च्यवस्था बाहते हैं कि हमारे जसे सदस्पों के प्रति भाप का क्या ब्यवहार रहेगा। जो सद्य बार-बार बह़े हो जाते है. उन को घाप श्रबसर दे देते हैं।

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): He is living to say something about the other Members, that they are atanding up all the time and so on . . . (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: I have called on Mr. Masani to move his motion.

### 12.36 mms.

## MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

## $17^{2}$

Shri M. K. Masani (Rajkot): Mr. Speaker. Sir, I beg to move:

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

It kivey me no plet:ure to perform this task. The hon. Leader of the House and I have known each other for more/than thirty years now; we $1 /$ have worked together and we have been good friends and I have received nothing but courtesy and friendiness from him. I think he knows that 1 hold him in great regard.

All the same, when a harsh duty/y/2 thas to be performed in the interest of our country, that is a duty that has to be faced. Last year when the new Prime Minister took over and the new Government was formed, we held our tire and we reserved judgment because we felt that the new Government and the new Prime Minister were entifled to seme consideration. some time in which they could show what they wished to do and what they were capable of doirg. Certain encouraging things were said that made us/hope(1) tha: new paths would be chosen and new directions found. I must confess that in the twelve months that have
passed, we have been bitterly disappointed. It seems that the encouraging sentiments to which the Prime Minister had given expression, and still/gives, expression somehow tail to become the policy of the Government.

Now, Sir, the scope of the motion is wide; it covers both the international and the domestic scene. However, we have limitations of time. Since there is another day set apart for/international affairs and we have spent the first two or three days of this session on that subject, I shall after a very brief reference to internationa; affairs, concentrate on what I think is of supreme concern, that is, the home front.

In fo far as the international scenc is concerned the developments in Kashmir in the jast few days have two new lessons to teach us. One is that we must resign ourselves in the near future to having to face the combined hostility of Communist China and our neighboufs in Pakistan. This unfortunate fact, which we cannot ignore any more, lead to the conclusion that we may have to face their attacks on our territory in case they combine. It is perfectly clear that no country, least/of all we, as we are placed, can possibly be sure of defending ourselves and every inch of our territory if we do so alone. Therefore, these developments streis the need once again that we should find friends and allies on whom we/ $y_{2} \operatorname{can}_{n}$ count. The present Government's foreign policy has left us alone and isolated. Today, there is not one dependable friend and ally to whom we could turn for a common defence, who would come to our assistance $\frac{1}{2}$ without any reservation. The growing cynicism/about and unpopularity 3/ of Pakistan in Western democratic circles given this country an opportunity which it will waste at its peril. Another thing that emerges ${ }_{s}$ from thes ${ }_{c}$ deve'opments in Kashmir is that in not all circumstances, particularly not when inflitration and subversion take/ place, can defence be limited to one's own territory. Self-defence in certaln
nature involves retaliation. We have read this morning the Prime Minister's interview with the New York Time's correspondent where he said that if Pakistan continues her/aggression, India would not limit herself to defensive action on her own territory but would strike across the frontier. Certain action of that nature has already been taken. In the light of that, how unfortunate and deplorable have been the statements of our/Prime Mini ter and our Government, when the V etnamese Government and veople and their American allies found it necessary, in even worse ctrcumstances, to resort to similar steps across their frontier. These statements have boomeranged against our own national interests? Instead of helping those people, encouraging thase people by sending a token force to Vietnam, to stand for the defence and the freedom of that region and our own defence against the Chinese Communist satellites and their infiltrators, we have needled our friends and our allies and helped our enemies and given them warmth and comfort. I hope now at least, after we have learned this le3- ( $L$ son in our own persons we will realise that sometimes it becomes necessary to attack in order to defend one's own territory and one's own person. From now on at least, I hope we shall show greater statemanship and greater forbearance and understanding of others.

But, as I said, the most important thing is the home front. What are $y_{2}$ the basic facts? What are the basic facts of life on the home front today? The per capita income according to a survey recently made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, of something like 350 million of our people in the countryside-their average income-is 68 paise per day, and there are 10 million at the lowest $3 / 4$ level, the most under-privileged of our people, who get an average of 27 paise per day. This is the result of three Five Year Plans and after 15 years of
those in authority. The miseries of our people on the food front have found evidence in the impatience and wrath of our Members here; they found reflection in the unfortunate shooting in Kolhapur and elsewhere that has become necessary hecause desparate peop!e / people who are starving, are forgetting proprieties when they are driven to these extremes. Today, it is established that our food production has been unable to cope with our growth of oupulation and our growing needs. We are very lucky that in the / last two or three days there were rains. But suppose they had not come, suppose that the drought had persisted-even now the damage of the drought has not been all undone-with what confidence, and with what security could our people look/forward to the basic needs of food?

Our currency is thoroughly debauched. In terms of purchasing power at home, the rupee is worth 14 paise of the pre-war rupee. In terms of purchasing power abroad, our rupee which claims (C) to be equivalent of 20 cents of the American dollar, is worth in fact just 10 cents. You cannot get a dollar in the free markets of the world for less than Rs. 8 or Rs. 9. You cannot get a pound in the free markets of the world for less than Rs. 25 or Rs. 26 And. therefore, prices keep rising. Our dependence on foreign aid has gone well beyond what is legitimate. I am a believer in foreign aid. I have talked about it in this House long/before our Government came to recognise its necessity. But there are limits to everything. When foreign aid becomes an addiction, when it becomes a crutch and we hobble like cripples, then it becomes an evil to be resiated and limited.
Our Sterling Balances/that the British left to us-Rs. 1,402 croreshave now, on the 11th June this year, reached the lowest on record Rs. 73 crores. Our foreign indebtedness
grows every year. In February this year, our foreign indebtedness was Rs. 2,192/crores. Our repayment liabi-(7) lities at the end of the Third Plan are likely to be Rs. 650 crores, or one-sixth of our total exports from India for the five years of the Third Plan. And in the proposed Fourth Plan, it is $/$ going $y_{L}$ to be much worse. Our Fourth Plan liabilities are expected to be about Rs. 1,000 crores, which is 28 per cent of the expected export surplus of the next five years! That is what we mea $_{n}$ when $w_{e}$ :ay that the future $/$ of $/ 2$ our people and our country is being mortgaged by those in office today. They have brought us to the brink of benkruptey.

The cause of this mess which has happened is this: it is the entirely wrong economic policies of our Government/We had hoped that, in the $3 / 4$ last twelve months, these policies would change, but it seems that the perver $e$ determination of those in office is taking this country to its doom.

Let me consider first the food policy of this Government, such as it is. $(8)$ Drataseon-Sukhatme An Indian economist on the staff of the FAO, estimates that our needs for the next five years are 100 million tons of additional food to keep pace with our growing populaLion and our need; because the demand for food is/growing at the rate $/$ of four per cent per annum compound. This means that we have to expand our food production not just a little but tremendously. Food production can be only expanded if the inputs of capital into land are increased, and these are very simple: water, seed and fertilisers, to over-simplify a little. Now, it has taken us till now fifteen years after planning started to discover that Mexican wheat suits us best, and so now we are getting seed of Mexican wheat. In the last few months we have at last discovered that Formosar rice suits us best and we are now cultivating seed of Formosan rice. This is the nature of our planning! it
takes fifteen year ${ }_{3}$ to locate the appropriate seed for wheat and/rice-our staple commodities. When rainfall fails, we blame Providence. It is not Providence that is to blame. After seventeen years of Independence, only 20 to 22 per cent of our acreage is irrigated. Is that the fault of Providence? Is it Providence's/fault thet the first three Plans have been so ueglectful of irrigation and agriculture? Similariy, with regard to nitrogen and fertilisers. We have today available 600,000 tons of nitrogen content fertilisers. But needs are three to four time? as large.

We are told fow that in the Fourth Plan, priority is being given to ag:culture. I would like it if that were so, but I find no evidence to support that proposition except vague statements by Ministers.

On the contrary, if you turn to the Memorandum fon the Fourth Plan laid 3 on the Table of the House last session. at page 11 you will find that there is not the slightest sign of any shift in our priorities. We are still obsessed with heavy industry and wc seem prepared/to go ahead.) (Let me give the figures for agriculture. The propoftion of the percentage of outlay on agriculture in terms of the intal outicy of the Fourth Plan and the third Plan. shows that the allotment to agriculture goes up from 13.3 per rent tofthe magniffen proportion of 15.4 per cent: But the funny thing is, having do..e. that. and given something, a miserable pittance with one hand, they take it away with the other! Because tho proportion or the percentage for irrigation goes down from 7.9 per cent ingta the third Pian to 6.4 per cent in the fourth Plan. No doubt it rhows how little we care for drought. The, rfore, the total, as given on the $1!\div$ page of the document, ancus that for agriculture and irrigation/combined, 3) the percentage goes up from 21.2 fer 4 cent to 21.8 per cent. Verily. the moun. tain has brought forth a mouse! An attempt is being made 10 thiaw dust in the eyes of the people, when they say that the Fourth Plan/Rives priority (1
[Shri M. R. Masani] to agriculture; there is noching of the kind. The Fourth Plan is as neglectful of agriculture as ine second und ( third. Like the Bourbons, these people have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Therefore, they are throwing dust in the eyes of the/people. Agriculture will continue to be neglected if the Fourth Plan in its prezent proportion is enacted

Along with production, equitable and effective distribution is also very important. There must be a fair price 10 the peasant, and a fair price to the poor fran the consumer $i_{n}$ the city. $1 / 2$ so far, all these years, the parity of prices has been unfair to the peasant. As Mahatma Gandhi used to say, we in the towns have ridden on the back of the villagers; we will du everything for the villagers, but we won't get off their back! This Government is carrying on the same policy of trying to $t_{1}$ keep the price down for the peasant while allowing other prices to risethe price of things that he has to buy, like kerosene, cloth, iron and steel. For the first time, the peasant gets social justice, to use a word that has been so popular but whinch is never practised. I rejoice. Sir, that the rural population of India se getting 9 fair deal for the first/time, that they are able to feed their children and not starve them for the sake of iny children and yours. It is a good thing that is happening: let the peasant eal a little more. But this Government which trier, to keep prices/down for the pcssant, cannot keep/down the prices of other things, because of its own inflationary policies.

Let us consider what they are doing about prices. Have they got a price policy ${ }^{\text {p }}$ I say ' No'. The minimum prices that are being offerea $10 /$ the peasant are not unfair: . ccncede that. But on the question of maximun. drices, the Agricultural Prices Commission appointed by the Government have themselves come to the unanimous
conclusion in their report, which I hope hon. Members have seen, that there )should be no maximum price for private purchase in any cominodity. Thls is a sound conclusion to which the Commission has come unanımousty. But what is the Government doing? Did they have the courage to accept that decision? No, Sir. They have funked it. What they have done is that they have neither accepied this nor rejected it; they have passed the buck. They have passed ti.e iuck to the State Governments. The; have decided that each State Government may decide whether theic should be maximum prices or not. Then why appoint the Agricultural Prices Commission? Why all this tomfoolery? Why fool the people? If you want your Chief Ministers to act like parochial gangsters to grab things for themselves and ignore the interests of the country as a whole, then say so./ Why have you not guts to have a policy on this question of maximum prices? Why have you passed the buck? I would be glad to have an answer.

Again, zonal barriers are the most pernicious thing. Politically they are bad and anti-national. They/ have 4) divided this country, which was one common market, into a set of principalities where every district magistrate can hold you up to ransom, if not the State Government. Economically, it is bad because it is allowing the States which have a slight surplus/to be selfish at the cost of others.

We talk of profiteering and hoarding. I say that the Congress Governments at the Centre and the States are the biggest hoarder and biggest profiteer in India today. I will give one or two examples. Ma. 1/2dhya/Pradesh sells coarse grains to my State of Maharashtra. They make a margin of proft of 30 to 40 per cent on the coarse grain they buy from the cultivator and sell to us. Should we not call it profiteering?

Lntertuptten). I have very littless/4,
time and I do not yield; the hon. member can reply later.

Similarly, are the Government not behaving like hoarders? My hon. friend says he has collected 3 mi lion tonnes. When prices were rising during the last few weeks and months, when people became/so desperate as/s to face bullets, how much have they released every month and every week during the last few weeks and months? I say, you are hoarding the grain that you have collected. You are sitting on it, because you are playing safe. / I wish this Govern- $1 / 4$ ment would femember their old colleague and my old friend, Shri-trafi Ahmed-Kidwai. In very similar circumstances, that man had the courage to decontrol, to remove the barriers and restrictions. He had Mahatma Gandhi's precept behind him, and he won. That kind of guts/this Govern- $1 / 2$ ment is incapable of showing.

The second big sphere of bad polley is planning and taxation. My friend, Shri-Asoka Mehte, seems to want us to accept the proposition that the bigger the plan, the faster the progress of the country, or the higher the rate/of growth. He thinks we are naive ehough to fall for that kind of simplification. Let us consider the data about what has happened during the last three plans and try to find out if there is any cgrrelation between the size of the plan(6) and the rate of growth of our economy. The First Plan had an investment of Rs. 3,360 crores. The Second Plan doubled it to Rs. 6,831 crores. The Third Plan target was Rs. 10,400 crores and now we are told that the Fourth Plan target will be Rs. 21.500 crores. In other words, the Second Plan was twice the size of the First: the Third Plan three times as big as the First and the Fourth Plan flve times as big as the/First. What has been the resu't in terms of national income?

If the claim is true that the bigger the plan. the faster the progress, I
presume the House will expect that while the progress during the First Plan was modest, the progress during, the Second Plan was faster and dur ing the Third Plan, the national is. come will go up considerably. But here are the Government's flgures: The First Plan had a target of an increase of 12 per cent in national income. The actual increase was 18.4 , per cent-a magnificent overfulflment by 50 per cent. Because it was a small plan and there was an excess rise of 6.4 per cent. By the time the Second Plan, which was a bad one, came into existence, the target 4 of increase in national income was 25 per cent. But the actual increase was only 20 per cent, and there was a shortfall of 5 per cent. Then came the Third Plan, three times as big as the First. What was the result? The target/was 34 per cent increase in national income. But it is estimated that next year, it will be 23 per cent-a shortfall of 11 per cent which the planners themselves expect from this magnificent Third Plapl I don't mind saying that if this pernicious Fourth Plan which they are now p'anning is brought before the country, the shortfall will be nothing less than 50 per cent, because it is an enyirelyUnviable plan.

Let us compare our rate of growth such as it is, with other unplanned, economies in Asia. Leave aside the West; let us confine ourselves to our ) own region. During 1959-62, wf had an average rate of growth of $5 \cdot 8$ per cent. Pakistan had a rate of growth of 6.8 per cent. The Republic of China iri Tajwan had 14.9 per cent; Israel had 16.6 per cent and $1 / 20$ Japan had $16 \cdot 8$ per cent-a'l of them doing without the kind of five vear plans which we enjoy and beneff from in this country!

If these facts and/figures have any moral to teach, it is that the bigger $1 /$ the plan, the slower the growth of the national economy. It means there is an inverse ratio-the bigger the investment in the plan, the slower the rate of the economy; the lesser/the investment in the plan, the faster will

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the economy move. It is not an accident that it is so. It is inherent in the system of planning which we have. Every rupee that we bring within the ambit of the plan is a/rupee diverted from more productive to less productive purposes. Every rupee that is brought within the ambit of the plan is partly wasted. It is not surprising when we know what the rate of return from our State enterprises is. According to the Reserve Bank of India, the average rate of return of State enterprises is 5 per cent on capital invested, but the same figure for private enterprises is 10 per cent. In other words, a rupee invested by people from. their own pockets gets for the country/fwice as much production ss the rupee invested in State enterprises, taking them by and large. Tha: is why the bigger the plan, the slower is the rate of growth, and that is why every rupee brought into these wretched plan is a rupee / diverted from more productive to less productive expenditure.

In 1961-62, 46 government com-panies-with two gubsidiaries were analysed. They had a capital employed of Rs. 1294 crores. a capital which you and I invested. The nett result was a loss of /Rs. $12 \cdot 38$ crores. 1s it, therefore, surprising that this correlation exists that the size of the plan and the rate of growth are in inverse ratio to each other?

The Fourth Plan is the same mixture as before, but bigger. It has the same absurdities, the same wrong priorities, the same criminal neglect of apriculture, communications and transpo ation, which are the infrastructure on which alone industrial development ran be raised. I forecast that if this plan is ever accepted by this House. God forbid the day. this country will go down to rack and ruin without the slightest doubt.

Then, we come to the second budget, the second Finance Blll. which was introduced a few days ago. Naturally, we shall reserve our judgment on that when we discuss it in detail
on another occasion. This Finance Bill introduced last week casts the ugly shadow of the Fourth Plan before it. The Fourth Plan is being projected before us in this ugly Bill. May I point out what disrespect and contempt for this House is involved in this budget? The Finance Minister has the impertinence to tell the House, "I am introducing the budget, so that 1 can prepare resources for the fourth plan". Which plan? Has this House accepted any plan? Has the National Development Council accepted any plan? Has the Government come before us and presented any plan? They themse ves say that the plan is under discussion. Even before the plan is printed and put before us, they have presumed to commit us, without our vote and without our debate, to a plan the size of which we know nothing about till now!

The Finance Minister's budget speech of last February concluded with the assurance that the budget would put the tax structure "on an enduring and rational basis". It has endured exactly six months! That is the nature of the endurance that we may expect from this Government. Now the Finance Minister says: "When I reviewed the economic condition of the country at the time of the budget, there was a fair protnise of our being able to hold the priceline... Unfortunately, the prices have started rising once again with the beginning of the new fiscal year". I must say I enjoyed the word "unfortunately", as if it had nothing to do with his budget! If prices rose, they rose because of that wretched budget. We on this side had forecast that the budget of February. 1965. was an inflationary budget, a budget that was calculated to raise prices. With the same assurance I say to this House that the budget that is nuw being placed before the House is an inflationary budget. Take it from me that. in spite of alt the protestations from across, prices have already risen and will continue to rise so long ac the measure of taxation is what it is in the present budget.

Sir, this Government is caught in e meaningless vicious circle. They first make an absured plan which is beyond their capacity. Then they say, we must find more resources for the plán. So they raise taxes. The moment they raise taxes, there is inflation and a fall in production. Then there is a shortfall, so that they say that there is a shortfall and they want more taxation. This is quackery and charlatanism of the worst kind. These are not people who should be trusted with the goverrment even of a small country, leave aside a great country like India. People who cannot learn from their own failures, people who have not got the humility to say that they have made a mistake, who persist in this perversity, they are utterly unA1 to govern a country of the size of India. Therefore, these shortfall ${ }_{5}$ which have provoked this budget are there because of Shri Krishnamachari's own fault. They are the fault of this Government. They so kill the taxpayer in this country by indirect and direct taxation that Whe poor man has got no rexistance and no resilience left at all.

## 18 mrs.

Sir. I forecast more inflation because these duties that are sought to be cast are going to raise the price of iron and steel and other raw materials like. Fuel, oil which will raise the price of the end product and the poor man will suffer most. Similarly, the rise in the price of diesel and petrol is going to hit road transport which is the poor man's form of transportation in India. Therefore, industrial production and transport are hoth going to be hit very badly ly inis.

The only way to deal with this problem is to increase the national savings. It is only the increase of nationa' savings that can revive the capital market and the national economy. This proposed Second Finance Bill will do exactly the reverue. It will reduce national savings, send up
prices, hit production and finally hit exports which are so valuable to the country. The least the Finance Minister should have done was to reduce both direct and indirect taxation when he brought it to the Second Finance Bill.

Import substitution I will leave to my hon. friend. Shri Dandeker, for lack of time. He will explain how impor: substitution on which the Bill relies, is a complete fallacy. ECAFE has, in a report warned developing countries against relying on the "myopic" remedy of import substitution. You cannot substitute for imports. No country can afford to close its doors and put some barriers to inport. Any country that bars import will soon find that no exports are possible. Therefore, I warn the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister that their desire that we should atop importing and export more is a latal desire. It is impracticable. It cannot be carried out because it is agsinst all laws of human nature and economics. They will defeat the moat powerful Government, not to mention this one.

Sir. every three or four months. Shri Krishnamachari comes with a new budget. This is not the second one. This is the third budget this year because he introduced one about 15 days before the last Budget. The House will remember the import duties that were imposed. For the third time in one year he comes and tinkers with our fiscal structure-and he talks of 'enduring'. Is this country a guinea-pig for sick minds to experiment with? Are we going to allow charlatans of this nature to tinker with our economy every few months and bring it lower and lower?
I am very glad Shri Krishnama. chari has thought of the rehabilitation of Ladakh. I am very glad about it. I suggest that he re-name this Bill as "The Bill for the Economic Rehabilitation of Ladakh and the Economic Ruin of India".

Sir. the only solution is to revamp these false policies. You cannot give them up overnight because any gov-

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ernment would find it difficult to reverse the engines and certainly this Government with which we are blessed is not known for have a sense of direction or having a sense of determination. Therefore, it has been suggested, let us have a couple of years for heart searching and re-thinking. Let us have a pause in this breakneck process in which we are indu!ging of going down the slipery slope. I made this suggestion, if you will recall, in opening the Budget debate in March this year. I invited on my head the ange: of the Planning Commission because, as a Cabinet Minister has described it, they think it is "sacrilege" to question their plans. But I am very glad that I am now in very good company. I find that members of the Government themselves are beginning to share my thought that there should be a pause so that we may take stock of where we are going. I see an interview by Shrl Patil, Railway Minister, in a weckly journal-I am coming to even beiter company in a moment (Interruption). He said:
"How can you call it planning with Rs. 100 crores worth of buildings held up at various stages of construction. Why? Because, we are told, there is no cement. How can you call this planning? Something is radically wrong somewhere."

Shri Patil has put his finger on the spot-He says:
> "What is it? When we criticise like this people should not get angry. The whole nation is in a temper and I say, is this planing?"

But, Sir, if hon. Members here want to have even better authority than the Railway Minister, let me give the authority of someone who has been so closely identified for the last ien years with this very process of planning (Interruption). Sir, the hon. Home Minister visited his constitu-
ency not long ago. I have before me the English translation of his remarks to a meeting in his onstituency. This is what he had to say. I am very glad he has said it. I am very $g$ ad he has a belated awarencss of the mistakes of $\mathrm{hi}_{\mathrm{s}}$ past.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): It is misreported.

Shri M. B. Masani: How do you know what I am going to quote?

Shri Nanda: I saw the reports in the newspapers and I contradicted them.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor) Does be mean to say that he refuses to become wise?

Shri M. R. Masani: Sir, I am complimenting him. I am saying that he has learnt from the mistakes of the past. This is what he is reported to have said there:
"Today preparations are belng made in the country for the Fourth Five-Year Plan, and figures are being though: of for it. But before settling amounts we should examine what the results of the past Five-Year Plans have been Today the state of affairs is such that money is spent but from that expenditure no money is obtained. The expenditure is useles: Plans should be so made that the amount spent on the plan $i_{s}$ reearned during the plan period. We execute our plans by get!ing large sums from abroad. But in spite of our spending vastly, output does not increase as it should. The amount allotted to any project is generally not spent on it and a large proportion of it is eaten up."
These are words of great wisdom and I quote them. I am very glad to be in good company. If reports are to be believed, even our Prime Minister entertains such heretical thoughts. He
has sometimes allowed a gesture or a hint to come out in public. I notice that my friend and his good triend Shri Jayaprakash Narayan speaking in Hyderabad two days ago said:
"When Mr. Shastri became Prime Minister he spoke about planning for the small man and the importance of agriculture in the economy of the country. This created hopss that the economy might take a new direction. I am very sorry to say that the wise experts of the Planning Commission and other interests who do not stand for consumers have proved too strong for him."

Shri Ranga: Helpless Prime Minister.

Shri M. R. Masani: The Indian Express of the 24th July in a headline says: "Commission's No to P.M's Plan Holiday More". Think of the impertinence of this. Who are these planners who say 'no' to the Prime Minister and others? Who are these faceless men who do not have to stand for election and face any constituency? Who are these men who do not have to stand up in Parliament and answer questions and abide by a vote of no-confidence? Who are this super-government of India who can say 'no' to the Prime Minister, to the Finance Minister and to this House? As far as I can make out, these are the men who have brought the country to this pass I Interruption). They are a collection of people, some of whom are windbags not capable of producing anything but words and others are charlatans of the worst kind. It is time they are put in their place if they are not sent packing home.

This country is a big country. It has vast problems. It needs thinking big. But the misfortune is that it has in office small minds, and you cannot have small minds when big tasks are facing you. First of all, they suffer from lack of faith in the
common peolpe. They want to regiment them and tell them what to do and what not to do. They back imagination and vision. There is a resentful attitude to prosperity and the good life. They do not like to ate people to go places. They want to keep them down. There is a niggling attitude to people gaing ahead. The result is a regular flight of talent from this country. Our best engineers, our best scientists, our best doctors and even our nurses are leaving the country in a rush because this country does not give them a decent life, lif: that can compare with anything they get elsewhere. Hence there is a fligh: of talent. And what does this wretched government do? It tries to deny them passports. It resorts to this totalitarian device of refusing passports to categories of pcople. It makes India a prison-house. As if doctors, scientists and engneers are going to work like slaves as they do in totalitarian countries. This is what they are bringing India to. Everywhere there is this niggling, petty attitude towards prosperity. There are ceilings everywhere. I say, this country wants no ceiling; it wants the floor to go up. So far as the ceiling is concerned, the sky should be the limit for our people. Nothing should be too high for Indians. We do not want any ceiling. There is first a ceiling on land. Now there is to be a ceiling on urban income. Ceilings everywhere.

They talk of population control as if they are doing something heroic. What does the Memorandum on the Plan say? Does it give even 1 per cent of the outlay family planning? No, Sir. I calculate that it is less than $1 / 2$ per cent for this great family planning campaign with which they are going to bring down the population.

They talk a lot of technology and science, and some of them no doubt mean it, like my hon. friend, the Minister of Efucation. I am sure he: means it. But, by and large their $^{\text {m }}$ policy is reactionary. On the one hand, they talk of technological advance; on the other hand, they want
[Shri M. R. Masani]
to bolster outmoded systems of travel, like the railways by crushing road transport, which is the modern, 20th century mode of transport. 1 know that Shri Patil agrees with me, but he is called upon to carry on what is the policy of this Governnent, and the policy of this Government is to crush road transport in the interest of rail transport.

Diesel oil is technologicaliy more advanced than petrol. So, diesel oil is taxed out of endurance so tha: petroleum can be artificially boosted. And when petroleum is in short supply, we go back to coal. A committee of the Government of India has come to the profound conclusion that coal is the best form of power! Coal is finished. Coal is of the 19th rentury, the "age of fossil power". This is the age of oil, the age of atomic energy, but we are being pushed back to coal. Having got used to Carvelles and Boeings the 1AC now wants to go and get an old tub, the Ilyushin 18, a turbo-prop, oldfushioned tub which even Ghana and Cuba have rejected. That is why I say that this is a government of technological reactionaries. They do not move with the times. But the young people of the land are not going $t_{0}$ stand this for ever.

This means that the monopoly of fower which the Congress Parly has enjoyed for seventeen year's must come to an end. That monopoly of tre Congress has been a curse to this country. It has become a curse to themselves also. Look at the way in which the stench is coming out of the de-composition that is taking placthecause of the monopoly of power for: aver seventeen years. Let me assule this House that the people of this country wiil solve this problem. This is a paper Tiger. They may have a lot of memebrs, but they are anreprosentative of the voting pattern of this country, for all these gentlemen represent only 44.72 per cent of the votes cast in the last elections. It is true that there are reasons why this
should be so. There is the absence of Proportional Representation in our electoral system and there is multiplicity of Opposition parties. But it still remains true that the Government of my hon. friend opposite is a minority government which does not possess the franchise of 50 per cent of the electorate. Next time they will not get even 40 per cent.

Our neighbours in Ceylon have shown the way. They had a government exactly like this in Ceylon till last March because of which the country was ruined and was on the brink of bankruptcy. So the people of Ceylon threw that Government ou: and installed a Liberal Democratic government whose policies are like!y to bring in an era of prosperity in that country. They introduced a budget ten days ago which reduces or removes import duties, cuts down income-tax, removes curbs on foreign travel, and welcomes foreign and indigenous capital. That is the. kind of budget that the Ceylonese Government have introduced, which this country needs. Does it mean that we are less intelligent than the Ceylonese? Does it mean that the Ceylonese are more intelligent than we are or more patriotic than we are? I do not think so. I think the time is coming very shortly when the people of this country will follow that example.

