I should congratulate the professors, the teachers, the lecturers the students as well as the Vice Chancellor of the Osmania University. What is happening there? All they want is that a very popular Vice Chancellor should remain there. The Andhra Chief Minister does not want him. The Andhra Cabinet does not want him. Both of them are supposed to be Reddys, at the same time there is something in between.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool):** He is not a Khamma. They want a Khamma not a Reddy.

**Shri Ranga:** Quite right. Therefore they cannot bring in social disequilibrium there. Both of them belong to the same social category. Yet, why has the Chief Minister behaved in this manner? Why is he persuading his own legislature to pass an Act to cut short the tenure of five years of that Vice Chancellor and then impose upon them another Vice-Chancellor?

My hon. friend was talking about students' discontent. He was giving so many reasons. It is this Government and its allies, the State Governments who are mostly responsible I do not mean to say that they alone are responsible, but they are mostly responsible for the students' discontent. Here is a sample of it in this Osmania University. They have been carrying on their non-violent, peaceful protest against the manner in which, Mr. D. S. Reddy, the most popular Vice Chancellor anywhere to

be found in the whole of India, was being treated. The whole of the staff, the students and everybody, are associated and allied with the Vice Chancellor in a manner and to the extent that nowhere else a comparison can be found. The way in which Mr. D. S. Reddy has been treated is only an indication of the manner in which so many other blunders are being committed by this Government in various other educational institutions and universities which were mostly responsible for the students discontent.

Is that the only reason? There is the question of discontent prevailing among all the people. How can the students isolate themselves? How can they be isolated from the rest of the people? They are the most sensitive part of any nation at any time. They cannot keep quiet when their parents are suffering.

My hon. friend talked about achievements in the nineteen years of their raj. The most important achievement is shortages, shortages on every front. Yesterday, the Food Minister was congratulating himself and his Government for having somehow or other managed to avoid mass deaths in this country due to starvation. What is it that the Commission which was appointed in the wake of the AICC Resolution they had passed at Jaipur had said? They had said that for the next ten years the position in regard to food is going to be very grim, there would be shortages, there would be need for more stringent controls and so on. What does it show? It only shows that this Government has failed most miserably and continues to fail most miserably on the food front. Do they even hold out any hope at all of increasing production? He said that they were introducing a new variety. Yet they hide the fact from this House that this new variety needs five times as much fertilisers as the old varieties of rice. Where are these fertilisers? Five times and even ten times more quantities of insecticides are needed. Where are

those insecticides? They have not got them. Have they any plans? They have not got the resources. Would it be possible to import food or to produce them? It would not be possible. Therefore, the introduction of this new variety would destroy not only their plans but also the economy in our agriculture because new pests would come in the wake of this new variety and destroy not only this crop but also the crops under the other varieties. In that way it would queer the pitch. Therefore, there is no hope on the food front.

What is it that the people ask of this Government? They ask for the minimum needs. What is the use of your talking about steel plants and various other things? They want immediately agricultural implements. Where are fertilizers, insecticides, tested seeds, food, clothing shelter and water? Where is water in Rajasthan, in Rayalaseema, in Telengana, in Madhya Pradesh, in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar? Water is not provided even for drinking purposes. And what is it that they have achieved? They have certainly achieved these shortages, and that is why the people are discontented with this Government.

My hon. friend wants us all to feel that they are all a united family. But is it a united family? He says that whenever we walk out, all the opposition members go but when we want to sit down, we sit down differently. But what is it that my hon. friends themselves are doing? Do they sit together? Do they function in a united way? Do they sing in a harmonious manner? You go from one State to another, one village to another. At the villages, at the PCC level, even at the AICC level, they are riddled by their own jealousies mutual hatred, mutual disregard and mistrust. All these things are happening, and yet they say they hold together.

Now, the proper way to approach this problem is not by trying to alienate one opposition party from another

[Shri Ranga]

Let it be quite clearly understood that all over the country, wherever we go the people put up only one demand, express only one wish, that all the opposition parties should try somehow or other to adjust with each other so that they can drive out the Congress Party from power. They may not succeed, but that is the wish. Why is it that there is a universal wish on the part of the masses that the Congress Party should be put out of power?

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya** rose—

**Shri Ranga:** My hon. friend is very very jealous of the Congress. I have great regard for him.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** We want you also to unite.

**Shri Ranga:** I have great regard for my hon friend, because he is one of the few honest Congressmen. He goes on hugging the Congress. Unfortunately, the Congress Party is suffering from leprosy, also cancer, also diabetis and, on top of all, high blood pressure. How can such a party survive? I know that my hon. friend is a Casablanea. He would like to go down along with the Congress.

I do not say that the Congress should be completely destroyed in this country. No. The people themselves want the Congress to go into the opposition. It would be a very good thing for the Congressmen to be in the opposition. That is what Jawaharlal Nehru himself used to say, without implementing it. It would be a good thing if the Congress were in a minority in a few States. My hon. friend, Shri S. K. Patil was expressing a similar wish, before he came back to his Ministry. I hope they would be out of the Ministry in some States. We are trying our best. I can tell you, my hon. friend, that we are trying to co-operate with you in order to help the Congress to go into the opposition in Orissa, in Rajasthan and in Gujarat. But how would it be

possible for the other peoples or parties to achieve this unless the Congress people were to accept our decision or recommendation that they should go out of office, at least from the 1st of December or the end of December, and afterwards let us all compete with one another for the franchise of the people on par, on an equal basis. Now for them to remain in power and gain control over all these money bags and then utilize Shri Manubhai Shah, Shri S. K. Patil and other brilliant people on their side to organise the election campaign, however bad their case may be, in order to get money, in order to get every good candidate on their side and then say we are going to provide the leadership for this country and then stability, that is not fair. What sort of stability has the Congress Party been able to provide this country with. Is there any stability anywhere in India?

Only yesterday two people have referred to the fact that a man's wife was taken away even in his own presence by there goondas and all that my hon. friend could say was: yes, we have arrested the people; we are going to punish them. I am not charging them with only one isolated incident. What is happening all over India? There is no peace. There is no law and order. I know it for a fact that in several big buildings in various towns people are obliged to employ separate watchmen in order to maintain law and order for them, in order to safeguard peace in that particular area. It is not the police who are protecting the people; it is the people who are protecting themselves. It is because of these things that people are in revolt against this Government.

Since my hon. friend is a great believer in astrology, therefore, in addition to his own political prognostication, he must have consulted them also and they must have assured him that the Congress Party is going to win back power. But it is not enough. What is needed is a marriage between the emotions of the people

and their votes. The emotions of the people are alienated from the Congress. Let them put their hands on their hearts and say honestly what I have said is correct or not. People's emotions are alienated from this Government and that is why they are in revolt. Yet, the people may be forced willy nilly by these people by means which are only known to these friends, by the sarpanchs, by the co-operative stores, by leaders and various other minions that they have developed as well as the contractors, though all these means they may be able to get or manufacture a majority here and there, and they may come back here like the bar-bourns in power. They may be in power like Ching Kai Sheik was in power in the mainland of China. But they would not be able to get the emotional support, intellectual sympathy and support and understanding and the intuitive co-operation from the masses. Then, what would be the result? The result would be this, just as it has happened in the case of Chiang Kai Sheik, who had to run away from the mainland, even though he had a great majority of legislators on his side, Parliament on his side, the duly-elected Parliament on his side, only a few months after the election. Even though he had great majority of the area of land on his side, yet he had to run away. In the same way, the same fate would befall these gentlemen, and I would be unhappy about it. But I would be very much more unhappy about the other thing; when they fall they will bring down the country also; they will bring down democrats like us with them.