I give a challenge to the hon. Prime Minister. Elections are coming up in the normal course in Orissa in carly 1966. I have heard ugly rumours that the Congress Party there is intriguing and conspiring to secure a postponement of the elections because they do not dare face the people of Orissa whom they have misruled and betrayed during the last few years. 1 think it will be a crime against the Constitution if an attempt is made to defraud the Orissa electorate of ins right to po to the polls in February. March or April 1966 I ask the Prim: Minister is he prepared to face the verdict of the electorate of Orissa or is he going to hide behind the "emer-
gency" and resort to some trick to dodge the electorate so that the evil duty can be put off by one year? He is an honourable man and I ask him to behave like an honourable democrat. I want him in his reply to say whether the Government will allow the electorete to vote in 1966. Then we shall see whether the mandate that this party got in 1962 is still valid or it has expired.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:
"That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council .f Ministers."

1 will have to place some time limi: on speeches. I will give 15 minutes to nembers and 20 to 30 minutes $t o$ leaders of groups.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have very little time at my disposal. Su 1 will not do any shadow-boxing by ssying that Shri Shastri is a ver: grood man but Shri T. T. Krishnamachari is a bad man. I will put all the onus for some of the most importan: failures on the shoulders of the Shastri Government. Nor shall I bring in, during the discussion of the ae-confldence motion, the fact that peaple are not able to travel by Caravelle. I shall base my charge on the ground that not even a square meal is being given to the people of this country, by this Government even though that was a promise given in them at the time of independence. Nor shall I challenge the Prime Minis. ter because he is thinking of postponing the elections in Orissa due next year. I will rather concentrats my attention on the charge of their robbing increasingly the civil libertics of the people of this country. It is on these grounds that we are charging the Shastri Government on this no-confidence mation.

### 13.16 hrs .

[Mr. Deputy-Splaker in the Chair]
At this crucial moment in our country's history, when Pakistani invaders are striking at our doors in Kashmir, when our borders in Kutch are being challenged, why is it that at such a time this is the third vote of no-confidence motion that is being moved against this Government ir, this House? Is it because, as the Prime Minister has tried to point out. that it is a hardy annual and it need not be taken seriously? If he thinks so, he shall be making a great mistakeand that mistake will be at their peril.

At this critical moment, atanding in this House we declare that this Government has failed not only in guarding or protecting our frontiers. which we shall no doubt discuss when we consider the internationt situation as well as the situation in Kashmir-we did not have enough time to deal with it during the debate on Kutch-but it has brought the entire economic life of this country to d state of collapse specially on the food front with the result that acuie scarcity of food bordering on famine. stalks the land, and prices of every essential of life are rocketting sky-high. This Government has failed to bring to book those who brought about this situation.-the hoarders and profteers. This Government charges us of being anti-national. We lay that charge at the door of the Government.

Can a country be properly defended or can it successfully face the threat of war if its people are not fed and if its economy including food is in the hands of profteers, blackmurketeers and monopolists? So, our first and foremost reason for support. ing this no-confidence motion is the anti-national and disastrous food policy of this Government.

When the second world war broke out we saw in England how the first step that Great Britain took was to introduce rationing of every necessity of life. They did not talk of free
[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]
frade or allow profleering to go on unchecked, as it is being advocated by Shri Masani in this country. The question of defence is not confined to the borders; it is connected with. the flelds and factories. Our Gov.ernment's record on the food fron: has shown without any shadow of doubt that it has neither the patriotism, nor the purposeful determination to fight the food crisis on a war footing. What has been the record of this Government on the food front? Actually, we find that they have no desire to hold at bay the hoarderz and big wholesale profiteers who are the financial mainstay, I am afraid, of the Congress in the States. They are their financiers at election time. I have to say this because time and again we have pointed out that the only way to get out of the clutches of the hoarders and the profiteers is by having State trading, by building a buffer stock by procurement and by a supply line for its equitable dirtribution. None of these things have been done by the Government. Does this Government not feel ashamed, as Mr. Masani has pointed out, that after 17 years of Independence, the average carning of $70 \%$ of our people is be:ween 32 paise and the maximum is Gis paise per day? What happens to such people when the price of rice today is prevailing at Rs, 60 to Rs. 70 s maund in the open market, not only in my State, not only in Bihar, not only in Maharashtra but throughout the country? Three months after the harvest, wheat is selling at Rs. 1.25 p . to Rs. 1.30 p . and even in a State like Punjab, it is selling at 70 p . in the open market. What is the position of rice in Delhi? It is not available at all. Is this Governmeat doing anything in the matter? Even on this one score, the House should pass the vote of No-confldence against the Government.

## An hon. Member: It should go.

## Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: You

go to Patna in Bihar where bullets fiy ireely on the innnocent people. When I was there for one day before I was externed, I found that the persple had not got one grain of rice through what is known as the informal rationing that they have. In Gujarat, rice is not at all available. In Mr. Nanda's constituency in Gujarat, the people take bajri, the poor man's food, and that poor man's food sells at Rs. $20 \mid 25$ a maund. And this happens in a year during which we have had a 10 per cent increase in output. I do not know what will happen in a year when there is a drought and when there is a fear that there will be greater shortages and more stocks will be underground.

What has happened to edible ait: It was reported at the end of 1964 in the State of West Bengal, when there was terrible shortage and shooting up of prices, that the new mustard crop was a bumper crop the like of which we have never had before. Wi asked the Government again and again at that time that this should be rationed. We asked Mr. Subram.niam even in this House to do that. Hut how could that be because the trader's appetite for profit can never be curbed by this Government A few profiteers were arrested The price control was promulgated by just saying that it will be sold at Rs. 2.93 p. per kilo. What has now happened? Within a short while, the millers have stopped milling and they have smuggled out goods to areas where there is no price control. To. day, the trade is demanding Rs. $3 \cdot 50$ a kilo and with the container it is sold at Rs, 4. In a city like Calcutia it is hard for us to live and get a drop of oil.

It is the same thing in the case of groundnut oil in the State of Gujarat. This Government acquiescing with the big money-bag and the speculators is shooting bullets at the people who ask for food.

Is this not the story of Patna? Is it not true that the Chief Minister, Shri K. B. Sahay, had set a target of procurement of 3 lakh tons-it was a low target; maybe, it was all right for a deficit State. But what happened? How much did he actually procure? Due to its links with rich and powerful land holding interests is it not a fact that this disgraceful Guvernment of Shri K. B. Salıay fould only procure 30,000 tons? After this, it had the temerity to scrap the arice control and levy control-I pre$\therefore$,tme with Mr. Subramaniam's per-niusion-a day before the fateful 9 th August when the people's anger burat and spread throughout the Bihar sitate. The Communist Party has been honoured when it is widely accepted that our Party led the movement for people's food. I do not know whether we deserve that honour ] am slad that it has been given to we $W_{e}$ are sought to be discredited that we led the people to sabotage. Ne, mature political party can eve: ask people to go in for sabotage or for destruction of public property. Gandbiji never asked the "Augusters" tr din it nor have we done it now. But as the people's spontaneous anger h;irst in 1842 against every symbol of Government power. so too the monumental failures of Government's policics. its deliberate policies of permitting the hoarders to put the noose of death round the necks of the people, got symbolist'd in the attacks on railway fracks and police stations. The Government is responsible for their anger. But they have not been put behind the bars. Our comrades and workers and leaders of S.S.P. are wuffering for the crimes of Shri K. B. Sahay. The hoarders were not shot hut the young bleeding bodies of students were carried away to hospital or ciscwhere to die. You may put shackles on our hands and feet but the people's wrath must be echoed throsagh this House and throughout the country by this No-Confidence notion.

[^0] murit's foud policy? It has been a re-
cord of prevarication, promises lightly made and quickly broken-a refusal to throw the hoarders and profiters out of the whole-sale trade and who are holding our people to ransom and who refuse to take the responsibili13. of cquitable distribution. I say this openly to Mr. Subramaniam and Mr. Shastri. How many committees have been formed during the last $i 5$ years? My friend Mr. Thirumala Rao headed a committee in 1950; we had the Asoka Mehta Committee and then we had the Jha Committec. We hove had mectings after meetings of th. National Development Council, the Tlinning Commission, the Chief Ministers and the Food Ministers. In one word, I say, if this country is to be fed on reports and committee meetings, we would all die of surfeit. Food Ministers have come and gone. What has been Mr. S. K. Patil's contribution to this? He told us that he was in favour of de-control. He told us that the granaries were full. He gave us the bluff of 'buffer stocks'. And yet what do we find? He relied completely on PL 480. Between 1960 to 1964, not less than $31 / 2$ million tons of imported foodgrains were released to the people in a year when we have had excellent crops. Out of $12 \mathrm{mil}-$ lion tons imported, between 1960 and 1868, only f million tons were left to build stocks. In those years of good harvest, such releases depressed prices and those very peasants for whom we used to hear so much sympathy never got an adequate price and that acted as a great disincentive with the result that as against the import requirement which was 3 million tons in 1960-61, today the import requirement is between 6 to 8 million tons. This is the contribution of Mr . S. K. Patil to the food policy.

What happened when Mr. Subramaniam took over as the Food Minister? He came out with a flourish of promises that he will control those who have been trading on our hunger and scarcity. But he had to beat a hasty retreat. The first summit Food Ministers Conference took place

## [Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

in July, 1964 and there he proposed rationing but he had to hastily abandon it despite the Jha Committee's recommendations. It was left to the States to do what they willed. Except West Bengal, all the others went in for informal rationing. Those who have been in the areas with informal rationing know that this is a big hoax.

That all this talk was just ballyhoo is seen by a glance at the procurement targets and what has been attained. The States refused the Centre permission to procure foodgrains in their States. Then, Mr. Subramaniam went in for the Food Corporation and with much fanfare we were told that it was to eliminate hoarders and middle-men and to bring cheap grain to the market and that it was to build a buffer stock of 4 million tons of wheat and 2 million tons of rice and by January, 1966not very far off-it would have 1 million tons of wheat and 70,000 tons of rice as stocks. They have failed to do even this. My bon. friend Mr. Masani says that they are hoarding it. But I say that they are not hoarding it. Rather they have got nothing from the profteers and the hoarders.

Then, the Bangalore Food Ministers' Conference in July, 1965 was the death-knell to this. Mr. Subramaniam submited a memorandum on the Food Corporation but he did not have the guts to fight for and defend it. He wanted the strengthening and expanding of the Food Corporation to gain commanding heights. But what happened? The Food Ministers' Conference could not come to a decision -at least they did not want to come to a decision. They passed the buck to a Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committce me: and they said that the Food Corporation could not function in a big way and that the operations of the Food Corporation had to be guided by the States and Mr. Subra. maniam gave it up. What hope is
there when we see the record of the States' procurement? Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, the Chief Minister of Andhra-one of our surplus Statescould procure only 40 per cent of the target that he had set. What happened in Bihar? The same thing has happened with Mr. P. C. Sen, Chief Minister of West Bengal State, from where I come.

Sir, the story about rationing again is even more scandalous. I shall recount and ask if people can have confidence in this Government which plays with the people's lives in this way. Last year, we were told tha: there was going to be statutory rationing in seven major cities. What has happened to it? The States rejected it: only informal rationing was accepted and statutory rationing in the city of Calcutta. Just a year afterwards, in July 1965, in the Food Ministers' Conference the Specta: Committer proposed statutory rationing in areas of 3 -lakh population. Within a weck the Chief Minister, met in Delhi and they again changed this drastically; they said that statutory rationing would take place only in cities of 10 -lakh population, i.e. they would only supply 17 million population out of the total population of 450 millions. We do not believe tha: a Government that behaves in this totally irresponsible and callowe manner in a year of god harvest will do anything to keep any of these promises in the year which is facing us, a year of hardship. a year of even worse scarcity, and already there have been so much of difficulties.

Sir, this Government knows very well that the grip of rich-peasan:-hoader-wholesaler has prevented market arrivals. 1 need not go into the figures. The figures are already there. How far have they fauten short? Last year with a good harves: market arrival it was $3 \%$ less. We are told by the Government that it is
because the cultivators are hoarding. May I point out and ask who are these cultivators about whom we are talking? 75\% of our rural population do not have land enough to have a marketable surplus. Who are they who aggravate the situation? They are the $25 \%$ of the landowners who are controlling $75 \%$ of the total cultivable land; big farmers who have today become the producer-cum-trader class; they extend credit and get hold of the paddy. We know that this is the situation in all parts of the country. They often combine in themselves the functions of the wholesaler, of the miller and of the trader and get hold of the paddy.

It is this rich and powerful strata that form the financial and political base of Congress. That is why the Congress has surrendered to them.

घो घं० ला० बोषरी ( महृमा)
किसी का नाम बताइये।
षी राम सेबक याइब (बाराबंकी)
भास्ती जी हैं, नन्दा जी हैं, मुत्रताणयम साहि हैं 1
Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: They are really leading our people to the brink of disaster and death. I do not want to go into the other frauds that have been perpetrated. Take the cost of living index fraud. In my province, how otherwise can the jute workers be defrauded of their dearness allowance? It was cut down by Rs. 2.10 on the plea that prices have come down. How do you calculate these indices? When the whole people are shouting that there is not a single item where prices have not gone up, you say that the cost of living has gone down. Is it possible in such a situation? Will not the people rise in anger? All that we have been proposing during the last few years has fallen on deaf ears. That is why legitimate movements and agitations have taken place and will take place and in order to drown it, you are taking to increasing repression, to laws like the D.I.R. and detention without trial.

During the last few weeks, in the city of Calcutta, this Congress Government has come out to protect the vested interests of a British Company, the Tramway Company. The people wanted that the fare should not be increased without forming a Commission to go into the alleged financial irregularities of the Buitish Company; the Government refused todo this. On the other hand they had to crush the people by large scale use of the D.I.R. Can you imagine that after Cr.P.C. 144 was promulga!ed in Calcutta even distribution of leaflets asking the people to boycolt trams has been a crime, and people are taken to jail for it. If someone asks people not to board trams, he is arrested. Over 4,000 people have been arrested. D.I.R., 107, 151 and all sorts of Cr.P.C. provisions are used if they protest against the tramfare rise. How can you blame anyone if they are convinced that it is because of the great concern for British proft that the Congress Government is using the wheel of repression to crush sut people.

Look at Bihar. What has happened? $\mathrm{Al}_{1}$ the M.L.A.s of Communist Party and S.S.P. were picked up one by one. sometimes long after the incidents. and they have been detained under D.I.R. Hundreds of students and ordinary people have been jailed. In the city of Muzaffarpur, a leading and respected lawyer-many of my Congress friends know him very well-. one Shri Dwarkanath Kapoor, is arrested under D.I.R. Why? What is the crime? He was my host and Mr. Dange's host when we visited the city of Muzaffarpur. There is no other crime. In Bihar who is not discontented? Engineers, doctors, students. N.G.Os, everybody is discontented Why should they not be? Can you smash this discontent with bullets by saying that communists are creating violence?

In Maharashtra, in Kohlapur and Sholapur what has happened? There have been movements for food and there have been large scale arrests.
[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty] Throughout Maharashtra, 1,000 arrests have been made. Even' M.L.As are arrested. What was the demand of M.L.As? The demand was for 2 kilos of wheat per day per head. Today what do we see in the Assembly of Maharashtra? All the opposition M.L.As have been suspened and many put behind the bars.

The D.I.R. is being used in a way so as to stiffe the mouths of all opposition. It began with the arrest of the Marxist Communist Party and we know how their whole group was extinguished. Shri Nanda's infamous speech on January 1, 1964, was but the beginning of the most blatant misuse of emergency powers. Mr. A. K. Gopalan and his group have been extinguished. Today as we address this House, hundreds of detenus among the Marxist Party are on hunger strike in Kerala, in Bombay and in other places, on a demand which all of us must support, i.e., "Release or Try us". Every right thinking person supports them on this. We cannot but think with emotion of those ailing persons like the 75-year old Muzaffar Ahmed or Mohit Maitra, one of the old colleagues in the House, who have been jailed although they are not well. Shri Nanda has failed to bring to light even an iota of evidence to try them in a court of law. We have already expressed our indigenation and sorrow at the way in which Shri S. V. Parulekar died in detention. How can we tolerate or accept that his griefstricken wife, Godavari Parulekar, or Vimal Randive or Ahalya Ranerskar is a danger to the security of the country? I cannot help talking about Sadhana Chakravarty, about whom I wrote and requested the Home Minister to look into the case of that old and alling woman. There is no doubt that political vindictiveness of the State Governments and the Central Government is behind their criminal detention. I do not want to quite once again what the ex-AttorneyGeneral said. He says that it is a tragedy that, under the Indian Con-

Constitution, citizens who have a fundamental right have been detained under the P.D. Act and the D.I.R. is worse than that. That is why emergency powers have been used in a very illegal manner to wreak vengeance on any criticism. The most shocking case is the detention of the Editor of "Searchlight", Shri T. J. S. George. I have read his editorial. What was wrong in his editorial? It was only to settle old scores, that Shri K. B. Sahay put his behind bars.
I know of a case in Bijnor where a reporter just reparted about food scarcity; he was detained under D.I.R. After the last Calcutta Corporation election, is it just a coincidenee that two Muslims who had dared to contest and win against Congressmen were put under D.I.R.? In Asansol area of West Bengal-everybody knows of the multimillionaire in J. K. Industries of Kanpur, Singa-nia-the Manager complained to the D.S.P. that the Union Assistant Secretary, Mr. Ram Banerjee, was responsible for an illegal stoppage of work for one hour. It was not necessary to refer the matter to the Labour Directorate; nothing at all; he was immediately picked up under D.I.R. This is the way how this Government acts. Then there is the case of Prodyot Ghosh of Mercantile Federaration: he belongs to no party but he has been put under D.I.R. I read about a case yesterday: one Mr. Malti was arrested under Rule $41(5)$ as a result of tramway fare increase resistance movement; he was released by the court. $H_{e}$ was released by the court, but as he was coming out. immediately he was re-arrested under rule 30 . I could give many other examples, but 1 shall not do so now because I have not got much time. Even in this very House, my hon. friend Shri Maurya has pointed out how some of our own colleagues have been put under detention under the D.I.R., and yet after a few months. they have been released. Take, for instance, again, the externment of Shri Indrajit Gupta and myself from

Bihar, and arrest of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and the externment of Shri S. M. Joshi from Bihar. What does it show? It shows that the Government are afraid that even our witnessing what is happening there is against the security of this country! We have seen how Shri Bagri and Shri Kishen Pattnayak were thrown into jail on the ground that they were a threat to peace. We may not always agree with them. But why should they be thrown into jail and detained in this manner? After three days of detention they are now again out on bail. Are they not a threat to peace today?

The ominous signs of using emergency powers not $t_{0}$ strengthen our defences but to stifle those who have not hesitated and who shall not hesitate to fight the anti-national and anti-people policies of Government, whatever be the consequences, whether it be jail or detention without trial, are today such that the very concept of parliamentary democracy itself is being threatened.

We shall continue to declare that the people of India have no confidence in this Government which has at a time of grave national emergency thrown the entire nation to the wolves of the hoarders and the profiteers and that too in a year of good harvest. This Government has time and again betrayed the confidence of the people by failing to protect our frontiers. This Government hag forfeited the right to the people's confidence by the ruthless suppression of civil liberties and the attacking of even parliamentary democratic institutions, not for the defence of India but for the defence of vested interests, including British interests as have seen in the city of Calcutta

For these reasons, I would beg of this House that it should reflect the feelings that are welling up in the minds of the people throughout this country. I would beg of them to declare that we have no confidence in this Government.

Shri Fianumanthalya (Bangalore City): It has become a habit with the Opposition parties to advance the same charges, the same arguments and the same points on the same motion . . .

An hon. Member: And we get the same replies every time . . . (Interruptions).

Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain): While the Members of the Opposition were speaking, we did not utter even one word. But when a Member from the Congress Benches starts speaking we find that hon. friends opposite start shouting. This should be stopped. Otherwise, we shall not allow any Member of the Opposition to speak here without interruptions.

घी घं० ला० घीषरी : मगर घाप हल्ला करेंगे तो हम भी हल्ला करने से बाज नहीं घ्रायेंगे ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member who is speaking should be heard patiently without disturbance.

Shrl Fanumanthalya: The lady Member who has just finished her speech was making an earnest appeal to all of us to observe standards of democracy; it may be that she meant it in her own way. But I would appeal to her and to her colleagues that at least in the matter of debate here we should adhere to cortain fundamental principles of debate. It is by keeping up the dignity of Parliament that we shall ultimately ensure all our grievances being redressed whether they be in regard to the D.I.R. or in regard to the economic stresses and strains.

It is not as if Congressmen are cowards now. In fact, all these demonstrations that have now been copied were initiated and carried to such success by the Congress in the past that British imperialism had to quit this country. If we take to the same ways again because we have to retaliate against my hon. friends

## [Shri Hanumanthaiya]

either on the floor of the House or outside, we can do it more successfully than all the Opposition parties combined together. But we are patient because we want to persuade our own brethren in the minority parties. Discussion, debate and persuasion are the ways to be adopted under the Constitution under which we are working and not deflance or demonstration. Our strength has to be shown by the wisdom that we display, by our arguments on the floor of the House and not by the demonstrations that we make in the Parliament street, even though it may be called Parliament Street. It is the power of the mind that matters. If my hon. friends have the power of the mind to persuade the country and most of us, they need not have recourse to these demonstrations on the streets and thereby invite bullets, lathi charges and imprisonment.

I may tell you that I am one of those who have suffered imprisonment. I sympathise with anyone who goes to prison for a public cause. If Shri A. K. Gopalan or some Members of the Communist Party or Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and others go to jail, I sincerely state that it is a matter of pain to me. It may be the mistaken view of certain problems of the country that may be dogging their foot-steps. Or it may be that I am mistaken. But what is the remedy? The remedy is not fighting one another in Parliament thereby detracting from the dignity of this House, but it is persuasion. Therefore, I would try to persuade my hon. friends. If it appeals to them, let them please change their views. If it does not appeal to them, let them please persuade me to change my views.

The lady Member made a great point regarding workers, and jute workers in particular. I was shocked to find a gentleman of the standing of my hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani sympathising with demonstrations in Kolhapur and other places

Shri M. R. Masani: I did not do that. Let me correct my hon. friend. I said that I sympathised with the anger of the people. What I said was that the people got desperate through starvation and they were misled into such actions. I did not sympathise with the demonstrations.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I om very happy that he has stated his case quite clearly. But anger, Mahatmaji said once, is a kind of madness.

Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa): He also said 'Do or Die'.
Shri Hanumanthaiya: Therefore, when people are angry, we have to take whatever they say with a pinch of salt and not rush to their aid full of sympathy, for political purposes.
My hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani quoted from the study made by Dr. Lokanathan's National Council of Applied Economic Research. It is a very good study and a very revealing study. I have studied that in my own way. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia made a famous statement on the floor of the House that nearly 27 crores of people got only 19 p . per day. That may have been an under-statement. But this research institute has said that it is not 19 p . but it may be 68 p . I.et that be so. The per capita income is Rs. 330 or so in India; that means to say that roughly one rupee per day is the average income of an individual in India. If nearly 50 per cent of the population gets only 68 p . the man who gets one rupee as the average income draws 32 p . from the average income of others. You may please have an insight into the matter. It is not a matter of propaganda. The hon. lady Member's followers, jute workers and mill workers, have an average annual income of Rs. 1153 and Rs, 1767. If it is so, it is five times the average income, or nearly $7-8$ times the income of 50 per cent of the people.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Am I saying that . . .

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I am devoloping the argument. These workers in the offices, in the factories get 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 times the average income. This is at the lowest point. I am not touching the highest point, the managerial point; I will come to it later. These workers, so-called workers, get more than 7-8 times the average income, much more than what 50 per cent of the people are getting. You want equal distribution of wealth. You want blackmarketeers to be done away with. I agree. Blackmarketeers, hoarders and everyone of that kind should go. Distribution of national income must be done on an equitable basis.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: My point is: when M.P.s want increases in pay and allowance, why should the allowance to the industrial worker, based on the cost of living index, be cut by Rs. 2?

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I see the point. I am the last man to argue from one point of view; I will take every point of view and convince you that what you are doing is wrong, what you are doing is more entisocialistic than probably what Shrl Masani or anyone of this type does.
Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: The people will give you the answer.

Shri Hanumanthalya: So far as the people are concerned, I have taken challenges from the communist party.
Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: There are no jute workers in your constituency.
Shri Hanumanthaiya: This is the thirtieth year I am taking challenges of the kind you envisage. Therefore, you are talking to an old hand so far as those challenges are concerned.

This so-called worker is robbing away from the national income the cream, to the extent of 5-6 times the average per capita income, when his emoluments are compared with the income of the villager. The Research Institute says that at the bottom 60 per cent of the households have only 31 per cent share of the total income. That means to say, 60 per cent of the
households have 31 per cent of the national income, whereas 40 per cent only have 69 per cent of the national income. That is the pattern of distribution of national income.
I agree. Let the workers take even a little more. I do not mind, because they work. But are they just to their own class? Some years ago, I wrote a letter to the late Pime Minister: the State Government employees are getting less; the Central Government employces are getting more Please help the state governments through central financial aid so that the state government employees may also come on par with central government employees in emoluments. But the Central Government employees never look backwards to what their own kith and kin in the state government service are getting or what they in the municipal services are getting. All the time they have their eyes on the upper class. They want to go up and up and never look below. Even today I have not found one instance of any workers' association, or trade union, which will say Let us take the pot of national income and distribute it equally; let us not grab as much as possible for ourselves'. Is this kind of playing to the interests of not only class, but sub-class right?-you blame caste feeling and sub-caste feeling; if it is so, please apply the formula to your-selves-is this kind of class consciousness and sub-class consciousness. going on bargaining for one's own category of services, I ask you in all humility. consistent with equal distribution of national wealth which is the basis of socialism?

I plead guilty if any other class. including MP, or Ministers or Secretaries, get more than the national income. I admit to that extent we are deficient in implementing a national income policy. I grant that. But let the members of the communist party. who are more wedded to equality than anybody else, set the example themseives. It is then that people will say that you mean what you say.
On the other hand, I do not want to embitter your feelings. I want to
[Shri Hanumanthaiya]
assuage your feelings when you are in difflculties because many of your members are arrested and you are in political difficulties-I do not mean personal difficulties. Therefore, I do not want to use arguments to counteract the charge that the Congress is getting funds from capitalists, industrialists and others. In today's papers, you find that the President of their chamber of commerce said in Hyderabad

Shri Raghumath Singh (Varanasi): Dictatorship.

Shri Hanumanthalya: What kind of irrelevant interruptionol

Shri Kirloskar makes a statement that the Congress people are so bad, they have hurt the industrial and business community so much that 'we will refuse to give any more contribution to the Congress party'. This is what their President has said. That shows that after all we are not in such good books with them,

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Mr. Birla will give you.

An hon. Member: He will take back also.

Shri Hanumanthalya: If you want to build up the strength of your political party by these financial promises of bonuses and increment of pay, ultimately when you yourselves come to power in Government, how can you face the situation? I know how the situation is faced by communist governments in Europe and in Asia. That way is effective elimination....

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: $O$ : proft.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: . . . from this world. At least we keep the communists in jail. And if we give Rs. $3 n$ as family allowance, you ask for Rs. 150 as allowance, more than three times the income of 50 per cent of the people of this country. That is a great issue on which you are going on hunger strike in jails!

ShrimatI Renu Chakravartty: Why do you keep us in jail? We will earn it outside.

Shri Hanumanthalya: Please, fc the sake of honesty, political integrit see that this idea of equal distribi tion of wealth takes place at lea: within your own working class. N worker should get more than the othe worker, excepting in some area where dangerous or hazardous wor is involved. I have been to Russia. have seen that mine workers doin work, where life is in danger ar paid a little more than the othes workers, say on the surface. I car understand that. You lead the central government employees. Have you ever said one word of sympathy for the state government employees?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Oh yes.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Have you ever said, 'We will not take a paisa unless and until the state government employees also come up to our level'. Is this socialism in practice or selfishness incarnate?

## 14 hrs .

You say that blackmarketeers hoard wealth and cause imbalance in society, but you incite people to strike on the basis of getting more money. Yours is not black market, certainly I cannot use that word; yours is zulm market. If some people, big businessmen, hold this country to ransom through the process of blackmarketing, you are holding society to ransom through this zulm market, Please stop this. Once you show how income can be equally distributed among the working class. the rest of the society perforce will have to follow suit. That is the best way to implement socialism.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): That is your responsibility.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: It is true, as Shri Masani has said. as the great lady of the Communist Party said, we are in difficulties in regard to our economic situation, foreign exchange, frontiers, home front. All this is true, but have not our own leaders, the Prime Minister and other Ministers and the Congress President said the
same thing? We have not said that the foreign exchange positin is very happy, nor has the Home Minister said that we have conquered Pakistan, nor has the Defence Minister proclaimed that we have vanquished China. This is a matter for common appraisal and agreement. What are we to do is the question. Instead of helping, co-operating and bringing about a consensus of opinion to deal with these common evils, you are taking advantage in the streets,....

An hon. Member: Undue advantage.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: . . . in the factories, for your own purposes.

This reminds me of a Hindi story. There was a big man. He had a big beard. He was sitting with a few doubtful friends. One day the beard caught fire. He immediately took both his hands in order to put out the fire. But the friends who wers sitting asked him to wait because they had cigarettes to light. Four or five people went on making requests in the same way until the poor beard was gone, and probably his face was disfigured.

Here is a nation whose beard is on fire. All round the frontiers, the Pakistanis and Chinese have set our beards on fire, and the Communist Party, the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, every one of you want to light your own cigarettes with this fire.

Why should there be any demonstration at this juncture?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What is wrong with that, when you do not listen?

Shri Bade (Ghargone): That was a political demonstration only.
प्राप को यह् बताया था कि यदि गड़बढ़ हो जये तो हम ग्राप के साय में हैं।

Shri Banumanthaiya: So far as the Congress is concerned, I tell you in all sincerity that we are grateful to every one oi you, earch party, for some reason or other. If it is a conflict with Pakistan, the Jan Sangh will
prove a shield of strength, I know. If it is a question of implementing socialism, the Communists will give us certainly, a great hand of help. If it is a question of business, increasing production, the entrepreneurs, and Shri Masani will help to some extent. Therefore, we are not your opponents, we are not your enemies. We are in sympathy with a particular angle of yours. I want the day to come when, as Shri Vinoba Bhave says, you give up your angularities and make us see that you are our friends, and I want a national Government in this country so that we may face all our dangers with a common purpose, a common effort, a common outlook.

Shri Shinkre: Well said.
Shri Banumanthaiya: That is the way that will solve the problems of this country.
I am not an expert in currency matters as my friend Shri Masani is. I will answer only one point he has made. He has made a great point that our rupee, so far as the dollar is concerned, is mush debased. Our official exchange rate is something, and the actual rate is very much higher. That is true. I have a list of such foreign exchange rates in my hands, and I see in that list that except the industrially advanced European countries, all countries like Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Pakis$\tan$ etc...

Shri M. R. Magani: Why not read the figures for Thailand, Hongkong and Philippines?

Shrt Hanumanthaiya: Here are the figures, I am not hiding. Except for the highly industrialised countries, the official rate is not at par with the actual rate. It varies.

Shri M. R. Masani: Question.
Shri Bianamanthaiya: Every developing country in this world is put to the necessity of spending more because of her anxiety to progress with speed. Necessarily the currency is put under great strain and stress. As they say, it is watered down, its value goes down because of the increase in the quantity of money in
[Shri Hanumanthaiya]
circulation. This is a common feature more or less of every developing country on this globe.
Shri M. R. Masani: Question.
Shrl Hanumanthaiya: It may be that it is more in the case of some country and less in the case of some other country.

Also, do not compare the currency of USA as the be-all and end-all of life. America is not the best example for all ages and times to come. It may be a very good example for you and me, but at every step you cannot say that it is the best of examples for us to copy. Just as the Hindus take to the Gita or the Mohammedans take to the Koran, let us not take to U.S.A.
U.S.A. has so much resources, has so much natural wealth. And in 150 years time they have advanced so much. We are not able to go with such speed as to catch up with them. We have worked for only less than two decades. I certainly do not agree with the proposition that the rupee should go on getting more and more debased, as they say in the economic language. Certainly I want to make it go up in value. I suppose the Government will always be having an eye on strengthening the rupee.

Please do not quote only India out of context and show that the Government of India has done something abnormal, something that no other country has done.
Shri Bade: You are defending the worst case.
Shrl Hanamanthaiya: I do not know much of Hindi, but I have learnt a little of Tulsidas. Tulsidas has said that if you help a friend when he is in a good condition, it is not of much worth. When you show your guts to help a man who is in difficulties, who is even wrong, that is the test of true friendship. I want the Jan Sangh to help the Congress because they say we are in difficulties.
Shrl Khadilkar (Khed): We do not accept it.

बी रमेबबरालम्द : इसोलिए तो पाकिस्तान
हमला कर रहा है।

Shri Hanumanthaiya: 1 have one more point, and I shall close my speech. Many a time and very plausibly Mr. Masani argues that this policy of non-alignment is no good and unless we come to some agreement with the western powers, it will not be possible for us to defend our frontiers or get the aggression that has already taken place vacated. It looks very plausible. But I request him to look deeper into the matter. I have been studying the psychology of America. Wherever Americans have gone and entered into a pact, ultimately it has ended in disagreement and discontent. The best example is Pakistan itself. It entered into the SEATO and CENTO pacts and today the treatment it receives at the hands of America-maybe right or wrong-is there; there is a virtual ending of that relationship. Whether it was Kuomintang party of the old China or De Gaulle or even in England if you go and make private enquiries, you know that there is some kind of misunderstanding that alway: seems to make the American way of treating other people a little unsavoury. Our late Prime Minister in one of his speeches in reply to the debate on foreign affairs said that apart from all theories every country works in its own interest so far as foreign policy was concerned. This is a famous and very wise statement he made. So does America, America frames a picture of world strategy and world pilicy in Washington on the Capital Hill and they expect every nation in this world to fit themselves into that picture automatically because they are a nation who use to a great extent automation. They think whether it is India or Pakistan or Vietnam, everybody must automatically fit into the picture. The incentive is: "we give you dollars and aid." They have to remember their own biblical quotation: if we lose our soul, what is the use of gaining the whole world? Merely because you give some financial aid, we cannot on that basis alone readjust our foreign policy and code of conduct to yours. I ask Mr. Masani:
have you ever heard in the whole relationship of two countries of a Prime Minister abruptly being asked not to come to America? You ask us to woo such a country; when we woo such a Government we will be treated with contempt. That is our fear. Let it be United Kingdom or United States if they consider India also to be a country deserving equal respect and equal treatment, this ancient nation of ours, this wise nation of ours will be ready to respond to such an hon. friendship. Mr. Masani in the beginning of his speech said that he waited for a while to see if the Prime Minister adjusted himself to the ways of Swatantra party. It did not happen and so he has brought in this no-confldence motion. I was happy when the Swantantra Party first displayed sobriety and forbearance in not mixing itself up with the no-confidence motion against the Government. Do you think that the Congress Ministry here or the Prime Minister of the Congress Party here has to adjust its principles to please the Swatantra principles within six months or one year

Shri M. R. Masani: . . . to meet the needs of the country.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: After all the needs of the country have to be judged by the people and even today I will tell you the people are with the Congress and with nobody else.

## Shri M. R. Masani: Question.

बी प० प्र० चर्मा (बक्सर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बत में कोई दो राय नहीं हैं कि चा हे देश की मुरक्षा की दृष्टि से देखा आये, चाहे देश की भान्तरिक स्थिति को देखा आये, चाहे खाय की कमी या घ्रायिक दृष्टि कोण से देग की हालत को देखा जाये, माज हमारा देश एक बहुत बड़े ख़तरे से गुजर रहा है। हमारे पड़ोसी देखों, वाकिस्तान प्रौर कीम, के रुख़ की बज्ह से हमारी घायाजी की $\angle$ तरे में पड़ी हुई है। प्रक्र बह है कि हतं के बाबजूद ओ बिरोधी वच के हलार बोस्त झास्की

सरकार के विहुद्ध जो प्रशिश्वास प्रस्ताव लाए हैं, क्या उन्होंने देग की बर्तमान स्थिति में कोई सुधार लाने के लिए ऐसा हुख़ घक़त्यार किया है या इस के पीछे कोई दूसरा मकसद है।

जब भम्रो रेणु चक्रव्ती बोस रहीं थीं, तो मैं ने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी द्रौर एस० एस० पी० के न्यु एलायंस की बात कही थी । भ्राज इस देश में उपद्रव मबाने के लिए कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी प्रोर संयुक्त सोर्णलिस्ट पार्टी में एक नया गठबंधन हुप्रा है । पिछले दिनों में इस देशा में जो दुर्षटनायें हुई हैं, में घाप के सामने घोर इस सदन के सामने एक एक कर के उन का जिए कहंगा घौर धाबिर में यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इन तमाम पान्दोलनों के पीछे देश की समस्याभों को सुलझाने या किसी बात कों निपटाने का सवाल नहीं है, बस्कि इन के पीछे विरोधी पष्ष की एक बहुत बड़ी राजनीतिक महत्वाकांक्षा है। श्रीमती रेणु घक्रवीी ने सब से बड़ी बात तो घपने क्याख्यान में यह कही कि घाज बे लोग जो कार्यवाहियां कर रहे हैं, बे कोई एक या दो जगहों या किसी विशेष समय के लिए निध्धारित नहीं हैं, बह्कि माने वाले दिनों में मी किसी भी कीमत पर इस तरह की ह्रकतें बे वेण में करते रहेंगे 1 (Interruptions).

青 जानना बाहूंगा कि ऐसे समय में, जब कि देश में ऐसी स्थिति है, घौर देण को बाहर से मी ख़तरा है, क्या उन की तरफ़ से इस प्रकार की कार्य वाहियों किया जाना मुनासिब है। जसा कि मैने कहा है, इस में मुनासिब घौर नामुनासिब बात का कोई मवाल नहीं है। भ्रसली बात तो यद्र है कि ये सोग ओो कुछ भी करना बाहते हैं, वह एक राजनीनिक वृ््टिकोण से करना बाहते हैं 1 मेरा च्याल है कि 1967 के घाने बाने चुनाब को सामने रक्ष कर जीर क्तताक्ट पार्टी को सोगों में बहनाम क्रोे के fिए
[ल्री क्र० प्र० णर्मा]
घ्रोर उस को लोगों की नजरों में गिराने के लिए ही ये लोग इम तरह की हरकतें करना चाहते हैं। मैं ग्वास तोर से दों तीन बातों के सम्बन्य में जिक कहांगा

ध्रीमतो रेणु चकर्नी ने घ्रभी श्रपने भावण में, बिह़ार में जों कुछ विछले दिनों हुप्रा, उस के सम्बन्ध में जिक किया। मैं कहना चाहता हां कि उन का प्रोप्राम कोई न्वास बिहार, पटना या किसी ब्ब़ाम जगह के लिए नहीं है । श्रगर घ्राप उन के पिछने दिनों के हतिहास को घौर घ्रान्दोलनiं को दंसें, तो भ्राप को मालूम होगा कि, उन्हृंने हर सूबे में किसी न किसी समय पर, किमी न किमी बात को लेकर, घ्रान्दोलन बनाए़ हैं-कभी पटना-बन्द, कभी बिहार-बन्द, कभी गुजरात -बन्द । भाज-कल मह़ाराष्ट्र-बन्द की जात चल ग्ही है। वे कभी कमी भारतनबन्द का नारा भी लगाते हैं। इन बातों के पीछं जो सब से बड़ी बात हिपी हुई है, जसा मैं ने कहा है, इनका जो राजनीतिक उद्देश्य है, उसकी पूर्ति की बात है ।

बाद्य के सम्बन्ध में भी में बतलाना चाहृता हैं। 尹्रभी उन्होंने इस सदन में पूछा है कि जो सरकारी तंव है, ओो सरकार है, उसने होर्डं या प्राफिटीयजां या नो फूड भ्राफेंडजं हैं, या जो कोई मी ख्वाने पीने की चीजों को रोक कर रखते हैं या कोई म्रोर इस बारे मे गलतियां करने है उन के खिलाफ क्या कार्रवाई की है। सरकार ने जो कारंबाई की है उस के घाकड़े ध्रगर साप पूःर्रंगे तो इस सदन को पीर छस वेश को मालूम हो जाएंगे कि कितनी बड़ी संब्या में जिन लोगों ने इस प्रकार की गलतियां की है, उन के बिलाफ कार्रवाई की गई है, उन को प्रासीक्यूट किया गया है, कितने केसिस स्टार्ट किए गए हैं। जहां तक मेरी आानकारी का सम्बन्घ है, कम से कम दस हारार या उत्र से भधिक भावमियों को

इन ग्राफँसिस के लिये सज़ा दिलाई गई है सरकार की तरफ से 1 बहुत से लोगों पर सरकार द्वारा मुकदमे चलाये गये हैं घोर उन को निन्न भिन्न मजायें दिलाई गई हैं।

इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि लोगों को खाद्यात्र मिलें, लोगों को भोजन मिले । क्राप भी श्रोर हम भी यह् चाहते हैं। लेकिन ये इस बात के लिए लड़ाई नही छेड़ते हैं । हमारे सरजू पाण्डेय जी जोकि बहुत इंटरप्ट करते हैं, उन से मैं इसका जबाब पूछना चाहता हूं। यह बात तो मानो हुई है कि हिमारे देश में खाधात्नों की कमी है घ्रोर यह भी सही है कि ह्म दूमरे देशों मे खाद्याप्र मंगाते हैं । लेकिन ये लोग जो लोगों को भुखमरी मे ब चाने की ब्वात करते हैं ग्रोर लोगों के माथ हमदर्दों गखते हैं क्या ईमानदारी के साथ कह सकते हैं कि श्रमरीका प्रौर कनाडा से जो गल्ला बम्बई की डाक्स में प्राता है वहां के मजदूरों से ये हड़ताल नहीं करवाते हैं, उनको हड़ताल करने के लिए क्या ये प्रोटसाहिन नहीं करते हैं प्रोर उन को जो घ्रष्न है, उस को जहाजों से उतारने से मना नहीं करते हैं घ्रोर मजदूरों को एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जहां प्रम्न की कमी है उस क्षेत्र में म्रम्र पहुंचाने से ये नहीं रोकते हैं ? लोगों को क्या भुखमरी से बचाने का यही तरीका है ? लेकिन जैसा मैं ने कहा इन तमाम बातों के पीछे एक राजनीतिक बात छिपी तुई है ।

हमारी बहन रेणु बक्रवर्ती ने भ्रगस्त भान्दोलन की जो कि बिह्हार में तथा दूसरे स्थनों में ये लोग कर रहे हैं, तुलना 1942 के भगस्त महीने के गांधी जी के धान्दोलन से की। मै समहता हूं कि इस सदन के घन्दर घ्रौर इस सदन के बाहर की इस तरह की बात को कहना सब से बड़ी चर्म की बात है हम सभी

के लिए। 1942 में हृम एक विदेशी सरकार के बिलाफ श्रान्दोलन कर रहे थे, एक बिदेयी सरकार को देशा से भगाना चाहते थे घौर क्या माप जानते नहीं हैं कि उस समय हूकी पार्टी ने प्रोर हन की पार्टी के लोगों ने क्या रोस श्रदा किया ? इन्होंने भ्रंगे़ेंडों की, एक विदेशी सरकार की, क्रिटिण सरकार की मदद की। भ्राज वे ही ध्रपने देश्र के मन्दर, जो ध्रपनी ही सरकार है उस सरकार के खिलाफ भान्दोलन चलाते हैं घौर उस घ्रान्दोलन की तुलना जो कि विदेशी सरकार के खिलाफ दिया गया था, उस से करते हैं, । सेकिन कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी का इतिहास इस देश के लोगों से छिपा हुप्रा नहीं है।

भ्राज कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी दो भागों में बंटी हुई है, एक बामपंधी कम्युनिस्ट पारी है मोर दूसरी दfिण पंथी कम्पुनिस्ट पार्टी । यह एक ड्रामा है जो मे भ्रापको बतलाना चाहता हुं । जो मैं कहने जा 7 हा हूं उससे यह साबिन हो जाएगा कि यह एक प्रामा है जो बेला जा रहा है । हमारी बहन नेणु चक्रश्ती ने घमी बहा है कि एक तो वे हैं जो यहां बंठ हुए हैं, भीर दूमरे वे है जो कि जेलों में बन्द है । उन वामपंधी कम्युनिर्टों के साथ जिन के ऊपर ये जूर्म लगाया गया है कि बे हमारे देश का जो दुछमन चीन है, उसके साष हमदर्दी रबते है जो दे प्र की सुरका के लिए बतग्नाक हैं, हन्दोंने बड़ी हिमदर्दी दिखाई है घ्रोर उनके लिए ये सिफारिश्र करते हैं कि उनको सहूर्टा लियतें पहुंचाई जायँ, उनको हिटेंशन से छोड़ा जाए। मैं कह्ना चहता हुं कि इस मब के पीछे एक चाल है घोर उस घाल से इस देश के लंगों को सतक्क रहना चाहिए । हो सकना है कि. गबनंमेट के, घपने कारण हों जिन कि बिना दर इसने दलिण पर्यी कं. $\quad$ युनिग्टों के लिलाक,
 तांच मे देण को लोगों को, कार्पेम पार्टं के लोगों को मोर उन सभी नत्बों को जो कि इस देश को म्रपना देश समझते है, जैसे स्वामी जी बंठे

हुप है श्रोग जो इस देण को भपना देण सममने हैं, ऐसे सब लोगों से होणियार रहना बाहिये, इस कन्युनिस्ट पार्टी की इस चाल घोर छस फेर से, जो यह नकली बटवारा है, होणियार रहना चाहिये । घ्रापस में यह एक ही दल है । यह्ह पार्टी देश के घन्दर उपत्रच मचाना चाहनी है । भान्दोलन करके इस देश में लोगों को भोजन मिलेगा क्या ? हमारे पटना के प्रन्दर, बिहार के ध्रन्दर स्टेशन जलाये गये हैं। क्या स्टेशन जलाने से भोजन मिल जाएगा ? वहां पर पेट्रोल-पम्प जलाये गये हैं । क्या उससे ख्वाना मिलेगा ? सब से बड़ी जो गमंनक कहानी इस सम्बन्र में हैं, जो मैं चापको मुनाना चाहता हू, वह छोटे छोटे बच्चों को, सात, भाठ घ्रोर दस बरस के बच्षों को इन कमजोर धौर बुजविल योगों द्वारा धागे करके चलाये जाने की है घ्रोग घुद इनके वीछे रहने की है। क्या यह्टी तरीका है जिससे यहा भान्दालन बलाना चाहते हैं ? क्या इसी तरह से हमारे देश का मविष्य बनेगा घौर ऐला करके हम लोगों के मामने मिसान पेश कर सकेंगे एक पोलिटिकल पार्टी होने के नाते ?

हमारे मिव्र हनुमंतैया साह्य ने कहा है कि हो मक्ता है कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी इस द्रेण में सोशलिज्म कायम करने के लिये हमागा साथ देगी । लेकिन मैं यह कहना घाहता हूं कि एक कांग्रेम कायंकता की हैमियत से कि हैमें बराबर इस बतात को ध्यान में रंबना चाहिये कि हैमारा जो एम है, जिस उर्देक्य को हैम हासिल कर्ना चाहते हैं जिस प्राबर्यकिटब को हम हासिल करना बाहते हैं उम भाबर्जक्टिब को हागिल करने के सिए ह्मारे जो मींज हैं वे भी पच्छे हों, उन्हीं मीज से हिम प्रपने उस उद्देर्य को हुामिल कर मकते है। माथ हों माथ मैं यह मा कह देना चाहना हू कि इन देश मे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टों कमी मी मभाजबाद स्वापित करने में कामयाब नहीं हां सकरी है। प्रणर वहु करी किसी दिन कामयाब होगां मी तो हमारे ऊपर राजर्नीतिक गुनामी, किषंटरर्रािप लादने में कामयाब हो सकती है सोणनिग्म कायम करने में बह् कभी मी कामयाब नईी हो सकती
[श्री घ० प्र० शर्मा]

है (इंटरध्भांज) 1 मैं तो भ्राप लोगों की तारीफ कर रहा हु, सच बात बता रहा हूं।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के नेता मसानी साहव ने श्रपना भाषण किपा है घ्रोर उन्हों ने कहा कि तीस बर्स से उन की प्रत्रान मंत्री के साः दोस्ती है, जानपहचान है। यह हम सब जानते हैं कि किसी वक्त में मोशलिस्ट थे म्रोर यह भो हम जानते हैं कि घ्राज ये इ 5 देश के घ्दन्दर किस सिद्धान्त के पृष्ठपोष क हैं, किस सिद्वान्त के समथंक हैं। इस वियय में मुते प्रधिक कहने की कोई जल रत नहीं है। सारी स्पोचिज को जां कि श्रपोजोणन को तरफ से दुई हैं प्रोर खास तोर से मसानी साहब की हुई हैं ध्यानपूर्वक देखा जाय तो एक ही बात उन सब के प्रन्दर भाती है । प्रोर वह् यह् है कि वह स्वतन्न्र हैं घ्रोर स्वतन्त्र के माने यह् हैं कि इंडिपेंडेंट हैं । श्रब भाप देखें कि ईंडिपेंडेंट के माने बया होते हैं। छंडियेंडें के माने होंते हैं नाट-डिपेंडेंबल । म्राप यह कहते हैं। देश के भ््न्दर एक ऐसो पालिसी हिंननी चाहिये जिस के ऊपर कोई भी डिपेंद्न न करे । दूसरे इस के माने प्राप जानते हैं यह हैं कि वह स्वअन्त्र हैं यानी फी के होते हैं। इस का मतलब यह होता है कि स्वयं वे फी हैं,फी एंडरप्राद न वे चाहते हैं, कोई सीलिग घामदनी के ऊर या छ्नकम के उपर ये नहीं चाहते हैं, देपा में कोई प्लार्गिग हो, यह बह नहीं वाहते हैं। उन्हों ने क्रपनो सारी स्पीच मे हमारे प्लानिग को डिफेष्टिटव प्लानिग बताया है, प्लान की नुक्ताचोनी की है । लेकिन उन्हों ने यह्ह नहीं बताया कि किस तरह से प्लान होने से देश का कल्याण हों सकता है । जब उन्हों ने घपना तीस बरस पुराना सम्बन्ध प्रध्रान मंवी के साथ बताया तो मुभे बड़ी खुणी हुई । शायद उस का कुछ प्रसर उन के ऊपर हुभा है जब उन्हों नं बड़े- बह़े केषिटलिस्टों भौर बड़े-सड़े पू ज्रोपतियों की हिमायत करते हुए मो, उन का हिमायती होते हुए भी दो धामू किसान के नाम पर घोर छृषि के नाम पर बहाये है ....

शी पु० ₹० पटेल (पाटन) : इस में भी राजनीतिक उद्देश्य हो सकता है ।

की प्र०प्र० ज्रो : हां हो सकता है कि वह भो एक राजनैंतिक उद्देश्य को सामने रब कर ही उन्होंने कहा हो। लेकिन जो बात उन्हृंने कही है यदि वह ठीक है तो कम से कम वह जलूर हस बात की कोशिश करेंगे। जो हिमारा चोया प्लान है उसके बारे में मी जहां तक में समศता हूं उन्होंने यही कहा है कि हाल्टिग वे में हमें जाना चाहिये । इससे साफ जाहिर होंता है कि प्रगति की बात वह नहीं करना चाहते हैं, हाल्ट की बात ही करना चाहते हैं। सीधे एक्दों में उनको कहना चाहिये था कि हमारा जो श्रगला प्लान है वह एप्रिकलबर ध्रोरियेंटिड होंना चाहिये, कृषि की तरफ हमें उस में ध्रधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये ।

मैं भ्यौर घ्रधिक नहीं कहना चाहता हूं । इस तरह के जो नो-कान्फिडेंस के प्रस्ताब श्राते हैं, इन में कोई तथ्य नहीं होता है, इनका कोई मूल्य नहीं होता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यहां पे किया भविशवास का प्रस्ताव किसी एडजनंमैंट मोशन के बराबर भी नहीं है । जो फैक्ट्स उसके श्रन्दर बताये गये हैं, उनके श्राधार पर मैं यह कह रहा हूं। एक एडजनंमैंट मोगन से भी कम उसको माना जा सकता है। इसके पीछे सिर्फ इतनी सी ही बात है कि वे दुनिया को बतलाना चाहते हैं कि एक बरस के घन्दर उन्होंने तीन प्रविएवास के प्रस्ताब या चार भविश्वास के प्रस्ताव यहां रबे। लेकिन यह बात नहीं मूलनी चाहिये कि जो गबनंमेंट है वह श्रपोजीशन पार्टीज के विश्रास या प्रविश्वास के ऊपर जलने बाली नहीं है, भुर उनका भविश्वास गवनंमैंट में हो तो कोई नई बात नहीं है, श्रसली बात यह है कि देश की जनता का विश्वास गबरंमैंट में होना बाहिये । उन्होंने 1966 की बत बत तो कही है। 1966 मी चाएगा घ्रोर 1967 भी थाएगा । उस समय वह देखेंगे दूसरी पाटियों की बात तो मे कुछ नहीं कहु सकता

हुं क्योंकि बह बहुत मुनासिब नहीं होगा, लेकिन जहां तक मसानी साहब की पार्टों का सवाल है, इस देण में कोई मी भविष्य उनकी पार्टी के लिए नहीं है। यह् बात में दाबे के साथ इस मीके पर कह सकता हं । हसलिए में कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो प्रविश्रास का प्रस्ताब है बह एक राजनीतिक प्रस्ताब है पोर उस के वंछे कोष तथ्य नही है। म्रगर प्रश्न देश की समस्पामों के समाधान का है तो श्राबश्यकता इस बात की है कि जो बाध की समस्या है, महढंगाई की समस्या है या कई मोर समस्यायें हैं, सभी गरष्ट्रीय समयायें हैं उन को सभी पार्टिया मिल जुल कर हल करने की कोणिए करें ।

भ्राज हमारे देश में विरोष्री पार्टयों को हक है कि भान्दोलन कर के सरकार की गलतियों को बतलायें, उस का बिरोध करें, लेकिन इस का मी एक स्टंन्डं होना चाहिये। भ्रगर बह देश के प्रन्दर वायोलेंस की नीति को प्रकत्यार करें, लंगों को वगंलायें या ईस तरह के रास्तों को प्रपना कर, जिन को धरहिमाकेटिक कहा जा सकता है, ब्बास तोर से हमारे श्री पाण्डेय जी या एस० एस० पी० के लोग जनता के बीच में विद्रोह या विभोष फैलाना चाहते हैं, तो इस का फल उन को भोगना पड़ेगा । इस के लिये सरकार दोषी नहीं है, देश दोषी नहीं है, कोई भन्य दोषी नहीं है। सारी जिम्मेदारी इन पाटियों की है मोर इस का फल उन को मिलेगा। जिस समय हम तकलीफ में हैं, हम का संयम से काम लेना बाहिये। क्षाज जो मी हमारी समम्यायें हैं सरकार उन को जानती हैं। अैसे ब्वा समस्या है, जो सत्तासच पार्टी है, जो उस पार्टी के सदस्य हैं उन सब को मालूम हैं कि ब्बाच को ले कर लोगों में कितनी परेणानी है। उस का प्रन्दाजा विरोष्धी वाट्टीं को बतलाने की जसरत नहीं है। हम पार्टीं के पन्दर उस पर बात करते हैं, भपनी एगिजक्यूटिव में बात करते हैं पोर सरकार के सामने लाते हैं। जो हमारी पाटीं के स्पोक्समैन हैं, हमारे प्रधान मंती जी, उन के रोज के ष्वानों को पाप भार

देबेंगे पोर पढ़ोंते तो पाप को पता चलेगा कि बह पूरो तग्ह से फ्रवगत हैं ईन समस्पामों से पोर उन को हल करने के लिये वह किस तरह से लगे हुए हैं। हर रोज पबबारों में जो निकलता है या पालियामेंट में जो बहस होती है उस में भी भाप को देबने को fिलेगा कि वह क्या कर गहे हैं मोर देग को भी पूरी तग्ह से मालूम होता रहता है। इस लिये इस तरह् से द्रामा करना या नाटक कग्ना प्रोग लोगों को बतलाना कि वे ही लंग सब के ठेकेदार हैं, मुनासिब नहीं है।

बी मोकार लाल बेख्षा (कोटा) : देश भूबों मर रहा है मोर भाप कहते हैं कि तमाणा हो रहा है ।

की घ० प्र० धार्मा : तमाशा प्षाप करते हैं प्रोर $\boldsymbol{y}$ ामा वे करते हैं 'हस लिये में निबेदन करना चहता हूं बास तोर से उन पाटटयों से जो पपते को नेगर्नलिस्ट पारटयां कहते हैं, देग मक्त पाटियां बनने की कोणिए करते हैं, कि इस लंकट के समय में हम सभी को मिल कर काम कर्ना थाहिये।. . .