Lastly, in conclusion, let me say that it is not for my hon. friend, Shri Nanda, to say that the Swatantra Party does not stand for change. To ask for freedom to the students, is it not for change? To ask for the enlargement of the area of cultivation of the peasants, is it not for change? To safeguard the freedom of the industrial workers as well as the agricultural workers, is it not for change? It is these people

who are reactionaries, who want to destroy the freedom of the people. They want to establish in this country stateism, the reign of bureaucrats, the reign of not merely charlatans but corrupt people, inefficient people, ignoble people. Yes, here and there, there are a few exceptions, like Shri S. K. Patil and various other people. I mentioned his name, because I know he is being pressed and he has got to work again on their behalf. Because he has got to be there, he is there. I wish he would come away, he would have the moral guts to come to our side. It does not matter whether he joins us or not. Just as Dr. Mahatab came out when his conscience pricked him and he found that he will have to get out, just as Humayun Kabir got out and unburdened himself of those things about which he had felt all those 18 years, while the plums of office were rosy, similarly, even though they are rosy for my friend today, he would have to make some confession to himself as well as to the public. I hope he would have the courage to do it. Similarly, Shri Nanda also, when he is thrown out of Home Ministership, I hope he would have the moral courage to march on the path of these two people, Shri Humayun Kabir and Dr. Mahatab, as that is the only way they can serve the nation; not by putting up a brief here, just like a lawyer puts up a brief before the Supreme Court, although he knows his case is unjust, wrong and indefensible.

**Shri Umanath:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this motion of no-confidence is being moved at a time when people from all corners of the country are bursting out in anger against the discarded policies of this Government. Hardly a day is passing without the indignant toiling masses coming in open conflict with various agencies of the government. The surging tide of the militant movement is advancing very rapidly despite brutal repression launched by the Government of the Congress on the people.

It is futile to expect that this Government would change its discredited

[Shri Umanath]

path by mere criticism. But the significance of the present situation in the country is that the people are also coming to a conclusion that unless a bitter and protracted struggle is launched against this notorious government the conditions of the people will not be improved even by a bit.

Shri Nanda may be ashamed of *bundhs* but our party is really proud of them because the *bundh* is the essence of the determination of the people to face the governmental repressive machinery and try on their own strength to improve their standard of living and to expand their area of liberty. We are proud of such determination of the people. Shri Nanda and his party, who are cowards when facing the people and who have got to use the police for facing the people, may be ashamed of it but we are proud of it.

The historical Bengal *Bundh* for 48 hours on 22nd and 23rd September was only a grim warning to this Government that the masses of this country are no more prepared to take these attacks of the Government lying low. The repeated *bundh* performances of the working class of this country and other citizens in major industrial cities have only shown that the masses of people are determined to oust these unscrupulous rulers from the seat of power.

The unprecedented isolation of this Government from the people is seen by the participation of newer and newer sections in the advancing struggle. The latest new sections that are to join this movement or struggle for the defence of their standard of living are very many. Students in the previous days used to conduct their struggles in the colleges here and there. Today we are in a situation when the entire student community, as a whole, is in the struggle and is face to face with the Government and is meeting their repressive

machinery. So also is the class of professors who were keeping themselves to their institutions. When students used to launch their struggles, the professors used to persuade them not to go on strike but now these very professors, who are so highly intellectual people, have themselves gone on strike in West Bengal.

Then, we find that the CHS doctors under the very nose of Shri Nanda had to come out in a demonstration—MBBS doctors and with all sorts of diplomas. The latest class we find is the nurses who have given notice of strike. Newer and newer sections are coming up. When electricity board workers used to go on strike, the electrical engineers used to intervene and maintain the entire machinery so that the strike need not affect the entire apparatus. Now, those very board engineers, who used to keep aloof from such sort of demonstrations and strikes, are themselves coming into it.

To crown it all, the only force upon which Shri Nanda and the Congress Government had the greatest confidence in meeting the people—the police force—is slipping from under his foot. That has happened in this very Delhi, in this very capital. The police force has united. The policies of this Government and the atrocities that are committed by this Government through their economic and political policies have isolated this Government even from the most confident section on which they are relying, namely, the Delhi Police.

When this is happening as a result of their policies, we are accused that we are inciting these things. It must have some limits. We are really sorry that we do not have as much influence as to move such huge masses of students, the Delhi Police, the CHS doctors and the nurses into action like this. We are only sorry that we do not have such influence.



In fact, if we had such influence among these vast masses of people, what would have happened is not destruction of railway property and transmitters but the destruction of the Congress Government itself and Shrimati Gandhi would have been occupying the famous place which Professor Ranga is occupying now. That would have happened if we had real influence. We are only sorry that we do not have that influence.

Then, it is conceded that it is spontaneous action but it is said, "You parties go and take advantage of it". I do not know what this question of taking advantage is. When the students come out in the streets with genuine grievances, when the policemen come out in the streets with genuine grievances, ours is a party which has been formed to stand by the people when they have got genuine grievances. If you call our action to join them and give them a proper leadership to see that their struggles succeed, when various sections come out in the streets in defence of their standard of living, that we are taking advantage we do not care. We will do it repeatedly, hundreds and hundreds of times, not withstanding the Defence of India Act and the Preventive Detention Act.

It is the right of a political party to intervene in the situation and to stand by the students, the policemen, the workers, the peasants who are groaning under the misrule of the Congress. It is our birthright as a political party to stand by the toiling millions. It is the right of the Congress Party—let them misappropriate their right—to stand by the Tatas, Birlas, Mudaliars, Chettiars, all sorts of big business and big landlords. Let them have the right and enjoy the joke, but we will stand by the ordinary toiling people.

Had the ruling party the slightest honesty to learn from the experience of the past, it would have resorted to remedial measures long back. The

dangerous consequences of these anti-people policies have now taken such a serious proportion that even a man on the streets is now realising its total futility. But the present rulers, completely divorced from the difficulties of the ordinary people, cannot see this harsh reality.

Coming to the question of the rupee devaluation, when the rupee was devalued under the US dictat the Government boasted that it would benefit the country and the economy. Within a period of three months since then what picture do we get? Even the journals of big business have started accepting this. For instance, the Commerce of Bombay writes—I am quoting from the Commerce—

"Up till now, devaluation of the rupee has not led to all the expected beneficial results. For one thing, the uncertainty regarding the flow of foreign aid and private capital has not been removed. Nor have the exports shown any perceptible upward trend despite the scheme of cash subsidies for several goods announced as part of follow-up measures."

That is what the Commerce says.

There was a big myth built up about exports after devaluation; now that myth is exploded. Take the case of engineering industry for example. Cash subsidy given to the engineering industry to boost its exports was about 15 per cent of the value of exported goods. And what is the result? During April-June, that is, more or less the pre-devaluation period, the export value was Rs. 6.85 crores during July-September, that is, the post-devaluation period, the value of goods exported in the engineering industry was Rs. 4.78 crores.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): That was under the previous contracts.