बी रामेब्रामशब : पाप जिस को संकट काल कहते हैं उसे विरोधी पारियों ने बनाया है या पाप ने बनाया है जिस में प्राप ने देग को फंसाया है पोर मब प्राप उस से निकलना चाहते हैं।

बी बं० ला० बौबरी : पप को बोलने की क्या जहगत है, प्राप तो सन्यामी हैं

बी प्र० प्र० श्रार्मा : म्बामी जी स्वयंम् सब कुष्ठ आनते हैं, उन से में क्या का सकता हरं। मेरे जैसा प्रादमी रस को लाने के लिये जियेगर नही हो सकता है, स्वार्मा की हो सकते हैं क्योंकि वे स्वामी जी हैं। इस लिये मैं नितेष्ट कस्ता कि हम सक को मिल कर इन सबालों को हल कग्ने की कोणिण कर्नी बाहिये, न कि इस तग्र से प्रविण्वास का प्रस्ताब यहां ला कर के। रस को वेग कर्ने का मतलब यह है कि तथ्यों से सोगों की प्राब्य हुट जाये, क्यों कि विरोधी पाटियों को मालूम
[श्री क्र० प्र० शर्मा]
है कि उन के श्रविश्राम प्रस्ताव का क्या नतीजा निकलने वाला है । श्रगर बह हस तरह को द्वरकतें करेंग तों उन को उस बा फल भांगने के लिये नंयार रहना चाहिये । इन घटदों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हैं ।
Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I think this is a highly inopportune moment for the opposition to have brought about a no-confldence motion. And it is because of this that the Members of the Independent Parliamentary Group have not associated themselves with it, although we sit in the opposiion. The reasons are of course obvious. At this particular juncture our country is faced by an invasion and attacks from Pakistan. In a situation like this it behoves a nation like us to show to our opponents a house united, and not a house disunited. These no-confidence motions which really amount to nothing, for the simple reason that the opposition has not enough strength, are something that is only making us and our Parliament a laughing stock in the eyes of the country. I would therefore request my friends in the opposition that if they want to table no-confidence motions, the correct thing would be for them to move them from a position of strength. At the present moment, all the opposition put together is like a small baby kitten trying to stand up to a lion. I myself would like to see two powerful parties emerging in this country to safeguard and guarantee democracy. But right now, Sir, the situation does not exist, and therefore when we try to censure the Congress Party I would also feel inclined, as an Independent to censure the Members of the Opposition for allowing such a situation to come about.

1 have said it in the past that the Congress Party or the Congress Government is there by the grace of the opposition, and that stands true today; because the Congress would never have been here otherwise, because we
know that they have won on a minority vote. Even then all of us in the opposition have not realised that fact and still continue to quarrel and quibble among ourselves. Three eiections have gone by, and yet the strength of the parties more or less remains static. (Interruption). Mr. Masani says that the strength of his party is likely to increase. Well I will be very happy to see that. But my forecast is that the Swatantra Party will either remain static or return one or two more persons. And that will be of no particular use.
Shri M. R. Masani: Wait till 1967; you will have a very unpleasant surprise.
Shri Karni Singhjl: I will be delighted to see that. (Interruption). Do not keep it on a personal level.
Sir, I have been blamed very ofen that I have been extremely pro-Congress. But, quite frankly, 1 am not pro-Congress. I have admired the Congress for many things, and mainly because it has produced men like Gandhiji and Nehru. All of us who belong to my generation and who were at college when India became independent were influenced by the freedom struggle, and the Congress had become a symbol of the freedom struggle. But as matters stand today, not many people have the same faith or the same confidence in the Congress Party, and I would like to censure the Government on a few counts myself.

Ever since Independence, there has been a gradual movement towards complete lethargy and inertia in our government. And the man in the street knows perfectly well now that any legitimate claim of his will never go through the red tape of Delhi or the States. Such a situation should never have been allowed. But our administration has grown so big that all of us are quite unable to control it, and you would probably find if you speak to the Ministers across the floor, that they themselves plead helplessness in many cases which are absolutely genuine and true. The internal quarrels of the Congress

Party, both at the State level and at the various levels in he party hierarchy are something that the nation feels is only weakening the party. The only problem before the country is, who is the alternative they can vote for. The man in the street today, who is absolutely fed up with the Congress Party, wants to look around for a change. We all want a change, and I am sure a change will do the Congress good. But how is a change going to come about when every seat is contested by five different people and the Congress wins on a minority vote? You cannot blame the Congress for using this strategy. They have used the military type of strategy, and they have succeeded. And if anybody is to blame it is the opposition for allowing these flvecornered contests to take place for three elections. Therefore, if the Congress Party adorns the benches over there, it is not their fault; they are there berause the people voted them, even on a minority vote.

Mr. Masani has dealt at some length with the food situation. I would only like to say this much, that the food situation and the population increase are two entirely related subjects; and unless we plan our agricultural economy in such a way and our family planning programmes in such a way that we can get our food output to be equated with the increase in the population every year, the Congress Party and the country is certait:ly in for the high jump. I am afraid that most of our Ministers today are in the sixty to seventy age bracket, hence not all of them have the conception of looking far ensugh to see what will happen when India's population reaches ninety crores by the turn of the century. We know perfeetly well that all this talk about socialism and all this tall: about trying to wipe out poverty in the country will only be hollow talk until such time as you control the population and create plenty and a higher standard of living for all. But if matters go on as they are today you will never accomplish that. And while on the
subject of family planning-and I have been one of the strongest supporters of this ever since 1957-1 would like to say this much that the Government has to intensify its programme of family planning, but at the same time it must realise the dangers that lie before the country. If some communities are allowed to have large families because of their religious reasons and some communities are more or less, by their own instinct, limiting their families, you may easily have a situation created in the country where another partition may become necessary at the end of thirty years. The Government has to take strong steps to abolish polygamy in the communities in which it is allowed today. Every community stands equal in this country before the law. I think it is a matter of much shame to us that this same government which stands for equality of rights of women, should allow polygamy to exist in this country and have two different yardsticks for different Communities of the same nation. I hope a Bill will be brought forward seeking to abolish polygamy altogether for all communities. I hope my friends in the Congress benches would not be looking to Pakistan to see how they will take such a move. We are not concerned with what Pakistan thinks. We want to bring uniformity of law in our country.
Shri M. R. Masani: They have elready got monogamy.

Shri Karni Singhji: I know.
Another important thing is this. In view of the fact that unil you have a dictatorship, which I hope we will never have, you will never he able to soerce a citizen to limit his family to a size of three, which we consider to be the optimum, the only possible way would be to bring about a deterrent taxation applicable from a certain date which can be announced now and all those people who do not fall in line must contribute semething for the upkeep of these additional mouths to be fed.

As an admirer of the Congress Party, I felt very hurt when I read

## [Shri Karni Singhji.]

in the papers that a certain Maharaja was offered a package deal by the Congress. The deal consisted of, I believe-I am subject to correctionthat he would be made an ambassador provided he stepped out of politics and his wife left the Parliament. I admire the Congress and I would like to see the Congress Party strong, because it is only a strong party that can give the country a stable administration. I would have applauded the Congress Government had this offer been made before the Maharaja got into politics. The moment he began to make it hot for the Congress in his own State, he was offered an ambassadorship. This package deal may or may not be true, but I sincerely hope that the Maneraja will have the guts to turn it down, because the way in which it was done. One thing, 1 am sure of His wife, the Maharani who sits in this House will certainly have the guts to turn it down. 1 admire her for her conviction and for what she stands, though I do not always support her ways of political thinking.

Another point on which I wish to censure Government is the question of unemployment being allowed to continue as it is. Admittedly, unemployment is directly connected with population increase. Nevertheless, the immense frustration that is taking place in our country today in the minds of the youth is resulting in a sort of impasse. Something has to be done to see that the youth is not frustrated and they are utilised for the good of the country.

I would now briefly dwell on the language bungle. I am not against what was settled by the Prime Minister in the Parliament about this, but I see a danger in it. That is, that for the next 20 years, while we bring about an adjustment, a generation or two will only be half-baked and halfeducated, because the nverage student today is unable to get books and periodicals and reading material in the local languages and in Hindi. Until such time as this need has been completely fulfilled, you will find that
the university and college students coming out will only be half-educated. You only have to compare the students coming out of the St. Stephen's College, for instance, who turn out 100 per cent results in the IAS, IFS etc. with the students coming out of the colleges, for example, in Rajasthan and Punjab and see the difference in qualitative education. Surely, our Education Minister could see that the same qualitative education is given to everybody in this country. We have to realise that the time is not far off, no matter what Mr . Shastri will say, when India will have to build the atom bomb not because we believe in war, but because it is a deterrent. In a situation like that, I would like to know whether second-rate man-power would ever be able to accomplish this feat. Or, are we going to wait, allowing other countries to become stronger than us?

I would also like to censure the Government, joining hands with the Opposition, for the callous and the non-chalant way in which they have been imprisoning members of parliament. It reminds me of my boyhood days, when in the former States certain rulers were known to the imprisoning Praja Parishad members and the congress rierarchy from top to bottom yelled from housetops deprecating this. Yet, 20 years later, when we have more freedom and democracy has advanced, this same government is putting members of the opposition parties into jail, as if they were people of ordinary calibre. If they can treat the sovereign legislature like this, I doubt if their belief in democracy is genuine.

Coming to the question of no-alignment. I do not want to get entangled in the question whether we should be in one bloc or the other. I am going to ask my friends across one question: From the morning papers, I find that the Prime Minister is reported to have said that if Pakistan continue with their agressive tactics against India, we would attack them.
An hon. Member: Why not?

Shri Karni Singhji: Yes; I would like him to do it. But my reading of the problem is that the Prime Minister has made that statement with his tongue in the cheek, because knows it perfectly well that if we attack Pakistan, immediately its elder brother, China, will swoop down on us and we will be in a dilemma. Let us face the situation. The more squarely we face the situation, the better it is for the country. Nonalignment is all very well if you have the strength. If you don't have the strength, wisdom lies in making friends with people who think in your way. I am quite sure that this complex of not attacking Pakistan, in spite of whatever the Prime Minister might say, is a sign of weakness. It is weakness because we are not prepared to come to grips with the situation. Prime Minister Nehru might have been pledged to non-alignment; it was perhaps necessary at that time. But we have to live with he Chinese and Pakistani menace for the next hundred years. Are we going to be afraid of Pakistan, because China is there or are we going to get ourselves strong enough? Let us take the hypothetical case: We attack Pakistan and China swoops on us. We have war on two fronts. Which country do you think will come to our help? I think the Prime Minister would be kind enough to answer that and enlighten the House.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha): He will tell you "Russia".

Shri Karni Singhji: I also wish to censure Government for their accepting money to fight elections from big business. This morning's paper tells something about Mr. Kirloskar. the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, who said that they will only support those individual members of the Congress Party "who can appreciate our point of view and champion our cause". I can understand their point of view, but I cannot understand how the Congress. which stands for socialism and talks
of big business being reactionaries, will accept this aid from them. It is a matter of shame and even now, two years in advance of the elections, I would like the Congress to say that they will not accept money from big business. My Congress friends may say that if they accept money, it will be without strings. But the corruption level in the country has reached such a stage that nobody can ever accept aid from anybody else without strings. (Interruptions).

Shri Thirumala Rao (Kakinada): Can we take money from ex-rulers who have joined the Congress?

Shri Karni Singhji: I am not speaking here as the Maharaja of Bikaner; I am speaking as Mr. Singh. I have been here for three terms and I am not bothered about what you say.

Shri Shashi Ranjan (Pupri): For others' statements, the Congress Party cannot be held responsible.

Shri Karni Singhji: I want a statement from the Congress Party that they will not accept money from big business in the next elections.

Very briefly I want to say something about the estate duty for armed forces and the police personnel killed in action and duty. I have been mainly responsible, ever since 1952, for fighting the battle of the soldiers and policemen who are killed in action against an enemy for being exempted from estate duty, I admit there are a lot of difficultics. When Shri Morarji Desai was Finance Minister in $1958 h_{c}$ showed great wisdom in exempting the army personnel from estate duty if they are killed while fighting an enemy. That time the question of exempting the police personnel did not arise with the same urgency. But today our police personnel are spread out on the vast borders of India defending them with their lives in the same way as the army is doing. I want to know from the Finance Minister whether he thinks the lives of police personnel any cheaper than those of the army

## [Shri Karni Singhji]

people. Does he accept the fact that the army and the police, both of them, are brave Indians doing a fine job? I think it would behove the Government today to come up with just a gesture and exempt them from Estate Duty equating the army and the police.

Having taken the Congress Party to task, it is my unpleasant duty to take the Opposition parties to task also. Being an Independent Member, I think most of us can look at this controversial issue dispassionately, and if I am a little harsh to my friends in the Opposition more than what I have been to the Congress, 1 hope they will forgive me. (Interruption). The Congress Party is there because the people voted them so. The Congress Party is there because they won on a minority vote. The Opposition is here in such small numbers because they failed to unite when the country wanted them. The 1967 elections are only two years off. The man on the street today is asking a question. He asks: "If we do not vote for the Congress, whom do we vote for?" Are we prepared to supply them with an answer? Is the Opposition prepared to give them a united front? Cannot a democratic socialist Opposition emerge out of that on the basis of the two-party system which is necessary? My answer is " No ", because everybody here wants to be the Prime Minister. In this august House I had the honour to sit for three terms. I have seen that the number of the Opposition remains static. I make a forecast that these figures may very well remain staticit may increase by one or two-and for ten years the Congress Party will rule. Then the Communist Party will come up. whether we like it or not. If you want to avoid that situation, it is better the Opposition put their house in order. I am not a believer at any stage in a coalition or nationalist government, because I can never forget that we in our country are essentially too obsessed about our own imi-
portance. We are never prepared to co-operate and work together. Therefore, whichever party is in power it has to be a party which is homogeneous and strong enough to deliver the goods. It is for that very reason that I have been asking my friends in the Opposition, for God's sake unite and bring about an altogether new poiltical party of the democratic socialist forces. The man on the street today is greatly bothered about hunger and poverty. They are not interested in your fancy manifestoes any more as was the case in the 1952 and 1957 elections. I am quite sure, if these problems continue in this country, the food situation gets worse, living standards remain static and the cost of living goes up, all your manifestres will be good enough to paper the walls. The country needs, again, as I said, the Opposition parties to unite and bring about a merged new party. Alternatively, they stand to be censured as much as the Congress for allowing such situation to exist.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I should cunclude by saying that I oppose the Noconfidence Motion, and until such time as the Opposition is strong enough I as a citizen will cast my vote for the Congress because I believe Congress is the only united big party in the country as of today which can deliver the goods. When my friends in the Opposition will unite themselves and merge into a new party, I shall be delighted to vote for them because I feel the country needs a change. But I fear that situation is not coming about for another ten years.

I will just conclude by saying this much, that all these No-confidence Motions mean nothing until you can press it to a logical conclusion. The logical conclusion is to oust the party in power and form a government. If Shri Masani and his friends bring about a No-confidence Motion which appear to have the support of only 50 or 60 members, I repeat once again that it is like a little kitten trying to

Ight a lion. This is not the way of achieving the end tor which a NoConfldence is usually moved. If the Opposition want to do something, let them take this unification pledge here and now so that the man in the street will be prepared to vote for the Opposition and not be in a dilemma as to which of the five or six parties to vote for.

Sir, I hope that in the years to $\mathrm{com}_{\mathrm{e}}$ we will achieve prosperity and self-sufficiency in every field, and right now I think it is the Congress Party which can deliver the goods.

औी राषेलास ब्यास (उज्जैन) : उपाघ्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ हमारे विरोधी दल के सदस्यों ने एक परिपाटी सी गुरु कर दी है कि प्रति वर्ष बह प्रविप्रास का प्रस्ताव लायें । भविश्वास के प्रस्ताष को रबने बाले माननीय मसानी साहब ने कहा कि साल भर पहले बह ऐसा समझते थे कि प्राज नई गबनंमेंट है मौर इस को मोका देना चाहिए । बड़ी मेहरबानी की कि एक साल का मोका दिया। एक माल के प्रन्दर वह किर पविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लायें।

भभी मेरे से पूरं वक्ता महाराजा बीकानेर ने बतलाया कि प्रविध्वास का प्रस्ताब एक बड़े महान्व का प्रस्ताव होता है प्रोर लाने वाले की यह् जिम्मेदारी होती है कि वह् जिस समय भविश्वास का प्रस्ताब लाये तो उसकी णक्षित होनी चाहिए कि प्रविश्बास का प्रस्ताब पास होते ही वह गाप्दु की बागडोर कां प्रपने हाथ में ले मके। मैं विरोश्री दल के सदस्यों से यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि मान लीजिये कि यह गबनंमेंट हटती है तो विरोधी दल में से क्या कोई ऐेसी पार्टी है जो कि णेष सभी विरोधी दलों का विण्वास प्राप्त कर मकती है मौर भासन कायं सुषारू रूप से कला सकठी है ? मै तेसा मानता हां कि न्वनन्त्र पार्टी को कम्युनिम्ट पारीं, गी० एस० पी० या दूसरी पाटियों का ममर्थन प्राप्त नहीं हों सकता ! इसी तरह भगर कम्युनिस्ट $\sigma^{\text {- }}$

गवर्नमेंट बनाती है तो दूसरी बाकी पाटियों, एक, भाष को छोड़ कर, कोई उसका समर्षन नहीं कर सकता ।

एक ऐसे समय में जब कि हमारे सीमाक्षेत्र पर पहले से चीन का फाक्रमण मोजूव है घ्रोर भभी पाकिस्तान ने कच्छ का समझोता करने के बाद ध्राक्रमण किया है भोर तीसरे देश के घ्वन्दर जलवृष्टि न होने से जो बाद्याष्र की स्थिति का निर्माण हो गया है घ्रोर एक भयंकर स्थिति पैदा होने जा रही है, ऐेंे समय में हृमारे बिरोधी दल के माई पविएवास के प्रस्ताव को लायें घ्रौर देग में स्थिति जो बिगड़ती जा रही हो उसको हल करने में मदद देने के बजाय वातावरण को घौर बिगाए़ें इससे उयाक्ष देश के लिए धानक भौर कोई चीज़ नहीं हो सकती है ।

भीमती रेणु चक्रबर्ती ने भ्रभी पाकिस्तान ने जो हमला किया है उसके बारे में उन्हृंने बतलाया लेकिन मैं उनसे पूछ्छना बाहता कि उन्होंने चीन का नाम क्यों नहीं लिया जब पहले में वह यहां भा गये थे? कारण स्पष्ट है। उन से उनकी मिब्रता, मेलगोल है घोर उसकी विषारघारा से के हमेशा सहमत रही हैं, भ्रन्दल्नी उनके लिए ग्रेणु बक्रबर्ती जो को सह़ानुभूति है । मै यह पूछना चाहतता हूं कि तेसा कौन सा कारण हुप्रा कि एस साल मर के घ्रन्दर ही उनको प्रविश्वास के लिंय गुगाइण मिली ? एक तो कहा जाता है कि ब्याय समम्या ख़राप हो गई प्रोर ऊपर में गोलियां बलती है। कोल्हापुर में चली, विहार में बली। तोड़फोड़ प्रगर हुई नो हमारी पार्टी को क्यों कंड़म करते हो ? उन्हृंने कहृा कि गाधी ती ने मन् 1942 में म्रान्दोलन शुरु किया चा तो उसके बार क्या तोड़ फेंड़ नहीं हुई दी ? क्या काप्रेस उसके लिए जिस्मेदार है कीट भ्रगर कांप्रेस जिस्मेक्षर नहीं है तो उसी तरीके से छमारी पाटी मी जिम्मेबार नहीं कही जा मकनी है। महाग्रा गांश्रो का नाम उनहुँने
[8्री राधेलाल व्यास]

लिया लेकिन में उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि भले ही देग में किसी बड़े से बड़े देशभक्त ने यहां पर श्रहिसारमक कार्यवाही की है तो गांधी जी सब से पहले श्रादमी होते थे जो कि उस हिसात्मक कार्यवाही के प्रति अ्रपना विरोध प्रकर करते थे श्रोर उसकी भर्संना करते थे? श्राज कोहहापुर में 70 द्रकाने लूटी जायें, 10 दुकानों को श्राग लगाई जाये तो मैं पूप्पना चाहता हूं कि विरोधी दल के क्या किसी एक भी मदम्य ने उस की भत्मंना की?

भी जी० भ० छृपालानी : क्या कांग्रेस वालों ने उसकी भर्संना की ?

घो राषेलाल ब्यास : कांप्रेस बाले क्या भर्त्सना करेंगे?

थी सरजू पाज्डेय (रसड़ा) : दक्षिण भारत में जो लैंग्वंज ईश्यू पर तोट़ फोह़ हुई उस पर श्रापने क्या किया?

घी राषेलाल क्वास : क्रपोजीयन वालों की यह भादत ब तरीका रहा है प्रोर श्रमी भी बहा उसको बदल नहीं रहे हैं । हृमने उनके एक, एक शाव्द को बड़ी चान्ति से सुना, जितनी मी गन्दी सेगगन्दी बातें कही जा सकती यीं उन सबको धैयंपूर्वक बर्दाष्त किया लेकिन जब हमारी तरफ से कोई बोलना चाहता है तो बीच में गड़बड़ी करते हैं। यह बन्द होना चाहिए थौर उनमें सहन करने की ब दूसरों की बात सुनने की शक्ति व घ्रादत होनी बाहिए ।

एक मानमीय सबस्य : बन्द हो गया । 15 hrs .

भी राषेलाल क्षास : मैं ग्रापं यह् निबेदन करना चाहता हैं कि यह जो खाय समस्पा को लेकर कहा जाता है तो यह कोई गवनेमेंट की पैदा बी हुई नहीं है प्रोर यह गबनंमेंन्ट की पालिसी का परिणाम नही है । भ्रगर देश में घाज बड़ी से बह़ी स्टेट में,

मष्य प्रदेश में जहां ग्रनाज काफी होना है वहा भी वर्षा नहीं है, बिहार में नहीं है, उत्तर प्रदेश में नहीं है, राजस्थान में नहीं है, दक्षिण में हमारे मैमूर के मिव कहते हैं कि बहां नहीं है ग्रोर ग्रान्ध में नहीं है तो यह कोई मनुध्य की बनाई हुई नहीं है, यह कोई राज्य की गालिसी की वजह् से नहीं हृई है । यहु एक विकट ममस्या है । श्राज हम को कुष बूंदे दीख रही हैं श्रौर कुष पानी के भ्रासार नजर ग्रा गहे हैं । श्रच्छा हो कि पानी बरस जाये । झ्रगर पानी न बरसा, तो ख्खाना नो दर्गकिनार, पीने का पानी मिलना भी दुण्वार हो जायेगा, लाखों मवेशी मर जायेंगे । ऐसी समस्या देश के सामने श्राने वाली है । हमें उस ममस्या का मुकाबला करना है । श्रगर हम सब मिल कर उस के बारे में बिचार करेंगे, तभी वह समस्या हल हो सकती है। लोगों को यह कह कर उभाड़ने में कोई समस्या हल नहीं होने वाली है कि श्रनाज नहीं मिल ग्हा है । प्रनाज कहा से मिलेगा ? जितना श्रनाज गये साल ग्राया, उतना कभी श्रमरीका से नहीं भ्राया था, लेकिन फिर भी स्थिति बिगड़ रही है । हुम सब को मिल कर उस पर विचार करना चाहिए घोर उसको सुधाग्ने का उपाय सोचना चाहिये । केबल डिमांस्ट्रेशन करने या गवर्नमेंट को कन्डेम करने से यह बुगाई हल नहीं होने बाली है । भगर विरोघी दल ग्रौर कांग्रेस मिल कर , परस्पर विचार कर के, लोगों को सही ठंग से प्रोर महयोग मे काम कर्ने भ्रोर शांति से गहने की चेतना श्रोर प्रेरणा नहीं देंगे, तो स्थिति को कोई भी काबू में नही रख सकना है, चाहे कांप्रेस गवनंमेंट हो श्रोंर चाहे कोई श्रोर सरकार यहां पर बिटा दी जाये। यह गम्भीर प्रण्न है। इस सम्बन्ध में हम सब को मिलकर काम कर्ने की जएन्तन है । यह मभम्या बड़ी विकट हो सकनी है।

इस निए़ णेंसे ममय में प्रविश्वास का वातावरण पंदा कर्ने, मोगों की भावनाप्रों को उभाड़ने , ग्रशांति पैदा करने प्रौर जगह-जगह तोड़-फोड़ की कायंबाहियां करने से बाज घ्राने की जहलरत है 1 मैं समसता हूं कि ऐसे समय में बड़ी खांति सें घ्रौर बड़ी गस्भीरता सें काम करने की जरूरत है ।

श्री मसानी की थोर सें यह भी कहा गया है कि हमारी मीमा पर ख़तना है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि धगग हमारी मीमा पर ख्वतर है, तो क्या इम गवनंमेंट ने साहस सें काम नहीं लिया, क्या उस ने दृढ़ता के माथ स्थिति का मृकाबला नहीं किया, पिछले सालों में गवनेमेंट की जो पालिसी रही है, क्या उम में बंढ कदम भागे बढ़ कर उम ने हिम्मन नहीं दिख्बाई है ।

भी घ्रोंकार लाल बे रबा : दो मील पी छे भाग गए।

धी राषेल. क्यास : मेंे मिव इम तग्ह की बात कर्ते हैं। लंकिन जब मीका क्रायेगा, तब मालूम नहीं, बे कहां भागेंगे । गायद दीलिंगे भी नहीं । वे यहां पार्लियामेंट में बड़ी बड़ी बानें करते हैं, लेकिन भगर उन में हिम्मत है, नो के जायें, प्रौर पाकिस्तान के हलाके में धुमें, जिम तग्ह से पाकिम्तान के रेड़ं घ्राये हैं ? वे भी वहां पर धुमपंठ क्यों नहीं करते हैं ?

एक माननीय सबस्य : क्या सग्कार जाने देगी ?