**Shri Umanath:** I am quoting from official figures. So, the myth of export and all these things is being exploded. Let them bring forward their figures but I am quoting from their own figures; so, there is no use. So, the drop after devaluation is to the extent of 30 per cent.

Take the textile industry, a much-boosted foreign exchange earner. In May, the pre-devaluation month, the export was 47.9 million square metres of cloth; in June, that particular month when devaluation came, it came down to 30.9 million square metres and in July, that is post-devaluation, full two months after devaluation, the export was 11.9 million square metres of cloth.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** Sir, there is not a single Member on the Treasury Benches. Even earlier on several occasions it was ruled that there should at least be two of them.

**Shri Tyagi:** Yesterday, there was not a single Member on the Opposition Benches.

**Shri Umanath:** We walked out. Do you mean to say that they have walked out?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Patil is here.

**Shri Baghunath Singh:** We are hearing him very patiently.

**Shri Umanath:** The exports of the textile industry, which is called a big industry and a major sector which earns foreign exchange for this country, fell to 11.9 million square metres from 47.9 million square metres, after devaluation. These are Government statistics. So, this big boost myth has been exploded.

Then, come the tea and jute industries—another group of major exporting industries. They are now demanding major concessions somehow to maintain their exports. Rs. 10 crores have so far been given to the

sugar industry as subsidy and still the situation has not been resolved.

So, after devaluation, instead of strengthening the economy, what is happening is that the Government is facing the problem of saving the country's economy because of the effects of devaluation. This is just the reverse process that is taking place today.

Coming to the question of devaluation and prices, devaluation has pushed up the prices of important imported commodities to such levels that internal prices have started going up considerably. Despite formal assurances the Government have allowed the Fertiliser Corporation to increase the price of sulphuric acid from Rs. 275 to Rs. 650 a tonne. Now, the Government has allowed industrialists to increase the prices of similar other commodities which is pushing the prices still upwards. In this way, on the basis of devaluation, on the basis of revised high prices of the imported parts of the various materials that are being produced here, when the prices have gone up, naturally, this has got its own reflection on the internal prices. When the prices go up, the Finance Minister, Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri says that the prices have gone up but that is not because of devaluation. How does he say that it is not because of devaluation specially when the prices of imported parts have gone up and this has got its own reflection on the internal prices? How does he say that it is not because of devaluation? This is a sort of illogical, contradictory, rotten and meaningless stand taken by the rotten Government, not satisfied with the use of police machinery.

The post-devaluation rosy picture painted by the Finance Minister while introducing the report on the Economic Situation during the last session proved to be totally illusory. When an astrologer tells his client his fate, two

or three out of ten of his prophecies come true by sheer chance. But here in the case of our Finance Minister not one instance becomes true. All the things which he said proved to be false. He is not fit to be even an astrologer in this country. This is the position we face.

Let us come to the Fourth Plan. The Fourth Plan is in doldrums. The frequent changes in the total outlay has made people cynical about the planning as such. The Plan will make our country totally dependent on the World Bank tycoons and U.S. aid-givers. Instead of making our economy genuinely self-reliant, it will mortgage our economic independence to the imperialist powers. Our abject dependence on U.S. is already so much visible that some industrialists have also started feeling its pinch. The Chairman of the Indian Chemical Manufacturers Association, in its recent meeting, has pointed out that licences available under USAID programme are not fully utilised because raw material prices in USA are higher by 30 to 40 per cent than elsewhere. Yet the Government are determined to obtain the major part of aid from United States though it is harmful to the economic development of the country.

People have lost all hopes about fulfilment of the Plan targets. How can one expect the Government to fulfil the target of 120 million tons of foodgrains when it failed to register any growth in food production during the Third Plan? If the Government could hardly fulfil 60 per cent of the targets during the Third Plan, their performance cannot be better during the Fourth Plan.

The estimated gap of Rs. 6300 crores is to be filled by the foreign aid and nothing can be said certain about its availability. The foreign aid-givers want a proper price for their dollars and sterlings and the Bell Mission is pressing for another devaluation. We are now on the eve of a second devaluation. Of course, the Finance Min-

ister denied it yesterday saying, "No. There will not be any further devaluation." When the Finance Minister says that there will be no further devaluation, then we can take it that we are on the eve of devaluation.

**Shri Tyagi:** I see.

**Shri Umanath:** Yes. During the previous year, when that question was raised here, the Finance Minister said, "Absolutely no" and Mr. Ashok Mehta, while in Washington, said, "Absolutely no". Then what happened? Devaluation was announced. So, the lesson taught to us by this Government is that if they deny all about the prospects of devaluation, we must take it to mean that we are on the eve of devaluation.

**Shri Tyagi:** Very good logic.

**Shri Umanath:** It is the logic taken from you.

The collapse of the economic machinery can be seen from the textile crisis that we are facing today. About 100 mills are on the verge of closure, units of about 12000 spindles or so. So many mills have already been closed on account of sudden steep rise in prices of cotton. So many mills have threatened closure. The President of the Cauveri Mills, Pudukkottai in Trichy where the workers' union is recognised told me that the price of cotton has risen to Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 per candy. Usually, it used to be Rs. 100 or Rs. 150. But this time it is Rs. 400 to Rs. 500. He told me that because the foreign cotton prices have gone up as a result of devaluation, naturally, the internal prices of cotton have gone up. He said, "I am going to close the mill unless you accept to receive wages less 33-1/3 per cent at deferred wages." In this way, various mills have threatened to close down. The mill-owners associations in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras, everywhere, have a proposal of terminating the dearness allowance agreement, the bonus agreement and all that. They are demanding that the wages must be

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reduced. This crisis is created by the policies of the Government. Now, instead of facing the Government, these mill-owners are trying to see that the burden of all the crisis falls on the shoulders of the poor working class and the poor peasantry. That is what we are not going to accept.

The big business had reaped the major fruits of the planning which is noted by the official statistics. Between 1951 and 1963, the value added by manufacture per worker went up by 62 per cent but the wages went up by 25 per cent only. The net result of the plan of building capitalism in the country is that the share of workers in the total wealth produced is going down as the years pass by. Between 1951 and 1963, the share of wages in the value added by manufacture has gone down from 45.2 per cent to 39.8 per cent. No more data is necessary to explode the hoax of socialism played by the Congress to hoodwink the people and as enunciated and reiterated by Mr. Nanda just a few minutes back.

The agrarian crisis has now assumed a critical proportion and Government are trying to come out with the magic wand of PL 480. This policy, instead of solving the crisis, is only making it more alarming. There is a big talk of drought in the various parts of the country. But only two weeks ago, the Food Minister expressed his confidence about good crops this year. This present food crisis is in no way a crisis due to failure of nature alone. Otherwise how can one explain why out of the irrigation potential of 18 million acres during 1965-66, only 13.8 million acres were utilised? Moreover, whatever food is available in the country is not distributed equitably and the national food policy only becomes a mere catch-word. The existence of a powerful black-market with the full support of the Government is the cause of all the hardships of the people arising out of the present artificial food scarcity.

Now, the employment policy of the Government is generating additional unemployment. That is another magic that is taking place in the country. According to official estimate, the backlog of unemployment by the end of Third Plan reached 9 to 10 million. After the completion, it would further go up by 4 to 5 million taking the figure of backlog of unemployment to 14 to 15 million. These figures do not take into consideration the partial unemployment which would make the picture more depressing.

The Government, however, do not appear to have been worried about this serious problem. They have given full reign to all labour-saving devices which are reducing the employment potential in the industry. The rationalisation and modernisation measures have further reduced job opportunities and the introduction of electronic computers have threatened job security of thousands of clerical staff in petroleum industry as well as the Life Insurance Corporation. The labour-saving devices in L.I.C. have virtually stopped all the new recruitment and the introduction of electronic computers is likely to play havoc with the lives of thousands of employees. Last time when the question of introduction of electronic computers and the question of compulsory retrenchment by the foreign oil companies was raised in this House, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, "That is all wrong. It should not be done. But what can we do? The power is with the State Governments as far as these things are concerned." All right. What did the State Governments do? The recent instance is of West Bengal. In West Bengal, what has happened is this. During Puja holidays, the Caltex management—I think, the friends on the other side must seriously consider this—when the employees were enjoying the Puja holidays at home, sent notice to the Manager, to the Partner's house, and they took the keys from him and the responsible officers of the company went inside the office in the night and

took away typewriters, files and other office property of the company and emptied the entire building. After the Puja holidays when the staff came inside, they found that there was no work. Then the Management says, "you are surplus, there is no work for you here". This is the real position that has taken place. Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that the State Government would take it up. The State Deputy Labour Commissioner took it up and the date was fixed as 17th for a meeting between the labour, the Government and the Management; and there was a specific understanding that during the negotiations the *status quo* would be maintained. The Management wanted time; they wanted it to be postponed from 17th to 20th and immediately after the 20th, when Puja holidays started, they violated and defied even the assurance and emptied the office. I want to know why this was happening; violation of the assurance given to this Government was taking place and it was being done by the foreign oil companies. What was the State Government doing? The State Government protected the interests of the foreign oil company; the State Government sent the Police to protect the officers, to help them to empty it. The clear position as far as this thing is concerned is that the Government is abetting this violation by the foreign oil companies.

When in the last session during half-an-hour discussion I said that I was suspecting that there was a secret deal between this Government and the foreign oil companies because the foreign oil companies come under American control, the Minister got damn wild, he got angry and said, 'no'. I want an explanation for this: how is it that the West Bengal Government gave them the Police to implement a thing which was in violation of Government assurance, violation of Government resolution, violation of the Tripartite decision? Unless there is some secret understanding, how will the Government them-

selves be a party to this? I want to know this: That is why our Party charges this Government that on the question of foreign oil companies, they have got a secret deal with the American Government that, as far as the foreign oil companies are concerned, their activities will not be interfered with by this Government.

The callousness of the Government was seen in its utter disregard towards the sufferings of the people. The Government have given step-motherly treatment to its own employees. The same is the position with regard to Central Government employees also: a meagre increase in dearness allowance has been given and now to destroy their trade union movement, all sorts of whitley councils are being thought of. The Central Government employees and the State Government employees will definitely face the situation with the unity, the strength and the determination that they have.

The students' movement has erupted like a volcano in various parts of the country which, according to me, is a new sign of awakening of the student masses.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** हँ, हँ ।  
Burning of property is also a new sign of awakening?

**Shri Umanath:** There is no question of saying हँ, हँ ।

I say it is a students' movement; they are united among themselves.

To condemn their agitation by calling it violence is just to shut one's eyes to reality. The spontaneous outbursts of thousands of students against the corroding educational system and the wanton repression let loose by the Police authorities have been primarily responsible for all these developments. In U.P. Police entered the University campus, beat up students mercilessly, arrested more than 3000 students, killed in Police firings 13 innocent lives, injured about 1000 persons.

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Girl students also had to bear the brunt of Police atrocities. Even a Principal of a College in Kanpur died on the spot in a teargas firing. Such Hitlerite attacks on students have only added to their bitterness and determination to fight the Government with all their might. The Police brutalities in Madhya Pradesh, Bengal, Delhi, Kashmir and Andhra have even surpassed the brutalities of the British days.

The Government now wants to take refuge in the name of holding some Opposition parties responsible for it. My Party has also been mentioned by Chief Ministers in this regard. But have the Government done anything to solve the problem? It is their educational policy that is causing frustration among the students, who do not feel secure to get a job after graduation. The misdeeds of the Congress Government have enraged the students, whose parents find it difficult to pay for their educational expenses. What else can these students do? Many higher-ups in the Government have sent their children to U.K. and to other countries. But can an ordinary citizen afford to give adequate high-school education to his child without foregoing other conveniences? This fact is not realised by this Government. I would give you an instance. Mrs. Indira Gandhi last month went to the Allahabad University to address the students. Mrs. Indira Gandhi told the students who had gathered in large numbers, "I am a mother; as a mother, I know what your problems are. You are children." She went on in this way. Then one student got up and made a statement which was very pertinent. He said, "you are a mother; you do realise the difficulties of children and their educational problems, but your children were educated in England. You know the problems of parents whose children are educated in England and not in India in the ordinary institutions. We are unfortunate in having no parents who could send us to the United Kingdom and

America for higher studies. So you know only the problems of students being sent to the United Kingdom and not of students educated in India." That was a very pertinent answer. She got a proper reply which she deserved.

The callousness of the Government policies towards children can be seen in Delhi itself. Lakhs of students in the capital are taking education in tents despite rains and scorching heat. But the Government has no funds to build schools. But side by side when the school children are taking education in the scorching heat in the tents, we find huge Bhawans coming up in Delhi. Naturally even a small kid can understand that this is a most atrocious thing. Even small kids can understand this, "Bhawans for big officers, Bhawans for Ministers, are coming up, but we innocent children who are called the future citizens—all sorts of praises are there—are not cared for." Even kids experience this sort of thing.

In U.P. the Government is not implementing the Union Government's decision regarding the condensed MBBS course and so, the students started an agitation. What action has the Centre taken against the State Governments? The Police pounced upon the students like marauders. Under these circumstances, what else can the students do except resisting the attack on them? Therefore, the recent conferences of Police officials and Vice-Chancellors were only some attempts to whitewash the guilt of the Government.

The plight of primary, secondary and university teachers is at its worst limits. The refusal of the Government to pay them a decent salary has compelled them to come on the streets. In Punjab, engineers had to go on strike for a decent salary. The developments in Andhra Pradesh are really disturbing. The military has been called in day before yesterday. The Navy was also used subsequently. One should not be surprised if the third wing of the military—the Air

Force—is also called for to suppress the people's movement. Thus, a full-fledged war is being launched against the people, not to defend this country, but to defeat the rights and the living standards of the working people of this country.

The Congress Party is attacking the very roots of the unity of India by its policies of helping the big business. The industrial development is limited to certain regions while other areas have been deliberately kept backward. This is also causing discontent among the people and one section is pitted against the other.