घो राषेलास घ्वास : सरकार उन को भेजेगी।

बी तुकम बन्ब कघ्यवाय (देवाम) : यह मरकार की जिम्मेदारी है ।

धी राषेसास क्यास : यहा पर यह्ह कहा गया है कि हैम को एमे समय में मित्रों की

तलाश करनों चाहिए ग्रोर देबना चाहिए पि: कोन हमारं। चदद कर सकला है । माननीय सदर्म के कहने का र्पष्ट भाव यहि हैं कि हुमें पमरीका से दोम्ती करने मीर उस से ज्यादा मदद लेन की जहुग्न है। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि हम प्रमरीका के बोस्त हैं $T$ घमरीका हमाग दुण्मन नहीं हैं। उस ने हमारी मदद की है मीर उस के लिए हम उस के घ्राभारी हैं। हम उस मे मिश्रता रख्बेंगे, लेकिन साथ ही हम दूसरे देशों में भी मित्रना रम्बना खाहते हैं । दूसरे देगों ने भी हमारी मदद की है । हम इस पालिसी को नहीं छोड़ना चाहते हैं। माननीय सदस्य ने छनछायरेक्टली हस तग्फ डशारा किया कि हैम को नान-पलादनमेंट की पालिमी को छोड़ दना बाहिये प्रोर चंकि प्रमरीका हमारी मदद कर रहा है, इस लिए हम उस के पिटडू प्रोर fिछ्ठलग्गू बने रहें । लेकिन हैम तेसा नहीं कर सकते है।

इस सम्बन्ध्र में हृमें यद्व याद ग.बना चाहिए, कि दुप्मनों मं मकाः ला के:।न हथियांतं से नहीं हृप्रा करता है । यहु ठीक है कि हाययान जस्री हों है, लेकिन हाथयारों। के दागा ही काई जीन मके, यह यह़ संभव नहीं है ।

> भी हुकम बन्द कध्धाय : नालियों मे मुकाबला होंना है ।

उषाप्यक्ष महोबय : आ्याहंग, क्राहंग ।
धी राष्षेलाल क्वास : उपार्मक्ष मकोंदय, ये प्रादन मे लाचार है।

हम बारे में तुलमीदास जी ने कहा है, मैं उस को प्राप के मामने ग्बना चहहतां हैं। जिस ममय गवण प्रोग गम का यद हों गहा था पोर गबण भपने ग्र पर मझ क. कर मौर हृर प्रकान के हीधियान लेकर घाया
[श्री राषेलाल ठ्यास]
था, तो उस समय विभीषण को बड़ी चिन्ता हुई- जैसे कि इस समय हमारे मित्रों को हो रह़ी है- कि श्राप केसे भ्रपनी रक्षा करेंगे, क्योंकि प्राप के पास तो ग्य मी नहीं है, माप के घरीर पर श्रोर वैरों में रक्षा करने के लिये कवच वरीरह भी नहीं है । तुलसीदाम जी के गब्दों में

> "राबनु रथी विरथ र्युबीरा । देखि विभीषन भयेज श्रधीरा ।। श्रधिक प्रीति मन मा संदेहा । बंदि चरन कह सहित सनेहा ॥"

विभीषण ने कहा था :

> "नाथ न रथ नांह तन पद त्राना । केहि विधि जितब बीर बलबाना ।।"

छस के उत्तर में राम जी ने कहा :
"सुनहु सखा कह कुपानिघाना । जेहि जय होोह सो स्यंदन घ्राना ।।"

जिस से जय होती है, घह रथ दूसरा ही है ।
'सोग्ज बीरज तेहि रथ चाका । सल्य सील दुढ़ ध्वजा पताका $\|^{\prime \prime}$

घौर्य क्रोर धिर्य उस ग्थ के पहिंये हैं।
मैं समक्षता हूं कि भ्रगर हिन्दुस्तान में जोयंय घ्रोर ध्रैर्य है- यह कोई कार्रेस पार्टीं का सबाल नहीं है - तो हम जीत सकते हैं। श्राज कोई भी, यह् नहीं कहु सकता है कि हमारे देण में उन की कमी है । पिछली दफ़ा जिस समय चाइना ने हमारे देश पर हमला किया था, उस समय हिन्दुस्तान ने बता दिया था कि हिन्दुस्तान में गोरंय घोर घंयं है । इस थ्रवस्था में में पाकिस्तान या चाइना क्या, भ्रगर वे दोनों मिल भी जायें, तो मी बे हिन्दुस्तान को नहीं हरा सकते ।

हमारे मिन्र कहेंगे कि हमारी फ़ौजें पीछे क्यों हटी थीं। मैं उन को बताना चाहता हूं कि जिस समय जमंनी ने पहले दोलैंड पर घ्रौर फिर फांस पर, बैलजियम घ्रौर हालैंड पर हमला किया, तो इंग्लंड को दो साल तक पीछे हृटना पड़ा था 1 लेकिन उस में शीर्य घ्रीर घंर्य था, जिस के कारण श्रन्त में विजय उस की हुई । चाहे हम कहीं पीछे हटे होंगे, लेकिन यह निश्चित ग्रात है कि ध्रगर हममें शीर्य, !धेर्य, दृढ़ता, सत्य घोर घील है, तो हिन्दुस्तान को न पाकिस्तान हरा सकता है घ्रोर न चीन हरा सकता है ।

घी घोंकार लाल बेरवा : सक्रह साल से पीछे हट रहे हैं ।

घी राषेलाल ठ्यास : नुलसीदास जी ने भागे कहा है :


धो कपूर ससह (लुछियाना) : त्लसी पर दया कीजिये ।

बी राषेलाल क्पास : माननीय सदस्प को श्रपने पर क्या करनी चाहिए-उन

को भ्रपने पर दया भ्रानी चाहिए कि ऐसे समय में उन को मजाक सूझता है । हमारे मिन्न घ्रोर मी न मालूम किन किन बातों में साथ देने वाले हैं । भभी घ्रनगन होने वाला है ।

जी क्रोंकार लाल बे रबा : जल कर मरने बाले हैं।

की राषेलाल ध्वास : मैं निवेबन करना बाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान को घ्रपने बल पर भरोसा होना चाहिए, भपने घर को वेखना चाहिये । ऐसे समय में, जब कि दुग्मन दरवाओे पर खड़ा है, ह्मारे विरोधी मित कांग्रेस को कमजोर बनायें, गवर्नेंट को कमजोर बनायें, देश में घ्रशांत प्रोर गड़बह़ फँलायें, इस के वे भपने देश की मबद करने के बाजाये देश के चवुपों की णक्ति को बढ़ायेंगे, उन को शक्तिशाली बनार्यंगे श्रोर उन के हाष मजबूत करेंगे । इस लिए देश की पाजादी का तकाजा है कि उन को तेंते कदम से बाज़ श्राना घाहियें।

इस बहुस में चन्द घोर भी बातें कही गई हैं। घ्री मसानी ने फूछ प्राबलम के बारे में कहा कि हुम को पंत्रह साल इस बात का फ़ैसला करने में लग गए कि हमारे लिए फ़ार्मोसा का बीज घ्रच्छा ₹ गा या मैक्सिको का । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हैं कि पिछले पंत्रह साल में जो कुछ मी हो सकता था, वह गबनेमेंट ने किया है। उस ने सब स्टेट गबर्नमेंट्स की सलाहा से, विशेषझों की सलाह से काम किया है। उस ने करोड़ों रपये दृषि पर ख्यं किये है, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि प्रभी तक बह समस्या हल नहीं हो पाई है मोर हमारे प्रयत्नों के जो परिणाम हमारे सामने धाने चाहिए बे, बे नही प्राए हैं। लेकिन इम के लिए किसी को दोष देना मुनासिब मालूम नहीं होता

है । इस गवनंमेंट ने कम्पूनिटी छेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम इसी लिए शुर किया कि देग का कृषि उस्पादन बके, किसानों की प्राय बरें। उस ने नई नई प्राजेकट्स, हर्गिगेशन की प्राजेक्ट्स, बिजली की प्रोजेक्ट्स, फ़रंवाइजर फ़ैकटरीज, प्रारम्म की । बंजानिक हुंग से कृषि करने के लिए किसानों को जो साघ्रन जुटाए जाने चाहिए घे, उसने बहुत कुछ जुटाए । लेकिन हमें यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि हमारे सीमित साधन है मोर हम हर प्रकार से पिछड़े हुए हैं । घभी सष क्षेत्रों में हमने विकास करना है। पंष-षर्षीय योजनायें मी हमने हसीलिए णुरु की हैं। हम श्रपने सीमित साधनों से ही काम कर्ते हैं। मिव्द्देशों से जितनी मबद हमें मिल सकती है, बह हम लेने की कोशिश करते हैं भौर रात दिन देश में कृषि की प्रगति के लिए प्रयस्न करते हैं । इसलिए गघर्नमेंट को इस बारे में दोष देना मुनासिख नहीं मालूम होता हैं। हस बारे में जों कुछ भी हों सकता है, बह किया जा रहा है ।

में यह भी निबेदन करना चाहता हू कि हर समय त्क मी फूड पालिसी मह़ीं चल सकती है। माननीय मदम्य ने किखबर्ष साहब का नाम लिया घौर कहा कि उन्होंने हींकंट्रोल किया था। मै समकता हू कि प्रगर भाज किदवर्ई साहब होते, तो भाज वह उस पालिसी पर न चलते । फूह पामिमी में भ्रापको बार बार परिवतंन करना होगा । प्रापको वेखना होगा कि जसी परिस्थिति है, उसके घ्रनुसार ही छस पालिसी को कैसे ढाला जा सकता है। एक पालिसी कभी चल नहीं सकती है। फूट पालिसी के बारे में यह बात निण्षित है कि समय ममय पर श्रापका इस पर विषार कग्ना होगा भोर जब क.री उस्रत मह्हमूस हो उसमे परिवर्तन करना होगा । भाप जो कुछ मी वि दले एक दो माल से कर २रे है .

घो घोकार ताल बेरेबा : गसत कर रहे

श्री राषेलाल ध्यास : विल्कुल ठीक रास्ते पर हम जा रहे हैं। एक तरफ हमारे मिब्र श्रपोजीशन पार्टीज़ के हैं जो कहते हैं कि कंट्रोल नहीं होंना चाहिए श्रोर हूसरी तरफ दूसरे मित्र घ्रपोजीयन पार्टीज ही के हैं जो कहने हैं कि पूरा कंट़ोल होना चाहिये, पूरा गर्शानग होना चाहिये, मौनोपोली प्रोक्योरमेंट होना चाहिये सारे देश में। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि श्रपोजाशन पार्टीज़ वाले जो हैं उनका तो पह़ले उनके बीच जो मतभेद है, उसको मिटा लेना चाहिये श्रोग उसको मिटाने के बाद ही कांप्रेस को कहिना चाहिये कि वह़ गलन है या सही । कांप्रेस बीच का रास्ता निकालती है । पूरा कंट्रोल करने के बजाय जितना जहरी हां, उतना कंट्रोल वह कर्ती है । इनफामंल गर्शानग भी उसने किया है। इनफामंल रार्शानग के बजाय ग्रगर स्टे चुटरी रार्शानग शहरों में कर दिया जाए तो इसका श्रथं यहु हैं। जाता है कि उतना श्रनाज मुहैया करने की जिम्मेदारी मर्कार की हो जानी है । सरकार को श्रपना स्टाक देख कर ही ऐसा करना पड़ता है ।

मभानी साह्व ने महय प्रदेश के बारे में एक बात कही जिस को मुन कर मुझे बड़ा दुल हुभा। उन्होंने बहुत ही गलत बात कही है । मैं उसका प्रतिकार करता हूं, उसका प्रतिरोध करता हूं। उन्होंने यह् कहा है कि मध्य प्रद्देश गबर्नमेंट मुनाफाबोरी करती है उस में जो कोस प्रेन बह दूसरे प्रदेशों को बे चरी है । उन्होंने कहा है कि मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने चालीस प्रतिणन गु गाफा उस में कमाया है। मैं उनकी इस स्टेटमेंट को बेलेंज करता हूं। मषय प्रदेश गवनंमेंट पहले तो कोर्स य्रेंज़ में कोई क्यापार ही नहीं करती है . .

बी पु० र० पटेख: मष्य प्रदेश गबनेमट ने प्राफिट लिया है ।

थी राषलाल क्षास : इस साइड के कु 5 मिष घौर उस साश्ड के मी कुष महाराप्ट्र

के मित्र हमारे साथ नाराज हैं। लेकिन मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूं कि मध्य प्रदेश गवनंमेंट ने कोई प्राफिट उस में नही लिया। जो वे कहते हैं गलत हे । यहां फूड मिनिस्टर साहत्न बैंे हुए है प्रोर मैं चाहता हूं कि वे बतायें कि क्या यह मही नहीं हैं कि मध्य प्रदेश में से उन्होंने माढ़े चार लाग्ब टन चाबल बाला बाला खरीदा है प्रोर स्टेट गबनं मेंट बीच में नहीं श्राई है । इन्हुंने ही पै सा दिया है ग्रोर इन्होंने ही वाला काला व्यापाग्यिंों ओर्रोर उत्पादकों से खरीदा है श्रौर खरीद कर महारष्ट्र श्रोर गुजगत को दिया है। हमारे मसानी साहब ने कों ग्रेंज़ की ब्ञात की है । मध्य प्रदेग गवर्न मेंट छन में डील नहीं करती है। वहां पर कोई प्राक्योरमेंट कोसं अ्रंज़ का नहीं होता है । जहां तक गेहूं का सबाल है गेहूं में हम ब्रुद डिफिसिट हैं, हम ग्बुद दूसगें पर इसके लिए निभंर करते हैं। जो मध्य प्रदेश सादे चार लाख टन पर एक पैसा भी मुनाफे का नहीं लेती है उसके लिए यह कहना कि वह मुनाफाखोरी कर्नी है, बहुत बड़ा भ्रन्याय है, बढुत ही संगीन छल्जाम हैं प्रोर मैं उसका पूरी पाक्ति के साथ विरोध करता है । यह इत्जाम बिल्कुल जूठ है, गलत है, निराधार है । मेरे मित्नों को नाराजगी हो सकती है । वे मालदार हैं। बम्बई श्रोर महमदाबाद में करोड़पति काफ़ी रहते हैं । वे चाहते हैं कि मध्य प्रदेश बड़िया गेहूं उनके यहां बेता रहे मोर खुद बे कैंश क्राप्स बोते रहें । उनको क्या मालूम कि हमारे यहा दन म्रेंज के बाहर जाने पर रोक क्यों लगी है ? मैं उनको बनलाना बाहतता हूं कि हिमारे यहां भस्मी रुपये किबंटल से कम के भाब पर कहीं गेहें नहीं मिलता है । हमारे बड़े साह़व यहां बेडे हुए हैं, उन से पाप दस बात को पूछ सकते हैं। यह स्थिति तब है जब रोक लगाई गई है। घ्रगर मध्य प्रदेण से बुला गेहू बम्बई घोर हह्मदाबाद धादि गया होता तो शायद इमारे यहा गेहूं भाबेवाले को मिलना घी मुकिकल हो जाता। हमारे यहां गरीबी है।

उनके यहां जंसे लंग मालदार है, घैसे हमारे यहां नहीं हैं। गरीबों के हित मे म्रगर बहां की गबनंमेंट कोई प्रतिबन्ध लगती है तो वह ठीक ही लगती है । द्रूसरे प्रदे हैं जहां मे श्राप ब्ररीद मकते है। श्रान तो कंश काप्म बांना चाहते हैं, तम्बाकू, मूंगफनी ग्रादि बोना चाहते हैं श्रोग चाहने हैं कि. हमांे यहां का किसान गेहुं श्रोर चाबन ही बंना रहे । यह़ कहां तक न्याघांचित है । उनकां भी गेहूं, चना, जां, बाजरा भारिद बांना चारिये बजाय इमके कि केश काप्स ही ते बंते रहें। जब नक कंश काप कंट्रोंन प्रारंर प्राप लायू नहीं करेंगे घ्रोर जितनी म्रापको प्रनाज की जहुरत है, उ्यादा से ज्यादा उम हद तक पं दा करने की कोशिश नहीं ऋरेंगे, तब तक यह जो फूड प्राहनंम हैं यहु सातब नही होगा। के वन्न एक या दां या नंल प्रदेणों के भरोसे स्राप बडे नहीं रह सकंच है । प्रगर ग्राप चाहें कि महय प्रदेश, उड़ासा, श्रांध में वैदा हृए श्रम्न पर सारा देश जिन्दा गे़े तो बहै जिन्दा नहीं रह मक्रना है। हर गज्य कों प्रयत्न करना हांगा कि बहां ज्यादा से ज्यादा घ्रत्र वैदा हुं घ्रों उनकी श्रावज्यकताप्रों की पूर्ति जहां नक हैं मके उनके हीं यहां उत्पादित ग्रभ्न से ह़ं। कंश काल्य कम बोंयें प्रोर घ्रगर किसान नहीं मानता है तो काप कंट्रोन श्राडंर लागृ कर्ना चाहिये श्रोग इंटेंसिब कल्टीवें गन से श्रपने रान्य कों श्रात्म-निभंर बनाने की कोणिण कर्नी वाहिये। तर्भो फूछ पालिसी मफप होगी। इम तर्है के प्रत्रिश्वास के प्रस्नाबों के द्वाग फ्ड प्राब्नंम को कर्मो साल्व भ्राप नहीं कर मकने है ।

भी राम सहाय पाज्डेष (गुना) : उाह्यक्ष महोदय, प्रविएवास का प्रस्ताव जों श्री मसानी ने यहां पर उपस्थित किया है घोर उस पर त्रिस प्रकार उन्होंने देश की प्राषिक स्थिति की समीक्षा की है, उससे एे मा घ्राभाम होंता है कि उन्हें बह़ो निगणा है प्रां निगागा हैं नहीं ध्रवितु ध्रंब्रकार हो मंड्रकार उनके सामने छाया दुप्रा है घीर छूम

मंधकार में कोई व्वर्णम रेखा उनके सामने नही है, उनको दिलःई नहीं देती है।

उन्होंने हमारे ल्लान का, हमारी पोजजा का, हमाेे उत्पादन का, ह्मारी विदेणी मृद्रा का, हमारी खाय नीति का, हुमाने खाण उत्पादन का जो चित्र उपतिथत किया है उसकी घोर मैं चकि मसानो जी हम ममय यहां नहीं हैं श्रोर य्री दांडेकर जोकि यहां बंडे हुए हैं, चएता धगन प्राकीवित कग्ना चाहता हैं। घ्रापने एक बार नहीं, न जाने कितनी बार इसी सदन में बिदेगो मद्रा के सम्बन्ध में कहा है. विदेशों मे उयापरी यका प्रायें, उमके नस्वंध में कहा है, फारेन कैंपिटन यहा घ्रापे छसक सक्बन्ब में न जाने कितनी बार कहा है ग्रोग ह्सकी बकानत की है । जिम प्रकार का भ्रापने निगणापूणं चित्र दे ेग के मामने उर्थिथन किया है उम भ्रविध्याम के प्रश्नाब के माध्यम से कथा यह उस साहूकारी। के पक्ष में जाएगा जिस साहूकारी की क्राण वकानत कर्ते हैं या उमके बिर्द जयेगा ? हम भ्राज भी बिंदेंां मे कडिट लेते हैं प्राज भी विर्देशों से हमें वैमा मिलता है उचोगों के बृद्विकरण के लिए, क्या यहु चिव उसके पक्ष में जाएगा। क्रापने यह मी कहा है कि हमारी विदेशां मूत्रा प्रोर हैमाग उनादन सब ममात हों गया है। आ्राप इसकाँ प्क सख्यर्ण जों व्यापार का मिदांत है, उस पर कमें। मर्ाकट में क्रगर कोई यह कहनने लगे कि: हमारे पाम वंसा भी नही है, उस्पादन मी नही है, नियोगन भी नहीं है, भ्रायोग्रन भी नहीं है, पायाए्र मी नही है प्रोच इन तमाम भ्रसफनताप्रों को श्रंणीबय एव में बयान करने के बाद किसी बंक के पाम आा कर केशिट वह मांगें इमलिए कि उसं घ्रपने ब्यापार को टिसेषिलिटेट करना है तो क्या बह् है क् उसको कर्ग देगा ! हस ब्वात को ध्राप भूस गये कि. प्रापकी यह स्पी च घम्तर्शाप्ट्रीय जगत में, तमाम म्बनचत्र देरों में, नमाम एंमी छंत्टीट्य्यंत्र में जहा से हमें मदद मिसरी है, उहा
[ल्री राम महाय पाण्डेय]

से हम पैसा लाते हैं ह्रोर जहां हमार्र। भाहुकारी भ्राज भी एस्टं बलिश्ड है, फ्राज री कायम हैं, कोट की जाएगी, हुमारे मसानी साहब का नाम लिया जाएगा । क्या इसका बुरा प्रभाव नहीं पड़ेंगा

एक मानमीय सबस्य : बोई श्रसर नहीं होगा ।

श्री राम सहाय पाबोय : देखने की बात तो यह है कि जैसी स्थिति उन्होंने पविश्वास प्रस्ताव के माष्यम से इस देश के सामने रबी है, वहु स्थिति क्या मचमुच वैसी ही है ? सच बात तो यह है कि वह वैसी नहीं है । उनका नाम बैलट में प्रा गया हस वास्ते उनको ईस प्रविपवास के प्रस्ताव को रखने की श्भनुमति मिल गई। बहुत से दलों ने श्रोर बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने परिष्वास का प्रस्ताब रखा था लेकिन चुंकि बैलट में उनका नाम निकल गया इसलिए उन्होंने इसको यहां पेक किया। लेकिन जो चिन्न उन्होंने अस्थित किया है उससे मैं समक्षता हूं कि उन्होंने घपनी ही साहूकारी को क्षपनी ही कुल्हाड़ी से काटा है। घ्रन्तर्राप्ट्रिय जगत के सामने जो विषम चित्न उन्होंने उस्थित किया है जिस में सिवाय निराशा घोर घंधकार के घ्रोर कुछ नहीं है उस में वह केसे यह भ्राशा करते हैं कि प्राइबेट एंट ग्राइज, फी एंट रप्राइज बाहर से यहां भ्राए, यहां क्षा कर केषिटल इनवेस्ट करे ? भपने इस सिदांत को, भपनी इस बात को वह केसे चरिताथं करेंगे ? मैं पूछ्छना चाहता हूं कि क्या इस तरह की बातें कहना बह साबित नहीं करता है कि उनके दिमाग का दिवाला निकल गया है, वह दिमागी तौर पर बैकरण्ट हो गए हैं घोर प्रपने पांब पर बुद कुल्हाड़ी मार रहे हैं? क्या स स तरह से बदनामी करना श्रच्छा है, उचित है ? में यही कह मकता हूं कि भगवान उनको सद्ब्वित्वि प्रदान करे । उनको चाहिये बा कि देश की स्थिति की वह्ह स्वस्प भौर स्वच्छ

भाय से समीक्षा करते । लेकिन वह़ हम सब फो भूल गए।

हम यांजना के माध्यम से श्रागं बढ़ना चाहंते हैं श्रोर श्रन्ननोगत्वा जो साधारण श्रादमी है, जो कामन मैन हैं समाज का, उसकी स्थिति को सामने गख्ये ढुए श्रपनी योजना के लिए साधन जुटा कर मुधारना चाहते हैं, उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते है । मसार्नी जी ने कहा कि एक योजना पूरी हुषं, दूसरी पूरी हुई, तीसरी पूरी होने को है लेकिन खाए उत्पादन नही बढ़ा है। तृतीय योजना के श्रन्त में ख्याध उत्पादन सो मिलियन टन होना चाहिये था लेकिन हमने सो मिलियन टन श्रनाज पेदा क.रके नहीं दिस्बाया। लेकिन हस संदरं में वह़ एक बात को मूल गए कि चीनी श्राक्रमण हैम पर हो गया घ्रोर डिफेंस पर, प्रतिरक्षा पर हमकों दो मो करोड़ के बजाय श्राठ मो करोड़ रुपया उ्यय करना पड़ गया । डसके लिए टैक्स लगाये गए हैं। जब राष्ट्र रक्षा के लिए टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं तों बड़े तीखे शब्दों में, मी एंटरत्राइज के नाम पर वह्ह हमारी भ्रालोचना करते हैं प्रोर प्रालोचना करते हैं हमारे बित्त मंब्री की, हमा ? सरकार की । एेसा करते समय वह यहु भूल जाते हैं कि देश की रक्षा सबोंचच है, देण की रक्षा करना प्रश्येक भारतीय का सबं प्रथम कत्तंक्य है । इस कर्तंक्य को, उस फजं को पूरा करने के लिए भ्रगर हम साधारण जनता के पास जाते हैं घ्रोर टैवस लगाते हैं, तो उसका भी यह विरोध करते हैं।

इस के बाद इस बात को भी लोग भस जाते हैं कि घ्राबिर योजना के ही माध्यम से हम श्रागे बढ़ सकते हैं। ऐसी परिस्थिति में योजना में जो भी हमारे साधन है उन को बटोर कर के, उन का सन्तुलन कर के, उन को झ्रलग घलग बिभागों में बांट कर के द्री हम भागे बढ़ सकते हैं । हमें इस को कहने में छोई संकोच नहीं है

श्रोर न हम में इस के लिए कोई क्षमायाचना की भावना है कि हमारे यहाँ भनाज कम हुप्रा है। 100 मिलियन टन ध्रगर होना चाहिये या तो केषल 88 मिलियन टन हुप्रा है । यह् जो 12 मिलियन टन का शारंटाल है उस से ग्रनाज के भाव बढ़ेंगे । उसके भाव बने भी हैं। ह्मारे यहां भनाज की कमी भी है, लेकिन जिस प्रकार से राजनैतिक रंग दे कर मनोवैशानिक दृष्टि से इस कमी को रकखा जाता है उस से लोगों में थोड़ी सी चिन्ता होती है, उन में होटिंग होनी है। मैं भ्रापका ध्यान माकरित करना चाहता हुं कि यदि हम थोढ़ा सा संयम से भपने च्रांकड़ों को देखते हुए, जो भी ह्हमारे साधन हैं उसको प्राये बढ़ाते हुए। एक मनोवैशानिक बंग का प्रभाब लोगों पर इलने की कोशिश न करें कि हमारे यहां ध्रनाज की कमी है तो में समझता हृं कि यह्ह बह़ा भारी काम ह्ठम इस राष्ट्र के हित के लिए कर सकेंगे । भ्रगर ऐसा किया जायेगा तो क्राज जो मनोविशान चल रहा है उस में भन्तर कायेगा घौर जो भादमी भाज खाने के लिए इकट्ठा कर के रखना चाहता है वह़ गायद नहीं रक्षेगा।

हमारे साम्पवर्शियों का एक ॠ्रजीब नारा है। बहा साथी कुषकों के बीच में जा कर कहते हैं कि तुम्हें गबनंमेंट भच्छी कीमत नहीं देती है फ्रोर उसके बाद शहरों में भाते हैं तो यह्द नारा लगाते है कि घरे भाई, मजदूरो, देखो, तुम्हारा महृंगाई मत्ता बढ़ना चाहिये कयोंकि ब्बाने की घोर दूसरी चीजों के दाम कितने बढ़ गये हैं। तुम सें बहृत ज्यादा पैसा लिया जाता है। उन को हढ़ताल के लिये उकसाया जाता है। एक तरफ तो किसान को इसलिये उकसाया कि उस को लाभदायक मूल्य नही मिल रहे हैं घोर दूसरी तरफ चहर के लोगों को उकसाना कि बाने की पहसेज बहुत बछ

गई हैं दूस लियं तुम हुड़ताल करो । यह जो द्वन्द्रात्मक विचार है, जो षड़यन्त्र है वह हमारे म्राथिक भायोजन में बाधा पहुं जाता है ।

प्रब क्षाती है भ्रविम्बास 'प्रस्ताव की बात । भगर प्राज की धान्तन्कि पोर वाल स्थिति को मामने रबा जाता तो बहुत सम्भब है कि यह प्रस्ताब श्री मसानी न रखते । प्राज जब सीमाभों पर कारों प्रोर भाक्रमण हो रहा है, एक तरफ बीन है, दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान है, तब इस प्रकार का प्रक्ताव भ्राया है। हमने कंजरकोट के सन्दर्म में एक समक्षौता किया । उस समक्षोते की यहां पर बड़ी भालोचना की गई । हम ने इस बात को ध्यान में रबते हुए समझोता किया, इस भाबना को भ्रात्मसात् करते हुए समकोता किया कि जितनी हुमारी रेबायें हैं सीमा की उन पर जान्ति म्थापित होगी। लेकिन यहा उस की बह़ी भारी फालोचना की गह, जायद पविएवास प्रस्ताब में भी बह ब्ञात कायेगी । लंकिन मे एक बात की प्रोर सदन का ध्यान भ्राकषित करना चाहता हैं कि यहा पर विरोधी बलों के सदस्यों की संख्या 133 है, लेकिन कच्छ के मामले में पानी पी पी कर कोसने के बाद fजस ममय मत लिये गये तो केबल 27 सदस्य उन में में उपस्थित ये प्रोर 110 मदस्य घनुपस्थित ये 1 इसी प्रकार से अब उब यहां मंमद्व का घधिबेशन होता है उस ममय पविणवास प्रस्ताव भा जाता है। दादा कृपालानी बोलते हैं, बड़ी भावना में प्रा कर मरकार की निन्दा करते हैं। पब की श्री मसानी साहब ने भविश्वास प्रस्ताब रह दिया । इसी तरह सें कभी जनसंच के नेता, जिन में थोडी माम्प्रदायिक भावना है, ऐमा प्रम्ताब रखते है, कमी कमी राब्ट्रीय एक्तता के नाम पर, साम्यबाब के नाम पर, समाजवाद के नाम पर साम्यवादी सदस्य सामने घाते है। लेकिन उन को मानूम है कि अविण्वास
[ पर्रीं राम सहाय पाण्डेय]
प्रस्ताबों को देश के विषेक की तुला में ग्रोर सदन के विवेक की तुला में जब रवसा जाता है तो दो या तीन दिन की बहुस के बाद सदन उन का निर्क्राग कर देता है ।