The Government is going to make, after so much of agitation and loss of lives, a statement on the Steel Plant as far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, as far as Visakhapatnam is concerned. I would like the Government to take a cue from this at least now. While they make the statement, let them make their position clear with regard to the steel plant in Salem, the steel plant in Mysore because these three sites were put up as places where there are so many prospects and opportunities for establishing steel plants. Now the Government should not wait for the Madras people coming out into the streets and starting demonstrations, then the Police shooting them down, then the students and workers coming out and organizing *bandhs* and then Mr. Nanda saying that *bandhs* and that sort of thing should stop. Let the Government take a lesson from this and make their decision clear on Salem steel plant and on the steel plant that they propose to establish in Mysore. Then we can understand that on this small point, the Government have taken some lesson.

The refusal of the Government to reorganize the provinces on linguistic basis has caused innumerable disputes between States. Various border disputes are being incited by Congressmen themselves on either side of the border. We had said during reorga-

nization itself that as far as the border disputes were concerned, village must be taken as the unit and the village must go to that State to which the majority of the linguistic group belongs. Government have refused to take up that position. What do we see now? If that were accepted, these troubles would not have been there. Because that was not accepted, again and again these disputes are erupting. Sometimes Congressmen themselves in various States are inciting their own people against the other States and various quarrels are taking place.

In conclusion, I would like to say that it is the policies of this Government which are responsible for this kind of situation. It is no use accusing the Communist Party and other Opposition Parties and saying that they are responsible for it. It is no use doing so; that is not going to pay. One Congress Member pointed out yesterday, that all these difficulties were there because from 1962 there was border war, this, that and the other. But I would like to point out that in the Mid-term Appraisal of the Plan itself, Government have admitted that the economy started going down from 1961 and not 1962. So, this degeneration or this deterioration or this landslide in the economy started in 1961 itself when there was no border war with China, when there was no Indo-Pakistan war. After these border disputes arose, it got accentuated. If my hon. friends want, let them say that it accentuated at that time; but let them not say that it started with them. Let them not try to cover up their own bankruptcy, the bankruptcy of their policies by saying all these things. Let them accept what they have accepted on the floor of the House already that this degeneration started from 1961 itself. The people have started seeing in and the people have started hitting back, and the people, including the police force, have already started expressing their no-confidence in this Government, and

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ultimately in 1967, at the polls also definitely that no-confidence will be reflected.

**Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi):** May we know at what time the Prime Minister is replying?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** On Monday. Now, Shri S. K. Patil.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मेरा प्वाइंट आफ ऑर्डर है। मेरा प्वाइंट आफ ऑर्डर भाषणों के क्रम के बारे में, ऑर्डर आफ स्पेचिज के बारे में है। मैं आपका ध्यान नियम 350 की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ—

“350. When a Member rises to speak, his name shall be called by the Speaker. If more members than one rise at the same time, the member whose name is so called, shall be entitled to speak....”

अब 358 (1) देखिये—

“Order of speeches and right of reply:

358 (1) After the Member who moves a motion, has spoken, other members may speak to the motion in such order as the Speaker may call upon them. If any member who is so called upon does not speak, he shall not be entitled, except with the permission of the Speaker, to speak to the motion at any later stage of the debate.”

अब आप 389 देखिये—

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** It is becoming a High Court practically.

**Shri Sheo Narain:** You have called the hon. Minister already. How can he speak now?

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अभी बतलाता हूँ—

“389. 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.”

अब अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन नियमों का पालन करने के लिये यहां कुछ परम्पराओं और अध्यक्षीय निर्णय हो चुके हैं। जब कभी साधारण बहस होती है....

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : नियम का पालन करना आपकी ड्यूटी है।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मैं उसी का पालन करवा रहा हूँ। इन नियमों को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये अध्यक्ष द्वारा कुछ निर्णय लिये गये और कुछ परम्परायें बनाईं। परम्परा तथा अध्यक्षीय निर्णय भी यही है कि जब कभी साधारण बहस होती है तो कई लोग खड़े हो जाते हैं। लेकिन आपके पास जो लिस्टें आती हैं, उन में कांग्रेस पार्टी की लिस्ट चीफ विहप द्वारा आती है, उसी तरह.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not recognise any lists.

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी बात सुन लीजिये, बाद में कहिये कि रिकगनाइज करते....

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** We should know what the point of order is. The hon. Member is making a long speech. After all, this is the nation's time.

**Shri Sheo Narain:** What is the point of order?

**श्री मधु लिमये :** यही तो मैं बतला रहा हूँ, हल्ला क्यों कर रहे हो?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Let him point out what rule has been infringed? What is the rule that has been infringed?

**श्री मधु लिमये :** इन नियमों का पालन करने के लिये यहां परम्परा और अध्यक्षीय निर्णय हैं। मैं नियमों के खिन्ताफ नहीं बोल रहा हूँ, नियमों का पालन करने के लिये बोल रहा



हूँ। परम्परा और निर्णय यही है कि गुप-नेताओं द्वारा जो नाम दिष्टे जाते हैं, उन को आप बुनाते हैं, यही आज तक की परम्परा रही है, आज मूलको क्यों मना किया जा रहा है। क्या मेरी जवान को बन्द करने के लिये इन नोंगों ने कोई उद्यन्त्र बनाया है, इतना डर क्यों है? जब मेरे दल के नेता न लिख कर कल भेजा है कि अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव पर मधु लिमये बोलेंगे तो क्या उनके पत्र का प्रनादर किया जायगा...

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** What is the point of order in this?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I hold that there is no point of order. I do not recognise any lists. The hon. Member's party was given 24 minutes. Shri Yashpal Singh belonging to his party has already taken 23 minutes. There is no time now, and I cannot give the hon. Member any chance.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** मेरी पार्टी को एक मिनट भी नहीं दिया गया है। हमारे नेता मणिराम वागड़ा ने आपको लिख कर भेजा था कि मैं बोलूंगा, त्रैयम्बक ने कहा था कि आप को, रंगा साहब के बाद बुलाऊंगा लेकिन आज बोलने के लिये आपने मेरे ऊपर पाबन्दी लगाई है।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Shri Madhu Limaye may please sit down. I have given my ruling already. I shall not give him any chance. Now, Shri S. K. Patil.

**Shri Manoharan (Madras South):** You have called upon Shri S. K. Patil to speak. I do not know how many minutes he would take. As. 3.30 p.m. private Members' business has to start. That means that practically there will be no other Member from the Opposition who will be called upon to speak.

**The Minister of Railways (Shri S. K. Patil):** The time which I am taking is within the time allotted for my party.

My hon. friend has already swallowed some five minutes of my time just as he swallows the time of the House time and again.

This motion of no-confidence is a parliamentary exercise recognised everywhere whereby the Opposition can give vent to their feelings and point out the acts of commission and omission of Government. I have no quarrel with that. I have not got up here simply because the Government and some Ministries have been attacked. My Ministry has rather escaped that attack; I do not know why. I like attacks because that gives me an opportunity of knowing what the hon. Members think.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy:** But he is attacked all round the country.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** That is all right.

I have got up because I want to draw the attention of the house to two or three very salient features in regard to what is happening in the country today. I have spent 30 years of my life in legislatures, nearly 20 years here and 10 in the State legislature. I have seen Opposition everywhere. I have grown with the Government and I have grown with the Oppositions. I have been in the Opposition myself, and I have had to do the duty of the Opposition when I am there. Therefore, I have no quarrel with the Opposition.

A responsible Opposition is a very necessary thing and is a healthy feature of a parliamentary democracy. So, in many responsible Parliaments you will find that not only is Opposition recognised, but the Leader of the Opposition is well paid, and next to that of the Prime Minister, his dignity is being upheld and recognised. Therefore, I have no quarrel with that. It is not merely to score a debating point that I have stood here. But what is at stake today? As you see round the country, it is not the Government and it is not the Opposition; We may remain somewhere hanging. If the things that are happening in the country today are allowed to go on in that fashion

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and if they are not checked, I do not know what is going to happen to our democracy. It is a genuine feeling of almost desperation that many of us have been feeling. What is happening in the country today is not a feature which is there because something has gone wrong with the Congress or something has gone right with the Opposition. It is something which has come because there is some master-mind behind it. Unless that mastermind is recognised and checked in time, surely there is danger to this democracy.

**Shri Tyagi:** The matter-mind is outside.

**An hon. Member:** It is paying havoc.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** Democracy is no trial. Heavy pressures of a very vicious variety are being built up about it, and we are coming to a stage when possibly if we do not take time by the forelock there is possibility of this democracy being totally destroyed.

15.00 hrs.

Democracy to us is not just something which is only an article of our Constitution because it has been enshrined in our Constitution. We have given it to ourselves, we have pledged ourselves to it and our desire is that we shall make it the way of life of millions of our countrymen. In the context of that, when we judge what is happening today and judge the conduct of the Government and of the Opposition, then sometimes harsh and bitter things have to be said, not because one likes to indulge in these harsh things, but because they have got to be said because they are happening today.

Take, for instance, these *bandhs*. Many people referred to these *bandhs*, *ghera dalos* etc. My hon. friend who spoke last, represents perhaps the leftist element in the Communist Party, the Left Communist Party. I am very glad indeed that they have also got now right and left; therefore, makes a balanced kind of things. It

has not only the right, but it has got the left also—and something can be added on by the DMK and the other people to add a little spice and make it more interesting! He was eulogising the *bandhs* and saying that they are 'our national determination'—so that the nation can be destroyed as quickly as possible'. I cannot understand where is the national determination in those *bandhs*. I can understand it if these *bandhs* were really so peaceful, if work was not stopped, if productivity was not stopped, if indiscipline was not created. I can give full marks to the Left Communists for this that they organised something in Kerala when the AICC was meeting. It was really a nuisance, no doubt; for hours together, no work could be done. But it was so peaceful, it was so nice that I thought if they could really bring this kind of thing from Kerala, it would be good. They have brought many bad things from Kerala. But one good thing is that they organised this *bandh* in a peaceful manner, in a disciplined manner, although it took much time etc—that is a different matter.

But here what is happening in the country today? These *bandhs* are organised on flimsy grounds, not once, twice, but everyday almost. Today it is *ghera dalo*, tomorrow it is *bandh*; day after tomorrow, they may coin a new expression—because a new expression can be coined to describe the students agitation. Many things are happening, thereby destroying not only the morale of the country but destroying even the productive capacity of the country, making it impossible even for foodgrains to move, leave alone other things.

You are talking of starvation. Who is bringing about starvation? Today, apart from whatever Government have done—to which I shall come presently—by this process you are doing something such as a result of which it is impossible for any Government to function without wielding the authority of Government. The

time has come when Government has to wield that authority. No Government worth its name can function in such circumstances if it does not have the *rajdand* in its hands, not merely has it but keeps it and wields it. The time has come when it has not only to be kept but has to be wielded, no matter how it acts or reacts on other people. That time has come. This is the answer to the *bandhs* that are happening everywhere in the country.

What is happening in Andhra today? Nobody can be a greater friend of Andhra than myself. Every Andhraite will admit that I have been with them, I have lived with them, I have worked with them. I have got all sympathy for their aspirations. But may I ask them in all humility, people here and outside, whether they are in Government or outside, whether the question where the steel plant is to be located is to be decided by the students of this country? This is a thing I have never heard anywhere, in all mankind's written history, all mankind's administration, wherever that administration exists. Tomorrow the students will decide where the other plants should be located, what is to be done, what is not to be done. Then they will naturally constitute themselves into a Government and there will be no need for this Government at all!

**Shri Kolla Venkaiah (Tenali):** The Government had failed there...

**Shri S. K. Patil:** I have heard you. Please let me go on. Have some patience. If what I am saying hurts, let it. After all, it will not be permanent and you will be the better for it.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Barh):** They are also minors.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** The students are very pliable and emotional. I can understand students. We were students ourselves. When Mahatma Gandhi gave a call in 1920 that all students who wished to come out—not that every student should—should come out, leave their educa-

tional institutions and join the freedom movement, right or wrong, we were emotionally so much touched that we all jumped into the fray. Right or wrong, is a different matter. But the emotionalism of students is something which is natural. But it must also be understood that it is something sacred. It is not to be treated with the contempt with which some of the Opposition speakers have treated it, as if it is the birthright of students to do it because there is something happening.

I can understand that there are certain things which the students feel uneasy about, because in their academic life etc. there are some troubles and grievances. At the time of independence, there were not more than 25-26 million students in this country. Today we have more than 60 million. Although their number has more than doubled, all the facilities that are necessary have not equally increased. Therefore, you find that there are sometimes no school buildings; perhaps hostel accommodation is not good, perhaps the food is not good, perhaps there is no personal touch between the teacher and the taught as there should be. If you have large classes in colleges with 150—200 students in each, there is no liaison between the teacher and the taught. In other countries, in America and Europe, you will find that apart from the lectures that are given there, every student has got a tutor, one of the professors who is his private advisor. He is called educational guide. If any student has any grievance, he is always approachable and he can go to him. Therefore, there is always that teacher-taught relationship. That ensures that such things do not develop there. For the lack of this and for other reasons, all these things are happening here. Students may have their academic difficulties. But these have got to be settled in an academic atmosphere and academic manner. Even Government while dealing with them must not use any political pressure. If Vice-Chancellors

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are appointed for political reasons, I will condemn that action, even if it is done by my Government. It is wrong to appoint Vice-Chancellors for any reason other than their academic qualifications, experience etc. If you find any particular case where there has been an omission or lapse where our Government did not observe this criterion, I can understand your bringing it to notice. I can understand it. But surely, I cannot understand this, that because of these things, the students have got the liberty to do anything they like, to leave their classes, damage property, destroy everything, burn buses and so on. In Andhra, as many as 15 railway stations have been burnt. Perhaps the property destroyed might amount to crores and crores of rupees....

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak:** And how many lives have you killed? (*Interruptions*).

**Several hon. Members:** Sit down... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri S. K. Patil:** Perhaps twenty times more you have killed. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak:** As Railway Minister, how many lives have you killed? (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Please sit down.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** It is these people who are responsible for these lives that have been lost (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Bade:** Can be say that it is the hon. Member who is responsible for the lives that have been lost?