प्राज सदस्यों को मांचना चाहिये कि हमारा एक दुश्मन चीन है, दूसरा दुग्मन पाकिस्तान है, तीसग दृव्मन ह्वमरी श्रान्तरिक गरीबी है । इन तीनों का समन्ब्य कर्ते हुण उन को एक ரेसा वातावग्ण निमाण कग्ने में यांग देना चाहियं जिस में शान्ति, मंकल्प श्रोर काम कर्ने बी अमता वंदा हो देण में । यह नहों होना चाहिये कि एक तग्फ तो कम्यनिस्टों द्वारा हड़तालें कराई जा ग्ही हैं म्रोर दूसरी तरफ हमारे श्राधिक श्रायोजन की क्रालोचना की जा ग्ही है, जसा कि श्री ममानी ने किया। तीन रोज छस प्रविषवास प्रस्ताव पर बहस होगी । क्या ग्रच्हा होता कि हम तीन रोज तक एक ग्वनात्मक दिशा में सारे के सारे दलों के लोग बंठ कर इस बान पर विचार कर्ते कि जिस के हाथ में सत्ता है, जिस के नेतृत्व ते देश की सरकार का संचालन हों रहा हि, उस को सहयोग देने की क्या क्या प्रवतियां हों सकती है, कौन कीन से कायं हो सकते है, कोन क'न स सुल।व हो सकते है जिन को दे कर के हम देश के विकास में गत्यावरोध वैदा हो रहा है, घनाज की कमी घ्रोर मूल्यों में वृदि हो रही है, उस में सहायता पह्दुंचा सकते हैं। एक दृष्टिकोण यह भी हो सकता है श्री मसानी ने घपने शांकड़ों के भंडार भर विये, लेकिन थोर किसी दिशा में उन्होंने कोई रचनात्मक सुझाव नहीं दिये कि खाप्र के सम्बन्ध में जो कमी है वह केसे दूरी हो। हम ने यहां पर श्री मसानी की भासोचना सुनी लेकिन घपने भाषे घंटे के भाषण में उन्होंने कोई राय नहीं दी कि किस प्रकार से घनाज की वृद्धि हम कर

सकते हैं, कैसे 125 मिलियन टन घ्म का उत्पादन देश में हों सकता है, इसी प्रकार से उन्होंने इस बात को नहीं सुझाया कि कंसे हम विदेशी मुदा के सम्बन्ध में म्रागे बढ़ सकते हैं, केसे निर्यात कां बढ़ा सकते हैं, उत्पादन कंसे बढ़ा सकते हैं श्रोर रुपये का मूल्य जो 14 पैसा रह गया है वह केसे बढ़ा सकते हैं । क्या यह स्वाभाविक नहीं है कि बजाय इसके कि विरोधी बल सरकार की श्रालोंचना करे कोई रचनात्मक मुझाव, कोई विकल्प उपस्थित करे । मैं समझता हूं कि भ्रगर बिरोधी दल मेरी यह राय मान ले तो हम लोग काफी बातें कर सकेंगे ।

रही जन संघ की बान । खाली जन संघ का ही यहृ कहने का एकाधिकार नहीं है कि देश में चीजों के भाब बक़े हैं। हम जानते हैं कि भाव बढ़े हैं। जून, 1964 से से कर जून 1965 तक के जो हमारे इंडेक्स हैं उन के श्रनुसार दाम थाड़े से बढ़े हैं किन्तु हम देखते हैं कि वह बढ़ते घटते रहते हैं। कभी कुछ बढ़े ग्रोर कभी कुछ घटे। घ्रभी श्री मुख्वल्मण्यम ने यह भायोजन किया है कि चोथी पंच वर्षीय योजना में कृषि पर पूंजीगत ब्यय 4300 करोड़ र० का हो। उस से उत्पादन बत़ाने के जितने पाधुनिक ऊंग दो सकते है उन के सम्बन्ध में कहा कि मेक्सिको सीड लाया जायेगा । श्री मसानी ने इस का मजाक उड़ाया। हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न है कि हाइविध सीड से जो खेती की प्रक्रिया है उस के लिए प्रगर हम मेंकिसको सीड लेते हैं तो हम उस से चार गुना ज्यादा भष्र पैदा कर सकते हैं, इसी तरह से भगर हम जाटंर पैठी कास की जो प्रकिया है जिस में फसस 150 बिनों में पैदा हो जाती है उापान से उसे सीकें तो मैं नहीं समझता कि इस में कुष्ठ भनुचित बात हो सकती है 1

भी मी००० मसानी : दस साल पहले करना चाहिये था।

की राम सहाय पाण्डेय : श्री सुब्रहाण्यम ने भ्रपने श्रायोजन में हस बात को कहा है कि देश में कम से कम दसवें भाग जमीन के लिये बेती के साधन उपलब्ध किये जा सकते हैं, मर्यात् पानी का, बाद का, भू संरक्षण का प्रबन्ध घ्रोर जहां पर वर्षा निश्चित रूप से होती है वहां पर वैकेज प्रोप्राम की उत्नति की जा सकती है । भ्रगर चोयी पंच वर्षीय योंजना में यह् प्रायोजन सफ.ल हुोता है तो जो कमी है हम उसे पूरा कर लेंगे मौर अ्रधिक उत्पादन कर के पी० एल० 480 के भन्तगंत हम जो भ्रनाज बाहर से मंगाते है उसे भी बन्द कर देंगे । यह हमारा मंकल्प है श्रोर चोधी पंच वर्षीय योजना में हम 22 या 23 प्रतिशत पूंजीगत व्यय करके उस कमी को पूरा कर लेंगे । जैसा श्रा शास्त्री ने एक बार कहा था हमारे देश का श्राधिक 厄ांचा ऐप्रिकल्तर घं।रियेन्टेठ होगा । श्री मसानी को बतलाना चाहये था कि झ्रगर चोथी पंच वर्षीग योजना में 4300 करोड़ ए० में कुछ कमी पह़नी है तो हम उसं कैंसे पूरा कर सकें । घ्राज भावश्यकता दस बात की है ।

स्वाभाविक है कि जब हम को पैसा ज्यादा चाहिये तो हम को कर बढ़ाने पड़ेंगे । लंबिन जब कर बढ़ते हैं तो श्री मसानी नाराज होते हैं। ध्र बताइये कि श्रो मसानी नाराज हो जायें, साम्यवादी नाराज हो जायें, भावों के बढ़ने की वज्तह से, अन संघ नाराज हों जाये, दूसरे जो दल हैं वह नाराज हो जायें तो कैसे काम बलेगा । आ्याबिर कुछ न कुछ तो सिद्वान्त की रेखा रबनी चाहिये क्रोर रेबा में रह कर यदि हम भासोचना करें घौर कुछ बैकस्पिक सुनाब न वें, तो इस से यह होता है कि भविश्बास प्रस्ताब की जो एक राजनीतिक गरिमा होनी चाहिये, संमदीय प्रनिष्डा होनी

चाहिये, वह नहीं होोती है। म्याबिर यह क्या है कि घ्रो क्कुलानी जी भाषण दे दें घ्रोर वह श्रखबारों में छप जाये । घ्रब भाज श्री मसानी ने भी जां भाषण दिया वह् कस श्रख्बारों में भ्रा जायेगा । इससे राष्ठ कां काई उपलब्धि नहीं हों सकती। सब से बड़ी उपलविध्ध राष्ठ को पह होगी कि बुछ विकल्प दे कर बहा आयंये कि हम सहयोग करने के लिए तैयार है। योजना में इस प्रकार की कमी है भार उस कों पूरा करने के लिए हुम थाप को यह बनलाते हैं। घगर ரेमा होंता तो भाप की राय का स्वागत किया जाना ।

हृम समक्षते है कि हमारी सरकार बड़ी चिन्ता के साथ एक तर्फ ग्भा कर रही है हमारी मीमायों की, द्रूसरी तरफ गर्राबी के निराकरण का उपक्म कर रही है श्रोर तीसरा काम योजना बनाने का कर रही है । इन तीनों का ममन्वर करते हुए हम चाहने है कि संकल्प के माथ भ्रागे बढें। कोई कारण नहीं है कि इस प्रबस्या में हमारी बाध नीति में सुपार न हों मोर भाबों में जां वृद्धि हां। गही है उस में कमो न हो, पोर हमाग़ा जो संकल्प है देश की एकता प्रार प्रभुमता का प्रक्षुण्ण रम्नने का प्रोर उसं प्रकितमान बनाने का उस को हुम पूरा न कर सकें।

घी मसानी ने कहा कि हमें नानएनाईंड न रह कर प्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीप मैबी करना घाहिये। भ्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मैत्री का क्या म्रथं होना है ? उसका घ्रयं होता है कि हम ध्रपने ध्राप को मारगेज कर दें । हुम ममभने हैं कि नानएलाइनमेंट के सिद्धान्त का जो हमारे स्ब० प्रध्रान मंत्री ने प्रतिपादन किया था उसके पीछे एक बात थी । हिमारा देन्न बहुत बड़ा है, उसमें एक बड़ी भारी जन चकित है । हां, हमारे दे में बोड़ी गरीबी है, पर उसको हम प्रपनी घोजनामों के वागT टूर करेंगे । दम दे कंती कारण
[भ्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]
नहीं है कि ह्टम श्रपने भ्राप को वंस्टनें कंट्रीज के हाथों मारगेज कर दें श्रोर श्रमरीका से एलाइन हों जाएं। हम समझ्नते हैं कि भ्रगर कम्पूनिस्ट लोग हम से रणिया के साथ एल इइन होने का प्रस्ताव करें, तो उसको मी हम घस्वीकार करेंगे। इसी तरह से हम को मसानी साहब का पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों से एलाइन होंने का प्रस्ताव भी श्रस्वीकार कर देना चाहिये ।

हमको झ्रपने देश की चाक्ति को बढ़ाना चाहिये, श्रगर हमारी प्रकित बकेगी तो थन्य देश हम से मिवता करने के लिए स्वयं दौँ़़ंगे, न कि हमको उन से मिव्रता करने के लिए दीड़ना होगा। मिवता तभी होती है, जब भपने में र्शक्ति होती है। घ्रोर उस शक्ति को बढ़ने के लिए यह श्रावश्यक है हम संकल्प के साय क्रायोजन में सहयो^ करके उसको पूरा करें । थाज देश के सामने जो संकट है, उसमें हैं चाहिये कि हम कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर, संकल्प के साथ उस संकट का सामना करें घोर हंगा की एकता को सुदृढ़ करने का प्रयल्न करें, यहा राष्ट्र के प्रजातंत्र की त्रात है । इस राष्ट्र के प्रजातंब्न के प्रति बह़ा भारी बड़यंक्न चीन ने किया भोर चीन के समथं क घोर मी है घ्रोर उन समषंकों को भ्राज मी यह्ए विश्वास है कि षड़यंत्न के माध्यम से बे हमारे जनतंन्न की जड़ें हिला सकते हैं। मसानी साहब को यह सोचना चाहिये कि भगर कहीं जनतंव की जऱें इस देश में हिल गयीं तो न श्री मसानी रहेंगे, न स्वतंत्न घ्यापार रहेगा श्रोर न स्वतंब दल ही रहेगा ।

### 15.32 hrs .

[Dr. Saround Mahtshit in the Chair]
कार्रेस बैंडेड है प्रजातंव से । यद्द उसका भादरं है प्रौर इसकी रका के लिए जो भी रचनात्मक मुकाब माप दे सकते

हैं श्रापको देना चाहियं, प्रौर जिन लोगों ने इस सरकार के विरुद्ध चीन का समयंन किया है उन से भी मावघान रहना चाहिये ।

श्रन्त में हमारा जो लिगेडियर काइमीर में मारा गया उसके प्रति में श्रपनी प्रदार्जलि श्रापित करता हूं घ्रोर हमारे जो जवान चौदह चोदह हजार फीट की ऊंचाई पर चढ़ कर घवृत के घ्राकमण को श्रपने प्रत्याक्रमण से विफल कर भारत की रक्षा कर रहे हैं उनके प्रति हमागा मस्तक ध्रा से सुक जाता है । भौर उनके साथ ही हमारा मस्तक भ्रद्रा से उन काष्मीर के लोगों के प्रति भी मुक्ता है जिन्होंने बड़े प्यार श्रोर महपोग से हमारी सहायता की ।

ह्म घपने रक्षा मंबी के उस संकत्प को जिसको हमारे प्रधान मंबी ने मी दुहराया है, कि हम तब तक चैन से नहीं बंठेंगे जब तक एक एक इनफिलट्रेटर को देश से बाहर नहीं निकाल देंगे, पूरा करेंगे । देश की प्रभुसत्ता की रका के लिए हम सब एक हों घ्रोर एक हो कर ही हम घ्रपने देश्र का कल्याण कर सकते है । श्रगर माज हमारे भ््दर कुछ कमी है तो वह कल दूर हो जाएगी, घ्रगर कुछ बिलाई है तो वह कल दूर कर बी जायेगी; श्रगर धाज हूम एकता के माष्यम से, श्रायोजन के माष्य म से, राक्ति के माध्यम से श्रपनी प्रभुसता की रक्षा कर सकेंगे। यदि हम ऐसा कर सकेंगे तो संसार हमारी तरफ दोड़ेगा । हम को उससे मिन्रता की याचना करने की भ्रावश्षकता नहीं रहेगी ।

इन शघ्दों के साथ में निवेदन करता हुं कि सदन से मौर विशेष ल्प से श्री मसानी जी से कि भ्रगर उनमें कर्तब्य पालन की भावना जाग्रत हो गई हो, तो बे श्रपना प्रस्ताब बापस ले लें।

Shri P. R. Patel: This is a censure motion moved by the Swatantra Party, and since they could not muster a strength of 50 by themselves, it has been supported by the Communist Party, the Jan Sangh and other groups. It is a funny thing in democracy. The ideologies of these four or flive groups or parties differ. They are minussing each other; they do not make additions, but they divide each other. And yet on this eensure motion, they have all stood up. A censure motion is always to oust the Government in power and to show readiness to shoulder the responsibility? which group is there opposite which can shoulder the responsibility? Neither the Swatantra Party nor the Communist Party nor any other group is in a position to do so now. So, a censure motion in such circumstances is really most undemocratic.

My hon. friend referred to the fact that the Congress had been in power Por the last fourteen or fifteen years or more and should, therefore, be ousted. I would say that it is for the people, and not for Shri M. R. Masani or the Swatantra Party. I am sure that considering the way in which the Swatantra Party works today perhaps the people will oust the Swatantra Party from the sphere of politics altogether.

My hon. friend the lady Member from the Communist Party was very critical of detentions under the Defence of India Act, the DIR and so on. We do not like detentions. We are for the liberty of one and all.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Who does not like it?

Shri P. R. Patel: We do not like detentions. Even the Congress people do not like detentions. But there are certain circumstances when we have to put restriction on the liberties of individuals, because there is no other way out. You know that in our country the Communist Group wanted to create such a stuation as would
help them to capture power. So, they imitated the Viet Cong.

Shri J. R. Kripalani: Why do you not ban the party?

Shri P. R. Patel: The Viet Cong are used by North Viet Nam and they want to capture power and put an end to the democratic rule in South Viet Nam. My hon. friends from the Communist Party wanted to do the same thing here, but the shrewd Home Minister saw the game and put them behind the bars. And now they clamour that they must be given liberty. Liberty to do what? To invite China here? To create trouble here? To create disturbances here? What for should they be brought out from the prisons?

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Who invited China?

Shri P. R. Patel: I think that it was a wise step on the part of Government to have put these people in jail. Today, the rightists amongst the communists clamour for the liberty of the Leftists. Whether inter se they quarrel between themselves or not or whether it is a game between them, I do not know. But if the Rightists are really opposed to the actions, workings and ideologies of the Leftists Group, why should they try to see the Leftists free from the prisons? It seems that they are one and the same. After all, the colourright or left-does not make any difference. A communist is a communist and the loyalty of a communist naturally is not to this country. They were never loyal in 1942 and even today if there are some communist groups trying to capture power here and to have a dictatorship here then those people would say that they are for liberty and those persons are freedom-fighters and liberators. I would submit that those liberators descrve to be in cells and not outside.

I have every respect for my hon. friend Fis Highness from Bikaner.
[Shri P. R. Patel.]
His was a studied speech and I must admit a rational speech. He refurred to detention of Praja Parishad workers by the ex-rulers in our country. I was detaind in 1942 by the ex-ruler of Baroda. So many others were also detained. But those rulers were in the country just to give long life to British rule; we wanted to end the British rule.

Shri Karni Singhji: Not in all cases.

Shri P. R. Patel: 99 per cent. If one per cent was there, it was helpless, it could not do anything. So naturally that fight was different. That was a fight for the freedom of the country. But today what did they do in Patna, Kolhapur, Sholapur, Calcutta or any where else. Well, to compare that fight with today's arson, rioting and looting, to compare these acts to the acts of 1942-I say there cannot be a more stupid thing than that. In 1942, we were fighting the foreigners for our freedom. Today, who are the people who are instigating the people and want to create troubles in the country? And at what time? When we are fighting Pakistan. When we have to face China. At this time, they are resorting to strikes and all those things. Are these patriotic acts? People know it.

I want to say a word of praise for the Jan Sangh members' demonstration of one lakh. It was a peaceful demonstration. I give credit to them.

Shrimati Yashoda Redy (Kurnool): But they are not so orderly in the House.

Shri P. R. Patel: But there is one thing. For staging a demonstration of one lakh. what amount of money must have been spent? Leave aside the question of money. If at all they wanted to demonstrate against Pakis$\tan$ or against anything done by the Government in that connection. the best course for them would be to
march to Kashmir and help the people of Kashmir to drive out the infiltrators. That would have been the best patriotic work they could do. Instead of that, they are staging demonstration here and shouting slogans. Will this in any way help?

## श्री हुकम धन्ब कछबाय : ग्राप भी पहले यह्री करते थे ।

Shri P. R. Patel: Will this help in any way to beat Pakistan or any other enemy of the country? I would request my friends to give strength to the defence of the country in removing the infiltrators.

Shri Masani referred to international things. You know agriculture is my subject. But my friand referred to the international situation and suggested that we have to face China and Pakistan and now in the western countries Pakistan is not liked and so we must have friendship with the western powers. I am not opposed to friendship with the western powers. At the same time, whoever is friendly to us, we should be friendly to that country. If Russia is friendly to us, there is nothing wrong in our being friendly with Russia. Why does he say that we should be friendly only with the western countries? I am not, as I said, opposed to friendship with western countries. But see America. We were attacked in the Rann of Kutch. What weapons were used? American weapons. We brought this fact to the notice of the US Government. They were helpless.

An hon. Member: Why halpless?
Shri P. R. Patel: Whatever be the reasons-after all, there are political reasons-they may not have any control over the weapons they have given. So instead of depending on America, England or Russia, I am of opinion that we should be militarily very strong. We must manufacture our own arms and ammunition and
see that we are self-sufficient in that also. That is the only way we can go about the problem.

Then my hon, friend referred to the rural situation and rural poverty.

## क्षी हुकम बन्व कछबाय : ऐेटम बम बनाश्रोगे कि नहीं ?

Shri P. R. Patel: I know that the income in the rural side is about 68P. per capita. If the income of those persons like contractors, teachers, lawyers and other professional people, artisans and so on living in rural areas, is calculated and then the income of persons living on agriculture is calculated it would be much below 40P. My friend says that after all these 17 years of independence this poverty is there. But what was the condition of these people in 1947? Was their income 40P then or much less? Has it increased or decreased? I would not say they have prospered because of having an increase in income by 10 paise. If they earn just 10 P more, one cannot say that they have become prosperous. But the fact remains that the income has increased. To that extent, Shri Masani should give credit to the Government. But I am sure he won't.

Then he said that we are importing foodgrains and objected to it.

Shri M. R. Masani: I did not.

Shri P. R. Patel: I thought he objected to our spending money on importing foodgrains. Anyway, it is very good that he does not object. But if we look into our agricultural production, we see that it has increased. How far it has benefited the agriculturists is a different question. I am not going to discuss it now. But agricultural production has increased. Even with that, to feed our people, we have to import foodgrains. We are helpless. We cannct allow people to die of hunger. If we import, naturally our economic position would
be bad. It is only the import of foodgrains that has affected our economic position. Our economy has become worse because of it. So the only way out is to have more production. Our Minister of Agriculture is trying his level best to have more production.

Then Shri Masani referred to Mexican wheat seeds...

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: And Formosan paddy seeds.

Shri P. R. Patel: If it gives more yield, if Mexican wheat sceds yield more, what is wrong?

Shri M. R. Masani: My only point was that it took you fifteen years to do this sensible thing.

Shri P. R. Patel: The British were ruling us here at that time. He was here. He did not suggest it uptill now. After all, you are more intelligent than the Government. You should have suggested, but you did not suggest and this suggestion has come from the Government. The Gov. ernment now wants to increase food production by importing this Mexican seed to overcome our deficit. What is wrong about it?

Shri M. R. Masani: Nothing wrong. It took you fifteen years.

Shri P. R. Patel: Maybe even after 15 or 17 years, but what is wrong with it? So, my submission is that we are trying our level best to meet food deficit.

He said that the Agricultural Prices Commission fixed the minimum prices and then left it to the States to fix the maximum prices. Under the circumstances that had to be done, and that was done, and that is in the interests of the farmers. What is wrong in that?

So, my submission is that whatever steps the Government takes should not be criticised. Whatever is good should be praised.

My hon. friend Shri Vyas referred to the Madhya Pradesh Government.
[Shri P. R. Patel]
My information is that the Madhya Pradesh Government indulged in profiteering.

Shri Bade: That is wrong.
Shri P. R. Patel: The profit was not only 50 per cent, it went up to about 100 per cent. I think a Commission should be appointed to enquire into this. That advantage was taken by the Madhya Pradesh Government of the zonal system, and the zonal system is there because the States make a proflt.

षी स० मो० बनजीं (कानपुर) : सभाप्पत महोदय, मैं इस श्रविश्वास-प्रम्ताब का समर्थंन करने के लिए व्वड़ा ठुण्रा हूं । श्राज से काफ़ी दिन पहले हम लोग यह सोचते थे कि हमारे देश के सामने जो सवालात हैं, घायद ह्मारी सरकार उन को हल करने की कोशिश करेगी, लेकिन इस बारे में हमें निगणा ही हुई ।

सब से पहले मैं कच्छ के समझंते की तरफ़ ध्यान श्रार्कषित करना चाहता हूं। जिस समय युद्व-विराम की घंषणा हुई, उस समय हमारे देश के श्रत्पसंख्यक भाइयों के दिल्लों में जो उत्तेजना श्रंर श्राशंका थी, वह़ कम हुई घोर उनको कुम्र संन्तोप हुपा । सेकिन बाद में इकरारनामें में ट्रिग्यूल श्रोर श्रारबिट्रेशन की बात पढ़ कर हम लंगों को बड़ा दुखाँ मोर भ्राएचयं हुम्रा इस मामले में घ्रारबिद्रेगन का केषल हम ही बार बार विरोध नहीं करते घे, बल्कि सताल्ज़ दल के कार्फा शोहरत वाले वषता लोग भी इस सदन में कहते थे कि सहिरे न्दी थाक विस कन्द्री हत्ग लाट प्रारिंद्रेबल । में समक्षता था कि 1959 प्रोर 1960 के समझोतों का परिणाम देग्ब कर, जिन की थाकिस्तान ने बार बार श्रवहेलना को, शायद हुमारी सग्कार को कुछ घक्स क्रा जाये श्रौर वह् ऐसा समझोता न करे । लेकिन मैंने देसा कि इस सरकार ने घंत्रेजों या भ्रमरीकियों की दबाब गो या भपना मनोबल नुबंत्ल होने की

वजह से ट्रिब्यूनल की बात भी मान ली। मैं भालोचना की वृष्टि से नहीं कह् रहा हूं, लेकिन प्रगर घ्राज देश के लोगों से--प्रक्लियत भ्रोर ध्रक्सरियत दोनों से-पूछा जाये, तो में समक्सता हूं कि हर एक श्रादमी यही कहेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान ने जो श्रपनी रजा़न्दी से भ्रपने देश की भूमि के बारे में ट्रिब्यूनल या पंच-निर्णय की बात मान ली है, वह मिसाल किसी भी देश की तारीब़ में नहीं मिलेगी। E.

हृम दुर्बल हो सकते हैं-हो सकता है कि दूसरे देश शायद हम से ताकतबर हों, लेबिन श्राज दुनिया के इतिहास में यह घनोखी मिसाल है कि रजामन्दी के साथ, घर में बैठे हुए हम लोगों ने कहा कि हमारी धरती का मामला ट्रिब्यूनल के हाथों में दे दिया जाये, जिस में दो सदस्य होंगे, जो न हिन्दुस्तानी होंगे ध्रोर न पाकिस्तानी, जो कि श्रपने चेयरमंन का चुनाव करेंगे। उस ट्रिब्यूनल के वारा हमारी भूमि के बारे में पंच-निण्णय होगा । हमें ग्राशा नहीं थी कि यह सरकार देग के साथ इतना बड़ा विश्वासधात करेगी।

श्राज सत्ता की बागडोर जिन लोगों के हाथ में है, वे इस देश में ग्राजादी की लड़ाई लड़े थे । मैं यह् दावा नहीं करता हूं कि मै उन से ज्यादा देशमक्त हूं। न मेरी देशरक्ति उन से ज्यादा है घ्रौर न मेरा त्याग या बलिदान उन से ज्यादा है । लेकिन एक नागरिक होने के नाते मैं यह महसूस करता हूं कि कच्छ के समझोते मे पाकिस्तान को बढ़ावा मिला, जिस का नतीजा यह हुमा कि पांच छ: हत्रार हभियारबन्द पाकिस्तानी वादिए काश्मीर में घुस पाये, उन्होंने वहां पर सैबोटेज करने की कोशिश की प्रौर काष्मीर की जनता को घ्रातंकित किया । मुझे याद है कि जिस दिन समझौते की घोपणा की गई, उस दिन घख़बार वालों ने जब मुझे पूछा कि इस बारे में मेरी क्या राय है, तो मैंने कहा था कि पाकिस्तान का निणाना काए्मीर है ।

भ्राज कहा जाता है कि कारमीर में जं पाकिस्तानी लोग घुस भ्राये हैं, उन को हम लोगों ने मारा है, पीटा है, निकाल दिया है । उस के लिए मैं मरकार पोर प्रपने जबानों को बधाई देना चाहता हैं। मैं प्रपनो श्रदार्जन्य प्रपषत करना चाहता हूं उस किरेडियर, द्सूसरे पफ़सरान श्रोग उन जबानों को, जिन्होंने हिन्दुम्तान की धरनी की हिफ़जजत कग्ते हुए प्रपनो प्राहुति दी। लेकिन मैं मुर्षा मंती महोवय घ्रोर गृह मंत्री महोदय से यह पूछना बाहता हूं कि एक माल पहले मंद्रल इन्टेलजेंस न्यूरो ने जो यह सिपोटं दी कि काश्मीर की हालत बिगह़ रही है, काणमीर में मुरका रबना मुकिकल हो जायेगा, पाकिस्तानी कभी मुजाहिद की गक्ल । प्रोर कर्मां किसी दूस्सरी शक्ल में घीरे धीरे ग्मीर में घुसने की कोजिएा कर ग्हे हैं, तो उस पर उन्हंने क्या कायंवाही की। वंद्रह दिन या एक महीना वहले हैमारे मुरक्षा मंत्री जी ने भाषण किया--र्रेनेंल चोष्री मी गये हुए शे-कि कास्मीर में कोई उर की बान नही है, लेकिन बान में प्रषानक हमें मालूम हुभा कि पांच हलार हचियाग्बन्द णाकिम्तानी काए्मीरियं। के कलेजे में छुरा घोंपनें के लिए चने पाये घ्रोर उन्होंने बहां पर म्रातंक फंना ग्बा है।

यह नाध़ानं। नहीं. प्रमाखधानी नहीं, प्रगर जान-वुज कर हन्टेलिजंस की रिपोटं पर एक्रन नहीं लिया गया, तो जाहे कोई दूसरी बात न मी हो, केबल हसी बात पर कि कारमे? में हजागों की नानाद में घन्किल्द्रेट प्रा गए, मि ममझ्रा है fि भ्राग मरकार में षोड़ी मी भी शामं हैा होती, तो बह बुद ही इस्तीफा दे कर गद़ी मे हट जाती। यं दो बात लेयी हैं, जिन से हु एक हिन्दुस्तानी के गवं प्रोग धभिमान पर रेम नगी है। इसनिए मै नमघ्रता हु कि यह सरकार काफी निकम्मी हो बुकी है पोर भ्रब हसे नहीं ग्हना बाएिए।

भाज हमारे देश की हासत क्या है ? जब 1947 को देश प्राजाद हुपा था, तो सारे देश में एक बुणी की लहर दोड़ गई थी। लोगों ने सोषा था कि हमारे भरमानों की जो किएती भबरों में लड़बड़ा गही थी, ाायद भब उस को साहिल मिन जाये । लेकिन हुभा क्या ? पमीर मोर पमीर हो गया, लख्यति करो़ेपरित हो गया। करो प़्पति घर्बर्पति हो गया। इस के मुकाबले में जिसकी सो रपये $\boldsymbol{~}$ ामबनी थी, महंगाई की वजह से उन सो स्पयों की कीमत साठ रुपये रह गई मोर साठ रगये पाने बाले की तनछ्बाह की कीमत कालीस रुपये रह गई । जो बेकार है, वह एम्पलायमेंट एक्स-नेंज-हालांकि 文पर इत्र लाँच टु कि एक्सतेंड डेवर-में चक्कर लगाता लगाता बर बापस प्रा जाता है। जो मामूली मकान में रहता था, महंगाई ने उस की कमर नोड़ दी फोर वह मोंपड़ी में रह रहा है। मोंपड़ी में गहने बाला सड़क पर मेटने लगा पोर मड़क पर लेटने वाला मग्षट की तरक आने लगा। हम लोग काजाद हिन्दुस्तान का यह नजारा देब्ब रहे थ, जिस में मरने की ध्राजादी है, मुबमरी की पाजादी है । पाज पन्तह मोलह सालों के बाद मी यह कहा जाता है कि हम क्या करें, हिन्दुस्तान का पापुलेशन काफी बढ़ता घला जाता है। फैमिली प्लिनिग होनी चाहिए। मिं समम्रता हूं कि सम् 1947 में, जब हिन्दुस्बान प्राजाद ठृषा, जो बक्षा पिदा हुपा उस बक्त चार या भांच सेर का प्रनाज था, प्राज जब बही बच्ना 18 माल का उबान हृषा, ता। बीन से लड़ने के लिए बह कैयार, पाकिस्तान मे नड़ने के लिए गह तैंयाए, इंतीनियर बनने के विए बह तैयार, उाषटर बनने के लिए कह तैयाए, लेकिन प्रगण उसको दो बक्न बाना न मिना तो उस की जबानी किम्न कीज में बदन जायेगी, रस का क्षाप निणंय करें । भाज पगर श्राप देषेल तो एमे मोर्रे पर जब हम गहां बहल का ग्हे है कोल्तापुत में लोगों ने रोटी मांगी तो उन को गेलनी दी गई। मेरे मिन्व, मांप्रक्जिज दोस्त पटंल साहब iन कहा कि लोगों ने पनार्की फैला रस्ती है,
[भी स० मो० बनर्जी]
लूट होती है। लेकिन क्यों लूटा लोगों ने कि रोटी दो। लोगों को ब्बाना नहीं मिला। हम लोग 1943 नहीं होंने देंगे । यह् नहीं होगा कि इस्फहानी शौर सोहराबर्दीं ने दस दस पन्द्रह पन्द्रह करोड़ रपये कमा लिये नर नारियों की लाशों के ऊपर। वश्ठ हम नहीं होने देंगे कि उस्ट बिन पर इन्सान प्रोर कुते की लड़ाई का नजारा देखने को मिसे या यह देखने को मिले कि पन्द्रह्ह मास की बहन ने घ्रपनी श्रसमत् बेच दी दो मुट्ठी श्यम्न पर। यह नहीं हो सकेगा। भ्राज ग्रगर लोगों को बाना नहीं मिला तो हम लोग उसे देखेंगे, चाहे ही० क्राई० श्रार० लगे या गंली लगे। यह जह्र देखेंगे कि खाना मिले तो सत्र को मिले वर्ना मंव्रिमंडल को भी बाना न मिले । सीती बात है। रोटी के बदले गोली, चावल के बदले गोली, छाज हिन्दुस्तान में यह्न नमाम चीजें देखी जा मकती हैं।

## 16 hrs.

मैं एक मिनट के लिए श्रपील करूंगा भ्रपने मित्वों से कि हमारी उन की लड़ाई प्राखिर श्राज कैसी है। क्या हमारे भाई वह नहीं हैं, क्या हम लोगों ने उन से गाजनीति नहीं सीर्मार र्थ, क्या तालीम नहीं काई थी। क्या वाकई हमारी लड़ाई महाभाग्त की लड़ाई नहीं है। त्रम कोरवं प्रोर पाण्डव हैं मौर हमारी पांच गांब की लड़ाई है। रोजी, रोटी, कपड़ा, मकान घ्रोर भस्पताल यह पांच गांव हम को मिलने चाहियें। म्राग लड़ाई कुलक्षेत्र में हो या न हो लेकिन इसके लिए दिहली की पार्लयामेंट घ्रोर लखनऊ की प्रसेम्बली में, सक़कों पर, गलियों गें बीरव म्रोर पाण्डवों की लह़ाई जहर होगी। घ्रोर इस लड़ाई नें कीत हमारी होगी। भगवान कृष्ण जो जनन: है हम उस के चरणों पर बंठे हैं घ्रोर प्राग उसके सिर पर बठे हुए है, हसलिए जीत हमारी होगी यह में बतलाना चाहता हूं ।

भाज हमारे मित्नों को कम्पूनिस्टों से घह़ा डर है। सेकिन उन की पालिसी भाज

बया है । भ्रमरीका से न्हीट श्रोर मोवियट यूनियन से वीटो। श्रजीब पालिसी है। क्या इस तरह की पालिसी चस सकेगी। चाहे राष्ट्रीय नीति हो चाहे श्रन्तर्शष्ट्रीय नीति हो, हुमारी एक नीति होनी चाहिए। लोगों को भूखा मार कर किसी मी हालत में कोर्छ भी सरकार घल नहीं सकती है।

भाप बर्कंस की घथवा मजदूरों की वात को लीजिए। बोनस बिल प्राप लाये । बोनस कमिशन बेठा । बड़ी धुरी हुई है लं।गों को । सेकिन श्री दांडेकर ने ऐसा उंडा मारा इस सरकार कों कि उस की हिम्मत ही नहीं होती। एक तरफ बंठे है लीडर, मरकार के नुमाइन्दे प्रांर मजदूरों के नमाहन्दे लेकिन दांडेकर साहब ने ऐसा डंडा मारा कि विल में उस की भ्रलक तक नहीं नजर भाई । उग का पसर सरकार तक गया नही ।

इसी तरह से महिंगाई के बारे मे भी एक कमिशन बैठा, दास कमिशन । सुप्रीम काटं के एक जज को कमिशन की जक्ल में बिठलाया गया । उन्होंने कहा कि डियरनेस भ्यलाउंस का फार्मूला रिकाइ हांना चाहिये । 22 लाख सरकानी क.मेजानियों में से राढे चोदह लाख की तन्धथाह 100 रु० से कम या 100 हैपये तक, 2 लाब्त, 74 हजार की तन्बवाद 109 रु० से 250 रु० तक । इस तरह से 22 लाख सर्कारी कमंबारियों के भाग्ज का निणंय भ्री दृरुणमाचारी ने कर दिया। बादा किया किं हां, कमिशन की क्षिं।टं को मानेंग, लेकिन उियरनेस प्रलाउंस का फार्मूलां निबाइज नहीं हुभा । मान्टरों से पूछिये उन की भाज बया हुालन है। उन की तन्छुवाह बलास 4 एए डाक्टर परेणान हों कर मरीजों को छोंड़ कर घपनी सर्तिश कंडिणः की वात कर रहे हैं, इंजीनियर परेगान हैं। फिर मी सब से पाश्यं की बात है, मेरे लिए भ्रष्टम भाश्चरं है कि कोई नहीं चाहता तब मी यह सरकार षस रही

है। मैं भाप से कहता हूं कि भाज मी प्राप कांप्रेस के सबस्पों से पूछ्ठिये। बह मी मेरे जैसी बात करते हैं, हम से ज्यादा उले हुए दिन की वुकार उन में हैे, लेकिन क्या किया जाये, वह कह नहीं सकते । उस के लिए मगर कोई प्राबाज उठाना भी चाहे तों उस के लिये हि० पाई० प्रार० मोजूद है। में श्री नन्दा से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं जिन को मैं समझता हैं कि बहुत क्रमानदार मोर योग्य उ्यक्ति हैं कि भ्रगर बाकई बह लेक्टिस्ट कम्पूनिस्ट्स से लड़ना चाहते हैं तो सिद्धांत के पाधार पर लड़े। उन को जेल में बन्द कर के उन से नहीं लड़ा जा सकता। इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि गलत तरीके से उन को अेल में उाला गया है। प्रगर भी नन्बा सिद्धांत के प्रफ हैं, गांधी की के बरणों में बंठ कर के प्रगर उन्हृंने गजनीति सीबी है, प्रगण उन की गजनीतिक जांगृति घोर राजनीतिक बेतना गम्भी० है, मजबूत है. तो मैं समक्षता हैं कि एक सेपट कम्पुनिस्ट नहीं, वो लेष्ट कम्पूनिस्ट नहीं, सब उन से टकरा का पूर हो जायेंगे। लेकिन यहां सवाल यह है कि भाज सरकार लंगों को डी० प्राई 0 घार० में क्यों गिग्क्तार कर रही है। डा० लंगहिया गिगफ्षाए हुए, मनीराम बागड़ी गिगफ्तान हुए, पोर भी गिरफनार हांने वाले हैं, इसलिये कि बोट पाक को काकिर्त की कोंई बात ही न न ₹ही। इन गिरफ्नारियों में कली-कमी खयान म्राता है .

एक माभनोप सबस्य : भाप मी गिरपतार हो जाइये ।

औी स० मो० जमर्यं : प्रगर भाप को तकलीफ हो तो हुग मी हो जायें। मैं आनता हुं कि चूंकि प्रविणवास प्रस्ताब माया हुक्रा है इस्सिए भाप की हृन्दन्द कांशिण होंगी कि गयन या सही ांग से मरकार को वनाया जाये। लेकिन एक दफे प्राप घ्रपने दिन को
 उसति हुई है । भगन भ्राप भांकड़ों के द्वदल में फस गये तो प्राप का वही हाल होगा जो कि

एक. पुराने प्रोबरसियर का हुपा था। उस को पपने ऊषर बह़ा भरोसा था। हमेशा मोसत निकालाँकरता था। जब रिटायर हो गया तब एक नदी को पार करने लगा। लोगों ने कहा कि देबों हूब जमोगे, नदी गहरी है । उस ने कहा नही ऐसा नहीं हो सकता, मैं गहराई का फोसत निकास मूंगा । उस दे मोषा कि उस का बज्ना साठे तीन फोट है, बीबी पांष फीट है मीर वह पांच फीट काठ हंच है। मोसत साते तीन फीट प्षाता है रसलिए बच्बा भी कूष नहीं सकता। उस रे बच्चे को पहले फैजा, बन्षा उूव गया, बह़ कहने लगा कि उूय नही। सकता, पौसत साढ़े तीन फीट है। एस के बाद उस ने प्रपनी बीबी को भेजा। बीवी भी दूर्व गई । वह कहने लगा कि पगवान, मेशा घ्रीसत ज्यों का स्यों कुनबा हूबा क्यों । उसी तर्ह से सरकार सोचती है कि म्रोसत तो ठीक है किर देश कयों हूब रहा है। इस का पता उसे प्राज तक नहीं सला। सरकारी पांकके बनलाते है कि बीजें देश में बहुत है। गेहूं बहुत, थीनी बहुता है, चाबल बहुत है, लेकिन तब मी हिन्दुर्तान में भूक्बसरी क्यों है।

मे दो बातें कहना चाहता हैं। मे बाहता 10 कि बार्बार यह प्रविश्रास प्रस्ताब न प्राये । भागर बारन्बार प्रविर्बास प्रस्ताब क्षाता है तो यह सरकार को शोषा नहीं देता कि वह गहती रहे । मैं बाहता हें कि क्षाज हल चीजंं को ले कर देश में दुवारा चुनाब हो। प्राबिर्यम को जानदानी एम० वी० नहीं हैं। हमाे पिता एम० पी० थे रसलिए हम मी एम० पी० बने रहें यह हमारा आाषा नहीं है। इसलिए त्रमाम की तमाम बीयों को देब्ब का भाज इस बारे में कैसला करना है कि देग की उर्षति ह़ो गही है या नही। द्रणन देग की उप्रति नहीं हुई तो क्यों नहीं हुई । पहली पंब्ष बर्बीय योजना से लोगों को बहुत उम्मीबें बीं । लोगों ने कहा कि सब कुष मिसेगा। ब्वाना मिलेगा, धनाज fिलेगा, दूसरी पंष वर्षाय योजना में कहा गया कि एक मिमियन
[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]
न्यू जाब होंगे। कम से कम 80 लाख लागों को नोकरी जहून मिलेगी, लेकिन उस के बाद रिट्रंचमेंट हुप्रा । लोगों ने पूछा कि रिद्रंचमेंट क्यों हुप्रा तो कहा कि यह होमियोपैथिक दवा है, बीमारी को बढ़ा कर फिर घटाया जायेगा। तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना चल रही है, चौथी पंच बर्षीय योजना भ्राने वाली है, लेकिन मैं समझ्मता हूं कि देश की ह्लित गम्भीर हे, देशा यो हालत खराब है । इस मोके पर सर्यान को चाहिये कि वह खुद देले प्रौर फैसला करे कि क्या वाकई वह गद्दी के योग्य है या नहीं । ताकत उन लोगों के हाथ में हे, डी० प्राई० पार० उनके पास है, बह दगभुजा है। ग्राज बह चाहे जिस तरीके से चले लेकिंन जमाना बार-बार कह रहा है, लोग कह ग्हे हैं कि
"तुम्हारी। गालिसी भप ने बंजर से प्राप ही खुदकशी करेगी,
जां शाखे नाजुक पर ग्राशियाना बनेगा, नापायेदार ह्रोगा ।"

## Shri Kappen (Muvattupuzha):

 Madam Chairman, in a parliamentary form of democracy, the no-confidence nution is a powerful weapon in the hands of the opposition to bring down the Government and take up the administration but it is a weapon which is rarely used and used only for the purpose of taking up the administration. But here in India. every now and then, we have to confront a no-confidence motion. Simply because therc are 50 Members to support a motion. it is neither fair nor proper to move such a motion. And who are these 50 Members? They are drawn from parties and groups who have diver gent views, whose ideals and ideas are different, and that is reflected in the speeches delivered here also. While Shri Masani was for removing all control, my hon. friends of the Communist party were for control. Which of the opinions is the Government to accept? This reminds me ofthe story of a rather greying young man who had two fiancees. One of the flancees did not like his white hair; the other flancee did not like his black hair. So, when he went to one of them, she plucked out all the white hairs and when $h_{e}$ went to the other she plucked out all his blackhair. (Interruption). Finally, what happened was that he had nothing left on his head! Therefore, if this Government is to follow the advice of the Opposition, its position will be that of the young man.

Now, what are the reasons that prompted the Opposition to move this no-confldence motion? The two main reasons advanced are, firstly, the difflcult food situation which the Opposition cared to call the food crisis and secondly, the high prices. First. is there really a food crisis in India to day? (Interruption). The fact is so long as foodgrains are available at reasonable prices most of us would not think of a food problem even though the available food may not be sufficient to meet the minimum food demands of the entire population. Thus, in 1955 with the availability only of 67 million tons of foodgrains. we never talked of a food situation or of a ford crisis. Even the Planning Commission thought that the increase in production would help to stop inflation and stabilise the economy. This view obtained support from the fact that the index of cereal prices which stood at 100 in 1952-53 came down to 76 in the year 1955. In 1959, with a record production of 77 million tons of foodgrains, a team of agricultura! experts from foreign countries were telling us that India was facing a food crisis. How do we account for this shift in view? It cannot be so simply hecause of the increase in population only. Because, within this period. the population increased by eight per cent, while food production had inrreased by 12 per cent. Evidently. therefore, it is not the availability of food that matters, but it is the price. If people have not got the purchasing
power, then, the availability of only 67 million tons of foodgrains does not cause us any concern, but if the peopi. have the purchasing power, if their standard of living is high, if they have got the money, with a record availability of 77 million tons, we are agan confronted with a food crisis.

In the current year also, the case is the same. With a record estimated production of 88.8 million tons and an import within the last seven month.; of 4.3 million tons, we are again faced with a food crisis. We must remember that the target fixed for the end of the third Five Year Plan is only a 100 million tons. Therefore, there $1 s$ availability, within seven months of the year, of 93 million tons of food. Another two million tons are going to be imported. Yet, we are facing a food crisis. It is ngt because food is not available. It is because the people's standard of living has gone up. They have got the money to purchase the food they want. Not only that. Money in the hands of producers has another effect on the availability of foodgrains. When the producers have got money, they have a tendency to hold on to the stock in the expectation of better price. Also, it gives inducement to the rate of consumption. So much so, the marketable surplus is less even though the production is high. This has been clearly brought out in the pamphlet prepared by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture on page 2, para 2. I am not reading it out for want of time

Five years ago, our late beloved Prime Minister told the House that in the villages, he found the people were better fed, better clothed and better housed. A survey conducted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research showed that between 1951 and 1961, savings by individuals increased from Rs. 617.43 crores to Rs. 1013.43 crores. In a country like India, where saving is not made by cutting the current consumption, it is a clear indication that the people's standard of living had gone up between 1951 and 1961. Another indicator of this fact is the investment in assets like houses. Between 1951 and 1061, invest-
ment by individuals in house construction in rural areas has gors up very much. Similarly the investment on vehicles has trejled during this period. Investments in cycles. radio sets and other things have increased so much, showing that the people's standard of living has gone up. Therefore, Mr. Masani's conten tion that the people have become poorer is not based on facts. He in an economist. He has either purposely misread things or has not care $u$ $t_{0}$ read things properly.

Much has been said here about the arrest and detention under DIR and various provisions of the Cr.P.C. I: was said by Mrs. Renu Cisaikravartty that 10,000 people were arrested. It is wrong. Up to date the number of people arrested is only 3500. Even they have not been arrested only under DIR, but under various other provisions also.

The leaders of the Left CPI have been arrested because the $y$ were preparing for a revolution in this country. In proof of this I wish j11st to read out one portion:
"The extremist sections in the party feel that the conflict with Pakistan would create conditions which would facilitate their plans for an armed revolution to achieve peoples' t'emocracy. Ganesh Ghosh, who is in-charge of the underground organisation of the party, stated at a secret meeting in Calcutta on April 28th that war between India and Pakistan could help in the promotion of civil war in both the countries, which would ultimately lead to the victory of the proletariat in view of the help which could be expected from the world revolutionary forces under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party."
This is what has been said in a secret meeting.

Sir, it is very clear as daylight what thes were preparing for.
Dr. U. Misra (Jamshedpur): What is that thing from which you are zuoting?

Shri Kappen; This was said secrethy in a secret meeting by a Left Communist leader-you may be a Rightist.

Now Sir, I am asking Shrimati Renu Chakravartty whether the Students Federation of India has not received a directive from the Students Federation of China to create a revolution here. I have got with me a pamphlet that has been circulated. Under these conditions, what is this Government to do? When Chinese and Pakistani forces are facing us at the border, is the Government to keep quiet for these people to create revolution inside and let China to come in? Sir, the Government has acted wisely. If the Government had not arrested them the country would have been put in danger. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty said: "You put shackles on our feet". I am asking the Government to do it, to put shackles not only on the Left but also on the Right, because there is no difference between the Right and the Left. 'Inder these conditions, the Government could only arrest them. But the Government has made a mistake. The Gcvernment is feeding them in Trisandrum. They have gone on hungerstrike from today because they have increased five pounds in weightmost of them-since they were arre 3 . ted. The Government have given them all that they have asked forallowances, newspaper, radio and what not. Many of us have not any of these conveniences in our houses. This is a mistake made by the Government.
Now, there was an allegation that the Government did not proceed against the hoarders and profiteers in this country. I do not krow whether Shrimati Renu Chakravartty is aware of the facts. During the seven months of this year 39,000 prople have been proceeded against. All of them are food traders. Of them 3000 have been convicted and 700 more are going to be convicted immediately. In 1964 anly 13000 people have been proceeded against. I asic,
is the Government on the side of the people or on the side of the hoarders. 39000 people have been proceeded against within the course of seven montns for hoarding, profteering tet. Therefure, the Government have been taking effertive steps to see that hoard$\mathrm{i} \cdot \mathrm{g}$ and pofteering in the country is siopped.

Eut this work requires the co-operation of the people. Unless the Gorernment gets co-operation of all the people it cannot succeed in its task and go ahead with its policies and procedures. Instead of giving cooperation, what is being done? What happened in Andhra, in Kolhapur, in Calcutta and other places? When this country is facing a crisis, what were these people doing? They were creating trouble in this country, utilising the students-the Communists and their allies. I charge them as traitors of this country.

### 16.24 hrs .

## [Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

When the country is facing a crisis, when the country is in danger of being attacked by not one but two enemies, is it proper for the people who love the country to create trouble? They shed crocodile tears over 3500 miles in Kutch. They do harm to the country by creating these troubles.

Now, these are our real enemies. Let us understand that. Let us put shackles not only on their hand and feet but, if possible, on their neck also.

बी उ० मू० किबे (मंदसोर) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले एक साल में तीन वफ़े तेसे मोक़े प्रा गये कि हमें यह ध्रविश्वास का प्रस्ताब गवर्नमेंट के विहु लाना पड़ रहा है। हम जिधर निगाह डालें उधर ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि हमारी मौजूदा गवर्नमेंट सफलता को प्राप्त नहीं कर सकी है। कृषि की तरफ़ नजर उालते हैं तो पता घलता है
कि घटर केलेप्षोर है 1 बिसकुल ।नकम्मी

निकली गवनंमेंट । हुनर, उध्धोग की तरफ़ नजर डालने हैं नो ऐसी ब्रुरी हालत हुमारी है कि जो मोटरें 3000 श्रोर 4000 में धूसरी जनह मिल सकती हैं वह यहां 18,000 में प्राप्त होती हैं। जो चंज़ हम प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं बह हमें मिलती नहीं है। डस दिशा में मी फेल्योर है ।

विद्येशों से जो हमारा सम्नन्ध है वह fि: A तरीके से सुधर सका या नहीं सुधर सका भ्रगर उस की तरफ़ निगाह डालते हैं तो पता चलता है कि यहां सम्पूर्ण विफलता का हमें सामना करना पड़ा है । हम घोर तरफ़ निगाह दोड़ाते हैं तो उधर मी हमें घसफलता ही नखर क्राती है। हृमारी फांज बढ़ाई जाय, हमारी फोज की ताउत बढ़े, हमें जो एक खांटा मारे उसे हम दो घांटे खींच कर माग सकें, वह् णक्ति पैदा करने में भी हम प्रसफल रहे हैं घोर जहा देबिये हमें मार खानी पड़ रही है ।

षपनी हिप्लोमेस : कं तरफ नजर क्लें तो पता बलता है कि हमारी कोई नहीं सुनता है । वहां भी हुम बिलकुल भ्रसफल रहें हैं। जब हम भपने घर की तरफ देखते हैं कि कम से कम हमारे पुलिस वाले हमें सब्दी बबर देतें हैं या नहीं तो पता चलता है कि उधर मी हमें म्रसफनता का सामना करना पड़ा है। यह्व वशा पुलिस श्रोर इंटिलिजंस है कि हमारे घपने घर में 5,5 प्र र 6,6 महीने से घोर धुसे हुए हैं लकिन पता नहीं चनता है भाज सुवह हम लोगों को यह मालूम पढ़ा कि होंद साल से पत्पर उखाउ़े जा रहे हैं लेकिन इस से पहिले हुम को पता नहीं बस पाता कि छमारे पत्पर उबा़े़े जा रहें हैं या नहीं । मिलेटरी रंटिलिंस की यह हालत है घोर यह् उनकी मसफलता है। सबाल यह्ह भाकर पह़ता है कि धाबिर वह क्या करते हैं घ्रोर उन के पास क्या क्या साधन हैं घौर क्या कहीं हमारे ऊपर हमना होने को होता है तो बह उसके बारे में पूर्य सूबना वे पावे हैं या नहीं ?

मिलंटरी इंटैलिजैंस इस दिशा में भसफल मिद्ध हुई है ।

इसी तरह यदि हम उस से पागे बढ़ कर स्टंट्न की छंटेलिजैस को देखें, छोटे छोटे प्रदेशों की ओो इटैलिजिस हैं उनकी तरफ़ निगाह डालते है तो उधर क्रीर भी हानत ब्ब़राब है। मिमाल के लिए मे बतलाऊ कि हमारे यहां गुजरात का भाई० जी० पी० यहि रिपोटं करता हैं कि हमारी कोई जमीन नहीं ली गई tेमा हम मे कहा गया लेकिन हुक्रीकत यह रही कि कंजरकोट में वहु घुम गये घ्रोर 13.400 एकड़ जमीन हमारी दबा ली गई है । भाखित हम कहां नजर डाले जहां कि हम को यह संतोप हो सकता है कि हमें सफलता मिली या हमारी गवनेमेंट किसी तरीक़े से सक्रिय मालूम पर्षे ? घाज देखते हैं कि पूरख में बे षुमे पा रहे हैं। पाकिस्तानियं। को यहां भारत्त में से निकालने के लिए प्रयल्ल करना पह़ता है, उन के वास्ते कानून बनाना पड़ता है। यह मी लूब मजक रहा कि पराये ग्रादमियों को हमारी सरकार मार कर नहीं निकाल बाहर कर सकती पोर उसके बास्ते उसको कानून बनाने की भावण्यकता पड़ती है। प्रार्टिकिल 19 जो कि इंडियन सिटीजंम को स्पीच की फीठम थीर टु मूव फीली $e_{x}$ भाउट दी टैरीटेरी ष्रोफ़ हंडिया वगेरह की भाजादी गारन्टी करता है वह यहां के सिटीजंस को मले ही न दिये आयं लेकिन पाकिस्तानियों का जहां नक ताल्मुक्र है बे भ्रक्य कीली इंडियन टैरीटेरी में घूम रहे है । उन पाकिस्तानी घुसपैठियों को यहां से निकालने के लिए हम को न्याय की णरण लेनी पढ़ रही है यह बहे समं की बात है। सगर हम कश्र्मीर में जो पाकिस्तानियां द्वारा इन्यलेट़ेशन दुमा है उस की तरक़ नजर छार्लें तो हम को बाकई णमं के मारे मक जाना पड़ता है। पानिए इन इन्प्लेटेटर्म ने कौन मी तरकीय लगाई ां। पद्र इबनी बड़ी तादाद में हमारे देग के घ्रन्दर घुस भाये भोर हमें काफ़ी मुटत नक पना नहीं लग पाया ? भाज इतिहान इस ज्ञात की
[ख्रो उ० मू० त्रंबेवंi]
गवाही र्हा है कि गुरिल्ला वार का नतीजा क्या होता है ? यह इन्फिइट्रेटजं गुरिल्ला वारफेयर से काम ले रहे हैं। ये लोग भारत्त के कट्टर भानु हैं। यह लोग मुतबातिर 17 साल से हम से कहते हुए चले श्रा रहे हैं कि हम तुम्हारे जानी दुएमन हैं। वे तब से बगात्र यह कहते चले भा रहे हैं कि यहां पाकिस्तान का हर एक रहने वाला मुसलमान महमूद गजनवी है प्रोर वह् मोका मिलते ही महमूद गजनवी की तरह हिन्दुस्तानियों पर कूद पड़ेगा। श्रब ऐमे लोगों के साथ जो कि हृमारे जानी दुक्रम हैं क्या उन के पागे हम दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ा सकते हैं ? नया उन के साथ बैठ कर हम सलाह मर्शविग कर सकते हैं? लेकिन यह् बड़े दु:ख प्रोर शर्म की बात है कि हुमारे नेता बहां मुकते चले जा ग्हे हैं । नतीजा यह होता है कि हमें हमेशा नीचा देखना पड़ता है जिसके कि कारण घममे मे हमारा सिर नीचे झुक जाता है। भ्राज हम देख रहं हैं कि हमारे यहां दाकिस्तानी घुसवेंठिये मीलों घुस थाए हैं, लेकिन हम यह राह देख रह हैं कि सीज़ फायर लाइन पार कर के छधर भा जायें तब उन्हें मारें। हम यह सोचने पर मजब्रृर हो जाते हैं कि ऐली कौन सी दिल्लगी हमारे दिल में है, ऐसी कौन सी बात हमारे बिल में है कि हम इस प्रकार से दबे हुए हैं कि हम उन भादमियों को खदेड़ कर छंटरनेशनल लाइन के उस पार नहीं पहुंचा क्कते ? सीज्ज फ़ायर लाहन पर यू० एन० प्रो० के जो प्राबजर्वर्ज बैटे हुए हैं, ये हमारे किस काम के हैं? वे कहते हैं कि भगर उघ्षर से सिविलियन हथियार ले कर भा जायें, तो कोई बात नहीं है, लेकिन तुम हृथियार ले कर उधर नहीं जा सकते हो। इस तरह पक्षपात करने वाले यू० एन० प्रों० के प्राबजार्बंर्ड के बारे में हमारी नरफ़ से कोई पम्लिसिटी नहीं हो रही है। इसका एक ही कारण है। हमारे जो धाफ़िसर बाहर भेजे जाते हैं, वे बहां पर ऐसे मौज-घोक में मृबतिला हो गए हैं कि बे प्रपनी संस्कति को

तो भूल गए हैं घोर उन्होंने पाशचात्य देशों की संस्कृति कां भपना लिया है। जराब पीना, नाषना-गाना, श्राज-कल यही संस्कृति में शुमार होने लग गया है । इसी में वे दिन भर उ्यस्त रहते है । परिणाम यह है कि हमारे देश के हित की बातों ग्रोर हमारी भावनामों को दूसरे देशों में व्यक्त नही किया जाता है । श्राज संसार में हमारा मज़ाक उड़ाया जाता है। लोग कहते हैं कि यह् बड़ा भारी मुलक है, यह छोटे मुल्कों को दबा देगा। उलटा चोर कोतवरल को हांटं, यह ब्वत प्रत्यक्ष रूप मे यहा दिखाई देती है ।

भ्रठारह साल से हम लगातार है चिल्ला रहे हैं कि कारमीर हमारा देश है, वह कोई जीता डुप्रा मुल्क नहीं है, वह हमारा ही श्रंग है । लेकिन आ्राज यह कहा जा रहा है कि काएमीर में दो तरह की रियाया रहेगीवहां पर दो तरह के सिटिजन्ज रहंगे । काषमीर के रहने वाले एक प्रकाग के सिटिज्ञन्ब हैं घौर हम भारतवर्षं के रहने वाले दूसरे प्रकार के सिटिज़्च हैं। काप्मीर का रहने वाला सिटिज्ञन भाफ़ काष्मीर भी है भौर साथ ही सिटिज्न श्राफ़ हंडिया भी है, लेकिन बाकी भारतवषं में रहने बाला सिटिजन क्राफ़ इंडिया तो है, लेकिन वह सिटिजन भाफ़ काप्मीर नहीं हो सकता है। यहा भेद कब तक चलता रहेगा ? इस भेद की क्या जहर रत है ? घ्रगर यह भेद मिटा दिया गया होता, तो श्राज किसी की ज्रेत न होती कि हम को कह सके कि हम काश्मीर बैली में नहीं जा सकते हैं। प्रगर यह भेद न रखा गया होता, तो इन्किस्ट्रेटखं को कब का मार कर भगा दिया गया होता। लेकिन इस देश की बदकिस्मती यह है कि ग्न श्रादमियों को उस्साहन दिया गया, जो खृले-घाम हमारे विरदु प्रथार करते षे घ्रोर हम उन हर विफ्वास करते चले गए। उस का नतीजा भ्राज हम को मृगतना पड़ रहा है । भ्राज वहां पर हमारी मोटरें नहीं बल सकतीं, लोग

बाहर नही निकल सकते । यह कितने घमं की बात है कि 1500 गांवों में हम ने कर्ष्यू लगा दिया है घ्रोर लोग रात के 8 बजे से ले कर मुबह के 6 बजे तक फ्ररने घरों से बाहर नहीं निकल सकते । यह किस तरह का राज्य है ?