**Shri Kishan Pattnayak:** Is he the Railway Minister or I am the Railway Minister?

**Shri S. K. Patil:** If they use their influence in this manner, what do you expect to be done?

Therefore, I am merely saying that we must have restraint. Not only the Opposition but even the Government must have restraint. What is the dif-

ference between the Opposition in other countries and the Opposition here? I know there are very many good parties here who are a nice Opposition because we have lived with them for many years. We have functioned as Opposition ourselves. There has been Opposition everywhere. But unfortunately, the Opposition in this country—they are not to be blamed for this; it is a historical circumstance which is responsible for it—consists of only splinter groups. Out of a strength in Parliament of 500, they constitute 125 and they are made up of 10—20 parties. Therefore, all these splinter groups have nothing in common. I do not blame them. They do not have anything in common except hatred of Government. That is number one. But when they come together, we find that they dissipate much quicker than they come together because there is nothing common among them except hatred and dislike of the Government.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** How many parties are there inside the Congress? There is the Sanjiva Reddy Congress, this Congress and that Congress (*Interruptions*).

I do not blame the opposition as a whole. There are quite a few parties who conduct themselves as a proper opposition. In other countries, in any democratic country anywhere in the world where there is 40 or 45 per cent in the opposition, what happens today? See their behaviour there and see their behaviour here. I shall take two illustrations in order to tell you what a responsible opposition does in a country and how it strengthens both the Government and opposition.

In the United Kingdom today the great controversy is about what is happening in Southern Rhodesia. It is a problem which is so burning that even you and I are heated. There are controversies in the papers there, but have you seen any time the opposition there stopping the business of the House of Commons simply because they agree or disagree on that particular thing? Why do they not do that?

While they have got a chance of blaming the Government, while they have a chance to pull down the Government also because the minority is not so insignificant, they know very well that if they form the Government tomorrow, they will have to deliver the goods, and therefore they do not behave in an irresponsible fashion, in the fashion in which the opposition is behaving here because they have not to deliver any goods at all.

Take the United States. South Vietnam is a world question. Everybody is really heated over it. We also pay more attention to it than our own problems. While there are such equally matched parties in the Congress of the United States and they have their divergence of opinion, not that they all agree, you never find the Republicans who are in a minority today behaving in an irresponsible manner, because they know very well that if they pull down President Johnson or the Democratic Government today and are elected tomorrow, they will have to deal with this question, and there is no way of dealing with it perhaps except the way in which the other people are doing it. (*Interruptions*) The hon. Member would understand that when he comes nearer that day he will not behave in the fashion in which he is behaving today. Today he is far from that day, he knows nobody is asking him to deliver any goods, he knows that many of them do not know whether they themselves will be here in this House or not.

In a situation of such a kind where all defeatism prevails, they want to take time by the forelock and make the best of the little opportunity they have got, so that they will go down in history as persons who successfully obstructed the business of the House. I do not know what that kind of opposition means.

It is not merely for saying it that I am saying it. It pains my heart when I see the opposition behaving like this. Shri Ranga was speaking today. There is Mr. Mukerjee for

whom I have got the greatest respect. They may be in the opposition, anywhere, in heaven or hell; even if they are in hell I would like to be with them because their company is so congenial, so nice. They behave in the manner in which the opposition should behave because they know very well that if they have to take this responsibility of running the Government, they cannot do it by *bandhs* and *ghera dalos* and student agitations. They have also to check these things in order to see that discipline is maintained. Therefore, a responsible opposition is a healthy feature of a parliamentary democracy. The more responsible the opposition becomes, the more votes it gets.

Do you mean to say that these *bandhs* etc., create a good feeling for you? I come from Bombay and I tell you what feeling it has created there. One *bandh* and all *bandhs* are *bandh* hereafter, because if this insensate kind of *bandh* is indulged in again, the ordinary people will go with *lathis* and beat these people, the police will not be required. Surely they do not want their life to be disrupted in this manner.

Do not fish in troubled waters. You may think you get an advantage; temporarily you may seek to get an advantage, but ultimately there is no advantage in that position.

I want to say one or two words more about Andhra. This particular steel plant, apart from any Government statement, has a long history. You might remember that the then Minister in charge, he is not in charge of it now, I am referring to Shri Sanjiva Reddy, actually came to some decision, and in this House questions were asked umpteen times. They knew it very well that when the plant comes, it will come there. It will come to other places like Hospet and Salem also wherever it is possible, not to any place where there is no iron ore because some of them expect it to be there also. There were other methods for it, surely even now there are other

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methods open, but can Government surrender to this kind of thing, to anybody holding out a bayonet or a pistol and saying, "We are going to lie on the railway track until you give the steel plant"? All Government will come to a standstill if that position is accepted. Therefore, it is not that there is no sympathy on the part of the Government, it is not because a man like me who has worked in Andhra for the last 10 or 15 years has no sympathy. I feel that Andhra should prosper, they should have their industrial potential developed in the manner they want, but surely the method for doing that is not this.

I am glad now that the fast has been given up. I expect better sense will prevail.

So far as the railways are concerned, I do not know what I shall do. For the last four or five days no train has been moving there. I do not know in what state the track is. If 15 stations are burnt I do not know whether I have got the money to raise those 15 stations. Possibly I shall have to do without the stations, the trains will have to stop there in the open. I am telling of the possibility because where is this money to come from? Why should the rest of India and everybody suffer for this kind of indiscretion which some people have indulged in? But I do not want to go into the future. I only hope and pray that the situation will come to normal much sooner than we expect and that there will be no trouble at all.

I now come to the food situation. I had the fortune or misfortune of being Food Minister for four years. When my hon. friend, Shrimati Renu Chakravartty, came to that part of her speech, she said that that Minister, Mr. Patil was saying that food was in plenty, that the granaries were full. She was demonstrating; therefore, if I do not imitate her a little, you cannot understand the whole import of what she was doing. She asked: where are

those granaries, what has happened to them. I have umteen times told this House that there were two reasons if I was possibly exaggerating. It was necessary to create and retain confidence in the country. The food situation does not mean the quantity of food you have got, but confidence in everybody, confidence in the producer that he will get enough price, confidence in the consumers that they will get the food that they want, confidence in the traders that they will also be treated well. All these things were necessary. Therefore, sometimes a little exaggeration was necessary. She asked where is the food. I want to tell her for the first and last time— it is not because I want to find fault with the food policy of today, I am hundred per cent with that policy— that when I left, there were 2½ million tons of foodgrains in my granary, the buffer stock was being systematically built, and that was the buffer stock when I left. Who has eaten it up? The misfortunes of India. It is not because Mr. Subramaniam has eaten it up. It is not because the population has gone up, that might account for a small part. We have two consecutive bad years the like of which we have not had in the last hundred years. I do not know why this accumulated misfortune was reserved for us by destiny. I am appealing to the opposition that in the matter of food, as in the matter of students and in the matter of discipline, there is no Government and no opposition separately, there is one Government and opposition combined, in order to see that the national character is maintained, national discipline is maintained.