काश्मीर का मसला किसी र्यक्ति या पक का मसला नहीं है, यह सारे देश का मसला है। हमारे कांस्टीटयूशन का भारिकल 1 हस पर एप्लाई होता है, जिस का पर्य यह है कि काषमीर हमारे देश का एक भाग है । भ्रब तो हम ने वहां पर भपना गबर्नर म्करेर कर दिया है । सारा कांस्टीट्यूणन बहां पर क्यों नहीं लागू किया जा सकता है । मैं बार-बार गवनेमेंट से वह प्राथेना कर चा का हूं कि यह काम जल्दी से जल्दी होना चाहिए श्रोर हमारा साग कांस्टीटयूपन काशमीर ?T लागू कर देना चाहिए, ताकि घाज हम का जो तकलीफ़ महृसूस हो रही है, बहा ख़त्म हो जाये ।

मुमे इस बात का बहुत गवं है कि हमारे फ़ोजी घफ़सर घ्रोर हमारे जबान काष्मीर में बड़े जोर से, बड़ी ताकत घ्रोर हिम्मत से लढ़ रहे हैं। उन्होंने इन हान्फ़स्ट्रेटखं को मार कर हटाया है, यह हमारे लिए, गीरव का विषय है । ह्मानी मेना ने कारगिल को बापस ले लिया है, यह मी हमारे लिए गीरब का विषय है। लेकिन घमं की बात यह है कि हमारी जो गवर्नमेंट इस का संबालन करने वाली है, वह बुजदिल है । वह इस बात का हुषम नही देती कि पाकिस्तानियों को मारो, ठोंको, निकालो। भाषि़र यहु कब तक होता रहेगा कि जब वे लोग हम पर हमला करेंगे, हम मार खायेंगे, तय हम हाष उठार्येंगे ? घब हम को यह नीति मपनानी घाहिए कि जो कोई हम पर हाय उठाने की दच्छा ब्यक्त करता है, उस पर हमला कर के उस को पीछे हटा दिया जाये। यह कैसी नीति है कि घ्रगर कोर्ष हम को मारेगा तती हृम उस के बिसाफ हाष उठायगे ? भाज हम सीत्उ फायर लाइून

कास क्यों नही कर सकते हैं ? क्या यह सरकार कारगिस ले कर ही मंतुष्ट हो गई है। कार्रणिस तो थोड़ी हूर ही है। उन लोगों को उस मे भी पीछे हटा देना चाहिए । वाकिस्तान को मीज फायर लाहन के बाहर भाने का कोष़ पधिकार नहों है । पाकिस्तान ने जिस क्षेव को घ्राजाद काश्मीर बना रबा है, बह लुले-पाम, बेशमं प्रोर बेहया हो कर बहां पर भपनी फोजों को भेज रहा है । क्या छस पर मी हम उस के विर्य युदु नहीं का सकते ? क्या हैम को उन की कोई कमजोर जगह दिखाई नहीं देती, जिस को हुम क्षाकुपाई कर लॅं ? क्या केबल हम ही क्मजोर हैं ? भरग हम लाह़ोर श्रोर कराषी घाकुपाई कर लें, लो वह घपने धाप दृर्त्त हो जायेगा ।

यह सिरं काशमीर का मसला नहीं है । जहां नज जालो, बहां एवक ही कीज नजर घाती है कि पाकिस्तान हमारे माष युद्ध करता है, मगड़ा पैदा कग्ता है, उस के बाद सीज फायर होता है होर मशबरा होता है। बारों नरफ यही बात बल गही है । हम को बैट कर यह मोचना होगा कि पाकिक्तान को सबक सिखाने के लिए हम को क्या करना चाहिए । जब लक हम यह नहीं कर पाते हैं, हिमारे मिर परे यह एक बोम रहेगा । जब तक णाषिस्तान की बीमारी हमारे माथ लगी क्रें है, हुमारी प्रग्रति में बाधा पड़ती रह्हेगी । डसलित् पाकिस्नान की बीमारी हुम को दूर करनी ही होगी। पाकिम्तान का देष-पाव हम को हटाना होगा । बह छेष-भाब या तो प्रेम मे हटटाया जा मकला है या हर में। विछ्ञले सकह मालों में इस मरकार ने प्रेम कें बह छेष-भाब दूर करने की कोणिण की है-षब ग्यादा कंशिण करने की जहुग्न नत्री है । घ्रब उस वेष-माव को ंडे से, हर से घीर भार कर हृटाना
[ッी उ० मू० णिबेदी] होगा-उस के भ्रलावा श्रौर कोई तरीका नहीं है ।

जब मैं इस सरकार की ग्रसफलतायों की तर्फ देखता हूं तो मेरी निगाह गेहिबिलिटेगन की तरफ जाती है । प्राज इस विभ'ग में हमारे दोस्त, भ्री महावीर स्यागी, हैं, गो श्रच्छे सज्जन हैं, पच्रें मिनिस्टर हैं, हमददे हैं, बड़ी मोठी बात करते हैं, बड़ा झोर लगाते हैं । लेकिन श्राज स्थिति यह है कि रीहीबिलिटेशन के क्षेत्र में कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है—स्थिति बिल्कुल वैसी की वैसी है । यह स्थिति कब तक बनी रहेगी ? भ्राज निकोबार में लोगों को क्यों नहीं बसाया जाता है ? दो लाख लोगों को काष्मीर में क्यों नहीं बसाना जाता है ? द्रस में क्या रकाबट है ? यह़ मसला हम को हल कग़ना होगा, नावि द्रमारे देश की पान्ति कायम गहे।

मेरे मामने यह मी प्रश्न श्राता है कि पूर्षी पाकिस्तान $\vec{z}_{i}$ हमारे पादमियों को बदेढ़ कर, मार कर निकाला जा रहा है। प्राज उन की संख्या 120 लाख से घट कर 70 लाख ग्र गई है। पचास लाख प्रादमियो का बया हुप्रा ? भ्रगर इस को जेनोसाइड नही कहते हैं, तो फिर किस को जेनोसाइड कह सकते हैं ? घाप यू. तिंन घ्रो. के चारटर में दी गरी जेनोसाइड की व्याध्या कां देखिए । इस के बावजद हम ने पाकिस्तान में हो रहे इस जेनोसाइड के विरोध में पब तक ट्क जबिद भी नहीं कहा है । बदकिस्मती यहृ है कि ओनोसाइड का रेजोल्पूश्रन दग्भपूबंक पाकिस्तान ने पास कराया । बया उस दर्भी को हग खुले-पाम नही बता सकते हैं कि तुमने हुमाेे भादमियों का सत्यानाग का दिया है ?

हम ने बह़ां पर रहने वाली माधनानिट्टीज के साष उन बी सुरका के बारे

में बादे किये थे । दे घ्रार म्लड म्राफ, श्रावर हलड । वे हमारे खून का प्रंश हैं । भ्राज उन प्रादमियों को मारा जा रहा है, काटा जा रहा है, बर्बाद किया जा रहा है, उन की घौरतों घ्रौर लड़कियों की लज्जा लूटी जा रही है, लेकिन हम यहां पर भ्राराम के बंके हुए हैं। भारतवर्ष में एक एक स्ली के बारे में जबर्दस्त अगड़े ठुए हैं । श्राज हम इतने संतोषी भ्रौर सुखी हो गए हैं कि लाखों प्रोरतों की लज्जा लुट रही है प्रोर यहा पर हम लोग घ्रानन्द से बैट कर सिनेमा देख्बने जाते हैं या संस्कृति का प्रचार कग्ते हैंवह बोन सी मंस्कृति है, यहृ भगवान जानता है ।

जहां तक प्लार्निग का सम्बल्ध है, क्या ह्म उस में किमी मी प्रकार से फसीमत हुए हैं ? प्लानिग ने हमारे देश को गड्डे में उाल दिया है, हमारा सत्यानाण कर विया है । क्राज कोई भी चीज सस्ती नहीं मिलती है, कोई चीज प्राप्त नहीं हो सकती है । दो रुपये मन के गेहं का भाव बढ़ते बढ़ते 100 रुपये विवटल तक हो गया है। प्रगर यह् सरकार एक रुपये सेर का गेएूं देगी, तो कौन उस को खा सकेगा । यही स्थिति हर एक शीज की है । यहां पार्लयामेंट हाउस में ध्राठ रपये किलो के हिसाब मे धी मिलता था, लेकिन भ्राM वह ग्यारह रुपये किलो हो गया है । श्राबिर कब तक इस बात की इजाजत दी जायेगी कि ऐसा प्लानिग होता रहे प्रौर हमारा देश बर्बाद हो जाये । भाज गरीब लोंगों कों खाने के लिए नहीं मिलता हैं। फिर भी लोग कहुने हैं कि सब कृ⿹्य बाने के को मिलता है। कह्ने से क्या होगा बाजार में जा कर देखना चाहिए कि क्या कीज मिलती है घ्रीर किस भाब पर मिबती है ?

घीमती लक्मी बाई (विकाराबाद) : घान ए: प्वायंट भाक घाहर 1 मानरेबस

मेंबर का बहृनों घ्रोर ग्रोरतों के बा iो छम तरह बोलना ठीक नहीं है ।

बो हुर्म बन्ष कछषाय जो हो गहा है वह बोला है । पाकिम्तान जो कर रद्रा है, बह बोला है ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not for Shri Kachhavaiya to give the ruling. There is no point of order.

Shrimati Laxmi Bal: Sir, you do not know Hindi.

बं: उ० मूट च्चिबेतो : मैं कह रहा था कि जन साधारण के सिए भ्रपना निर्वाह करना कठिन हो गया है। उपभोषता वस्तुए बहुत महंगी हो गई हैं घ्रोर गरीब घादमियों कों वें प्राप्त भी नहीं हो सकती हैं। बहुत कोशिश करने के बावज़द भी स्थिति ऐेसी है कि ख्याने पीने की चीजें मिल नहीं ग्ही हैं प्रोर महूंगी होती जा रही हैं। जो उपभोक्ता बस्तुలँ हैं वे भी भ्राज बड़ी मुरिकस से प्राप्त हो रही है । महुगाई कहां जा कर रुकेगी, इसके कोर् लक्षण दिखाई नहीं देने हैं।

मुक्रा-सफीति किस स्थिति तक पहुंच गई है, इसको मी भाप देलें । छपये के मूल्य को भी क्राव देले । जहां हमारे एक रुपये के बदले हेढ़ रुपया मिलता था, पाकिस्तान में जहा एक रुपये के बदले हेत्ट हुलया मिलता था वहां हमारे रुपये की स्थिति बहुत ही ब्बरास हो गई है। हुमारे रुपे की कीमत कहीं कम हो गई है। हमारे रपये की कीमत पारियन गल्फ को पोर्ट्स में बहृत धधिक थी बहां मी उसकी कीमत कम हृो गई है। सिगापुर में ज्यादा धी, फ्रब कहां कम है, मलेणिया में उ्यावा बी, बह़ा कम है, होगकांग में ज्यादा थी, बहां क्म हो गई है। सभी नरफ हमारी मृत्रा की स्थिति गिग्ती जा ग्ही है जिसका उबदम्त नुक्सान देश का हो रहा है। भ्रगर इसका कारण पता लगाया जाए तो गो भी भष्ययन करेगा, उसको उस

कारण का फोरन पता जल जाए गा। कारण यही है कि हम कजजं में डूबते चले जा रहे हैं: किसी मुल्क कों हम पर विभ्बास नहीं रह गया है, हम पर करं की माश्रा हतनी पधिक हो गई है कि बह ह्मारे सिये घदा क.ग्ना मुक्किल हो रहा है। जब हमने रज्य की बागहोर सम्भाली थी उस बक्त हैमारे पास 1800 करोड़ रुपये सोने के ह्प में जमा चा वह 1800 करोड़ रुपया समाप्त हो गया है घ्रोर इसके प्रतिरिकत थाज हुमारे ऊपर 2100 करोड़ रुपये का कर्जा हो गया है। कुल सोना सिफं दो सी करोड़ का हमारे पास रह गया है जो कि
"the minimum that is available to keep up our currency"
ऐसी बुरी स्थिति घाज देश में हो गई है। किसी भी तएफ प्राप निगाह दोड़ायें, भाग्त में किसी कोने में प्राप निगाह दोड़ायं, किमी फंट को पाप देबें, हमें कहीं कोई दिशा विबाई नहीं देनी है, कहीं कोई भाशा की किरण नज़र नहीं भाती है, हमें कहीं पेसा मालूम नही पड़ता है कि हमने किसी मी प्रकार की कोर्ह उपति की है । श्रगर किसी इंसान ने मफंद कपढ़े पहुनने णुहै कर दिये है, गेवियो बजने लग गए है हम एयर कंसिणां में बलने लग गए हैं या लोगों के यहां एयन कहिए.न $r$ लग गए हैं तो इसका मतलब यह नही है कि लोगो की, भ्राम जनता की स्थिति सुधर गई है। स्थिति मुधरी हुई तब मालूम पहे जब यह्दां का जो नौकर है, जो लेबर है बह् यह कहने के लिए तैयान हो आए कि हाम चुण हैं। भाज सेबर यहृ कहले को गागी नहीं है। वह् तो भाज कहता है कि 18 रुपये जब उसको तनख्बाह मिलती बी नब बहु उ्यादा मुखी बी बनिम्बत काज के उर्षक उसको 120 या 150 रषये मासिक मिलते हैं। उनना पाने के बावज्यद मी बह भ्राज वुख्बी है, बह़ प्रपने बामबज्यों का पेट नहीं पास सकता है, उसकां धनाअ प्राप्त नी होटः है, जिनना कपड़ा उसको बाहिये बहद्ध प्राप्त मही क्दांता
[भ्री こ० मू० त्रिबेदी]

है । सब प्रकार के प्रंकुण उसके ऊपर हैं, कंन ोल से बह बहुत तंग है।

मुजं यह् कहते हुए णमे ग्राती है कि एमरजेंसी के नाम पर जिस डिकेंस प्राफ, हंडिया हल्त्र को सरकार ने देण पर लागू किया है, उसका भ्राज बुल्लमबुल्ला दुछपयोग किया जा रहा है। प्राज हम देब रह हैं $f$ f इसका दुरुपयोग राजस्थान में ब्लेलेक्राम हो रहा है, बंगाल में ब्बेलेक्राम हो रहा है, पोलिटिकल पार्टीज कों दबाने के लिए इसका उपयोग किया जा रहा है । इस तरह से इसका उपयोग नहीं होंना चाहिये । यह पोरा की बान नहीं है। में हाल का किस्सा भारको बतलाता हूं। बलकत्ता प्रोर बंगाल में मारबड़ी मेठों को पकड़ एकड़ कर बिना ट्रायल के प्राज जेलों में बन्द कर दिया गया है म्रोर इसलिए बन्द कर दिया गया है कि...

भी रघुनाष निही : प्रगर बल्लंकमाकट करते हैं तो बन्द ही किया जायगा।

जो उ० मू० त्रिषेटी : वे बाहर के ग्रने वाले हैं, उनके हक में वहां कोई बोलने वाला नहीं है। पिछले दिनों गजस्थान में क्या ठुषा, उदयपुर में कया हुमा, यहा भी में श्रापको बतलाता हूं। एक छोटे से मामले को लेकर कुछ गड़बड़ी बहां हुई । णान्ति स्वापित करने के लिए जन संप के लोगों नें, बहां के म्पूनिसिपल प्रेजीरेंट ने बुद कलंक्टर के माथ घूम घूम कर, एस० पी० के साथ धूम घूम कर लोगों को शान्त किया। उसके बाद बहां fिनिस्टर साह्य प्राए। उन्होने कलंकटर को बुला कर यह कहा कि तुम वहा खिपटं लिखो कि हस धादमी ने णरारत की है । जब कलंबटर.ने हनकार किया घ्रोग कहा कि मि कसे लिख्ब सकता हैं जब बह प्रादमी दिन भर मेरे साष रहा है मोर ऐसी भूठ

रिपाटे में कंसे लिबू तो उस कलंबटर का बहां से तबादला कर दिया गया। जब एस० ती० को कहा कि इस तरह की रिपोट वह लिखे म्रोर जब उसने मी इन्कार किया ध्रोर कहा कि वह श्रादमी उनके साथ धूम रहा था प्रोर उसने शान्ति स्थापना के काम में सहायता दी है तो उसको मी ट्रांसफर कर दिया गया प्रोर भब ही० प्राई० जी० को द्रांस्फर कर ₹हे हैं । घस्पताल के मेंीकल कालेज का जो प्रिसिपल शंचार्ज था उसके बारे में भी कहा कि उसने बहुत मदद की है घोर उसको भी ट्रांसफर कर दिया। यह जो नीति भाज हम भ्रख्यार कर रहे है, क्या उचित हैं ? क्या राजनीतिक दलों को दबाने के बास्ते इसका उपयोग होना चाहिये ?

जो बाते मैंने कही है यदि वे सही है तो इसका भ्रयं यह है कि लोगों को सन्तुष्ट करने में भाप सफल नहीं हुए है पर्याप्त मावा में श्रोर प्रापको कोई หधिकार नहीं है कि भ्राप यहां पर बैठ कर राज्य का संषालन करें। मेंनिबेदन करता हूं कि पान बाहजजत प्रोर बड़ी बुपी के साथ, छोल पीटते हुए नहीं बल्कि बिना बोल वेंटे हुए यहां से तशरीफ ले जाइये भौर दूसरों को यहां भाने दीजिये ।

Shri Khadilkar: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the no-confidence motion in this House has become almost a hardy annual. Nobody in this House, nor anyone outside in the country, takes all these Opposition parties who ally themselves in bringing forward such a motion, with any seriousness. But on this occasion when we are passing through a serious crisis, a crisis of confidence, there are on the one side, prophets of despair and doom like Shri Masani who are trying to undermine the economic stability of this country; there are others like-unfortunately, he is not here-Dr. Lohia, who is preaching that anarchy is better and he is waiting to celebrate the day of deliverance. He would
like to see this country pass through a period of anarchy to find out a new solution to the problems facing us today.

What Shri Masani and his other friends are saying we must very closely examine. A few days back in Bombay he said this-all the time the Plan is the main target of attackour economy is stagnant, we are not growing at all, our international credit is at the lowest ebb.' I would like to take serious exception and ask the Home Minister whether attack of this nature on the economic stability and credit in the world of this country should be tolerated. Is it not treasonable to say this kind of thing? I would like to quote only two small passages for your information.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): Which paper?

Shri Khadilkar: This is from the Swantra Party's March of the Nation. This is from his speech in Bombay. He said that we are going bankrupt, that TTK is going to lead this country to bankruptey'. I have nothing to say against that particular thing. That is legitimate. But I am going to refute every other thing thet he said. What he has said in the House is legitimate. But what he has stated outside is treasonable and treacherous. I am going to quote it. I quote from the 'March of the Nation of July 3rd which has reported Mr. Masani's speech. He has advised other countries this way. One is this:
"He welcomed the West German Government's recent decision not to give any more government loans to India and other developing countries except for the legitimate purpose of building rnads, bridges. dams and power stations. For everything else. those who wanted capital must go to the money market and raise foreign equity capital".

The second is more important:

> "Mr. Masani hoped the US Government would also impose similar economic discipline on the Indian Government by withholding further economic aid unless infationary policies were ohandoned, the proposed Fourth Plan was scrapped, the bias towards heavy industry eliminated and agriculture given the priority that it badly needed".

Now whatever arguments he has made on the floor of the House 1 will deal with them in a democratic way that is legitimate. But is it proper for a responsible Member of a party and a responsible Member of this House to advocate in the wide world that India is going bankrupt because of this Plan and therefore 'do not come forward with any aid'.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): He has more sympathy with America.

Shri Khadilkar: Nandaji has taken, on the basis of good evidence, certain action against the left communists because they were showing sympathy with the Chinese. There was suspicion that they were inspired by Chinese in their activitics in this country. And we defended it in the House. I specifically refer to it because when the World Bank Mission came here, its leader, Mr. Wood, advocated-he has every right as a creditor to do sodemonetisation of our currency, raising of import duties, devaluing our Plan and tying our economy to the free market economy once and for all. The Prime Minister and the Planning Commission recently have taken a decision. a right decision. a bold decision. a correct decision, that even while facing a crisis, there is a constitutional directive placing certain social objectives before our country which cannot be abandoned, that we cannot cut our Plan to please our foreign creditors.

Shri Masani has said that whatever the Prime Minister said in the past

## [Shri Khadilkar]

casually has been debunked completely, and about the Finance Minister he has said that he is leading the country to bankruptcy. I shall show now what has happened during the last Plan and the previous Plans, how far we have advanced. But before coming to that, is it proper for a Member of this House.

Shri Ranga: Why not?
Shri Khadilkar: ....to argue this way and canvas opinion outside the country, asking other countries not to advance us credit, not to help us, to bring this Government to their knees? Is it honourable for the Swatantra Party spokesmen? Have they got the face to go to the people and say that they are being inspired by the world creditors who want to bring this country to its knees, to humiliate it? Is that the way?

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): No.

Shri Khadilkar: Do they realise that planning in this country has become part of the State apparatus, that planning in this country is not done at the top? When I go to my district, to the villages, people are crying. They want wells, they want drinking water, they want education, they want roads, and above all, they want employment. better life and higher education. So, it is not a process which can be switched off and on according to the decision taken by some technocrats at the top at some pragmatic level. This is not going to help this country, the poor of this country to better their lot. Sometimes pragmatism is bandied about. Pragmatism is a method, it cannot be a substitute for a policy. That must be borne in mind. During the last Plan has industrial production really stagnated or gone down? Let us examine it. There is some time at my disposal, I will plead for a little more time for the economic argument. If we leave aside the old, established industries like textiles, jute, tea and
sugar, which constitute 50 per cent, and go to the chemical, engineering and metallurgical industries, it is a record performance. We have surpassed the targets of the Plan in some cases. This is a phenomenon about which I am prepared to argue with facts and figures, but it is difficult to do if here just now. I am stating it. I say with a little pride that though China has advanced in the industrial sector at a faster rate, on the agricultural sector our rate of growth of 34 per cent or nearabouts is comparable with China's rate of growth with all their monolithic structure, with all the greater social and economic discipline in that country.

Therefore, in the economic fleld. when people like Shri Masani argue like this, we need not become apologetic and think that we are committing some mistake. I know of weak spots. I would like to do a little self-reapprisal and be self-analytical, not because there is a no-confldence motion but because they have lost confidence in themselves. They are a frustrated lot and have been left out from the big current of national politics in this country and those who had been out from this current are in a frustrated mood and have now come forward trotting out a no-confidence motion of this nature and I do not take them very seriously. The only sensible speech worth considering and which was critical of the Congress Party came from an independent Member, Maharaja Karni Singh. He made some good contribution. I can understand him because it was more to the point. The other criticisms were absolutely beside the point. What is the state of affairs in the communist party? I am surprised at them.... (Interruptions.) If you read the latest policy statement. what is the struggle that goes on among them? One section is very eager to share power with the Congress, not actually sharing power but is ready to come closer and form
a united front. That is one line. Another section is there which is supposed to have an extremist line: no, no; do not show softness to Shastriji o. Nandaji; now you must take cudgels; the condition in the country has changed; food situation is very critical; this is the time when we must forge a new front and attack. Have they resolved this conflict? Have they the sanction of the party? Let them go to their comrades. Let them join hands with the reactionaries like Acharya Ranga. .... (Interruptions.) Even in dream if you imagine that in this country this Government and thr party is defeated, you will be shocked the next morning to find that there would be no alternative and the forces which Acharya Ranga represents will come with bended knees to Shastri and will say: please stay on; we have a greater stake in the stability. in the peaceful progress of this country; for heaven's sake, carry on the Government; whatever weakness may be there, we will stand by you. That is their position because they have a greater stake in this country and they have got a' lion's share and it cannot be gainsaid that those who have got the lion's share will not do so. This Government is carrying on whatever progressive policies are possible in the given situation and you have no right to trouble them by bringing in this frivolous motion of no-confidence of one line, seeking an omnibus type of support and a contradictory and opportunistic alliance which is not going to improve party politics nor will the Indian politics tolerate this type of non-sense any longer.

I have got to apply my mind a little.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Have you a mind?

## 17 hrs.

Shri Khadilkar: Yes, certainly; I have a healthy mind. not a frustrated mind. If I were to apply my mind a little objectively what do I find around? The foreign colonial rule left all the
contradictions and problems of this country bundled together and hung on a peg. In the changed context of the situation, that bundle is unfolding itself and there are the problems of State reorganisation, language problems, border problems and all sorts of p.oblems which have crept up and the Government, whatever its colour, will have to face these problems in a realistic manner. In such a situation, we are mainly concerned with the minimum that a poor man should get. On the agricuitural front, I must confess that we have done well so far as foodgrains are concerned compared to other things. There also, I would like to remind Acharya Ranga that there is a shortfall in fertilisers. The fertiliser licences issued to private parties have remained infructuous during the third Plan. Let him check the figures. Who is responsible? We want fertilisers; we are in need of them. Though licences were issued to their party henchmen, even then, they were not honoured and nothing was done. You are responsible for keeping the agricultural production at this level.

Sir, in this country, unfortunately. at the Centre, we see a different phenomenon, a phenomenon which is causing concern. Our Food Minister is trying to evolve a national food policy; it is a commendable effort.

Mr. Depaty-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Khadilkar: I will take some more time, Sir. This is an important issue.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.

### 17.02 hrs

The Lr: Sabhn then adjourned tall Ebeven of the Clock on Tuesday, August 24, 1965/Bhadra 2, 1887 (Saka).


[^0]:    What has been the Central Govern-