These are extremely bad years. At least last year we had a cushion because we had a bumper crop the year before that, but we have not that cushion now. We had 12 million tons from America. Now America may not have, they themselves have not got surplus. Many people here always cavil at it; if food comes from America, it is very bad, America must not

be there. Shri Umanath said that America had done this, had done that, but what could I do. I really wanted to have some food from the USSR also. They are in a position now. So, when anything comes, at least that mouth is closed; others might talk but the closed mouths will not talk. In this matter of food, we are equally friendly with everybody. We are a non-aligned country and therefore, if food was available elsewhere, I would take that also. But surely to say that because America had the food and could give it, we should criticise them after having taken it and say we should not have had it—that is wrong. A sarcastic reference was made to the tripartite conference. I am quite sure that the Prime Minister when she replies will effectively reply to that. People forget that we are not just one of the 150 countries. Not because we have a population of 500 million do we get our importance. We are important because of historical events. We should not forget that after India became independent in 1947, as many as fifty countries have become independent. India is today in the position of a big brother. Not that we want any leadership. Our late Prime Minister Pandit Nehru has said umpteen times that we are pursuing this policy not because we want any leadership for India. This big brotherhood has come to India because of historical reasons and consequences. Therefore, we have to take it. It was he who built up the spirit of non-alignment who made it a doctrine which is so strong today in the world. It was he who showed that it was not a negative doctrine but a positive doctrine. It is because of that one could go as a bridge between the two blocs and sometimes it is possible to bridge them and unite them together. Often times India's services have not only been eulogised but actively used by both blocs. Take, for instance, Korea; and tomorrow in Viet-Nam, if it is possible for us to do so. Therefore, we have inherited these things; we could not simply run away from that responsibility. These three are friends—

our Prime Minister, Marshal Tito and President Nasser. They have been our friends not in the past one year but for the last so many years. They met often separately. Jawaharlal Nehru met them; Lal Bahadur Shastri met them and our Prime Minister also met them. We are keeping that spirit of non-alignment. We are in the midst of our difficulties but our difficulties do not preclude us from doing every thing in our power to see that the spirit of non-alignment is kept alive and we will work for that.

This brings me to one or two remarks Prof. Ranga made. He said that my services had been requisitioned because something was wrong with the debate. Nothing was wrong with the debate; it was as dead as mutton or I do not know what is the expression; I have not stood up for that. I have stood up for different reasons. I think it is necessary to create a proper atmosphere of discipline in this country. If discipline is not there, can anything be done, can we have peaceful elections which we hope to hold in the next three months. Prof. Ranga said that these *bandhs* are there because the masses respond to them. Do you know how I respond? I responded to it because I did not want my car to be stoned and if I do not go that side because I do not want my car to be stoned, I have responded to it; I have cooperated with the *bandh*. People close their shops because they do not want their shops to be looted. You call it a response. Police do not fire because these masterminds behind the *bandh* want firing and want people to die so that they can live on the dead, but they themselves do not want to die and they are nowhere within ten miles of that area. You call all these things response. Surely, it is not response. Shri Ranga referred to the Osmania University and the popular Vice Chancellor. I agree sometimes with him. But even if there is anything which is right, should the students go and do all the destruction of work because the Vice Chancellor has

[Shri S. K. Patil]

to be retained? There are methods and methods. If the students also demonstrate in a peaceful manner, nobody is against it. Then, right from Shri Rajagopalachari to Acharya Ranga, everybody in that party has got a slogan; I do not understand in which democracy governments have disappeared because of elections. Our Constitution makes the election commission an independent machinery. No Prime Minister, no Government can do anything with that machinery. Even then, they say things which are not done anywhere else. Is it so in America or in England or anywhere else in the world? As it is not done here, they say: you have become a bad party. A party of 375 has become a bad party in the opinion of a party of 20 members. I am talking not merely about the numbers. Their sanity and wisdom may be equal perhaps to the sanity and wisdom of the 375 members or it may be even more. But I am asking: is that demand a justified, natural demand? Is that demand made in any democracy? We do not have any special advantage in the elections. Mr. Dandekar for whom I have great admiration is here. He saw to it that he came here; there was an independent machinery. But for that independent machinery he would not have been here. It is a compliment to that independent machinery and to the courts of law; he could fight his way and come here. The call that the Government should go out of office simply because elections are coming is a novel call. Supposing we were in the Opposition, shall we ask them to do so? Sometimes people do not like us because of our fifteen years of continuous life and are hoping to dislodge us because we have been long in power. We also do not like to put the same dress for 15 or 20 years. But to whom shall we surrender? Shall we surrender to the communists? To whom, to the right or to the left communists? Therefore, I say: grow up in stature, grow up in numbers, be responsible opposition as some of you are responsible. If we alternate with a

democratic party, it will be the best thing for the Congress also because this inferiority complex will disappear in them and we will also come again with new blood and much refreshed having got rid of all the impurities that are here. Therefore, that call has no meaning. Sir, I have taken much time and at 3.30 you will take up other business. May I now appeal, in the name of democracy which is dear to them as it is dear to me? In my speech I have never indicated that I am the only champion of democracy. You are equal champions of democracy. Yesterday, Acharya Kripalani said that eternal vigilance was the price of liberty. You have got to pay and we have got to pay that price; we have not paid it. The time has come that the price has got to be paid. Let us unite, the Opposition and ourselves in paying that price in a manner that both the Government and the Opposition become responsible to their tasks so that the country lives forever with dignity and honour.

Shri Swell (Assam-Autonomous districts) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I must say at the outset that I decided to participate in this discussion with a little anguish in my heart. I think that Mr. S. K. Patil with all the braggadocio that he indulged in has spoken one central truth that it is not enough to ask this Government to go out of power. I am an independent Member of this House as you know and I try to look at things independently and to understand and assess the situation in the country in its proper perspective. I would have been very happy if we had reached that stage when we can say that if a particular Government goes out of power, an alternative Government, a better Government would have taken its place. And in that context when I look round at the other side of the picture, I find it an unfortunate thing, that we have to put up with the present state of affairs for sometime. Honestly, I say that the alternative to the present Government with all its failings is utter chaos in this country.



**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He may continue on the next day. The House will now take up Private Members' Business.

15.31 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

NINETY-SIXTH REPORT

**Shri Shree Narayan Das** (Darbhanga): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Ninety-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 2nd November, 1966."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Ninety-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 2nd November, 1966."

*The motion was adopted.*

15.32 hrs.

NATIONAL BOARD OF POST-GRADUATE MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS BILL\*

**Dr. Chandrabhan Singh** (Bilaspur): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution of a National Board of Examinations for conducting post-Graduate medical examinations on an all-India basis.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution of a National Board of Examinations for conducting post-Graduate medical examinations on an all-India basis."

*The motion was adopted.*

(Amdt.) Bill

**Dr. Chandrabhan Singh:** I introduce the Bill.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Yashpal Singh—not present.

15.34 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL—contd.

(Amendment of Eighth Schedule) by Shri U. M. Trivedi.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri U. M. Trivedi on the 26th August, 1966:—

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, be taken into consideration."

**Shri P. K. Deo** (Kalahandi): How many hours?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** 38 minutes are left out of one hour allotted to this Bill.

15.35 hrs.

[SHRI P. K. DEO in the Chair]

**Shri U. M. Trivedi** (Mandsaur): Sir, I gave notice for the introduction of this Bill on the 22nd May, 1962, and the Bill was introduced in the House on the 22nd June, 1962. It has now taken all these four and a half years before the Bill could come up for consideration. I am very much obliged to Shri Kamath, for, on the last occasion, when the Private Members' Bills were being discussed, he was kind enough to leave just two minutes to me so that I might get the opportunity of moving the motion for the consideration of the Bill.

**Mr. Chairman:** How long will the hon. Member take?

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