

[Shri Shyam Dhar Misra]

(2) a copy of Administration Report of the Kerala State Electricity Board, for the year 1961-62 under section 75(1A) of the Kerala Electricity (Supply) Act, 1948, read with clause (c) (iv) of the Proclamation dated the 24th March, 1965, issued by the Vice-President discharging the functions of the President, in relation to the State of Kerala. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4628/65].

CENTRAL EXCISE (SEVENTH AMENDMENT) RULES, 1965

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance (Shri Rameshwar Sahu):** I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Central Excise (Seventh Amendment) Rules, 1965, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1159 dated the 14th August, 1965, under section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4629/65.]

12.01 hrs.

MOTION OF NO.—CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yesterday I had extended the time by one hour. I wanted to accommodate Dr. Aney and Shri J. B. Singh.....

**Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner):** Shri P. K. Ghosh was on his feet.

**Mr. Speaker:** But I cannot help it. When objection was taken by one of the Members of the Opposition that there is no quorum, the House had to be adjourned. We will have to proceed with the reply of the Prime Minister.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** Shri P. K. Ghosh was on his feet.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is right. But what can I do? I also wanted to accommodate Shri J. B. Singh.

**Shri P. K. Ghosh (Ranchi East):** It is the convention that unfinished speeches are allowed to be finished

the next day. I may be allowed to finish my speech.

**Mr. Speaker:** I had declared yesterday in the morning that the debate would be concluded by yesterday evening and that we will have the Prime Minister's reply today. I have to apologise to the Members whom I have not been able to call though I did my best to accommodate them.

**श्री ज० व० सिंह (वोसी) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक निवेदन सुन लीजिए। यह मेरा कसूर तो नहीं है कि कोरम नहीं था। जब भी हम कुछ कहना चाहेंगे, तो हमें शायद अजिरे में टाइम मिलेगा और उस वक्त कोरम नहीं होगा। ऐसी स्थिति में हमें बोलने का अवसर कब मिलेगा? मैं चुनकर अया हूँ कूडा-करकट से और ये लोग चुनकर आए हैं जनता से इन को बोलने का अधिकार है। अगर इस तरह से हमारे हकों पर हमला होगा और हमारे हकों की रक्षा नहीं होगी, तो हमारा तो फंक्शन करना ही मुश्किल हो जायेगा।

**The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Members of the Opposition are free to move a No-Confidence Motion whenever they so like. But I would merely like to say that to make it, more or less, a routine matter in every session of the House is perhaps not setting up a very healthy precedent and especially in the present context of things. I would merely say that this Motion is very regrettable.

I am thankful to Mr. Masani for the few good words he spoke about me. We differ in our views and we belong to different parties, but this should not cause any bitterness at all between us. We have worked for more than thirty years together and I think it should sustain our old acquaintance and friendship.

The main attack on our policies has been that we have made a very big Plan and this Plan will cause great difficulties for us. As the House is aware, soon after our independence, we had to concentrate on the economic development of the country. Naturally this was the first and foremost task for the Government and we have pursued it to the maximum extent possible.

What was the context in which we decided that we should try to develop our country on a planned basis? Sir, we have, of course, our own ideology and our own policy, but we felt that we need not have a very dogmatic approach but it was essential that there should be planned development and we felt—or the Government felt—that there should be regular Five-Year Plans.

Our problem is that our needs are tremendous. We have been subjected to slavery for a long period and we find ourselves in an extremely miserable position because, wherever and in whichever direction we go, we find, that the country is backward; whether it is roads, ports, railways, power, electricity, industry, mines or any other field, we find that we are extremely backward and we have to catch up with the events. But we should also realise that, for that, we have to find the necessary resources. What are we to do if the needs and requirements are great? We have to fulfil those needs and requirements and, in fact, what we have planned for falls far short of fulfilling our needs and requirements. Whether it is the State Governments or even, if I might say so, the Members of Parliament or others, they all want the various things to be done and different measures and steps taken to remove many of the deficiencies which prevail in the country. This compels us to have a bigger Plan and it is in this context that we find that we have to draw up a bigger Plan every time because we have to catch up with the tempo which the earlier Plans have created. If we do not do

it, then it would mean the stagnation of our economy which would ultimately result in the misery of our people. We do believe . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): I am sorry to interrupt. Why did the Prime Minister suggest one year's respite for consolidation? (*Interruptions*).

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

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Prime Minister had yielded, and therefore, I asked the question. Why should my hon. friends shout?

**Shri Maurya** (Aligarh): When the Opposition Members were speaking, they were interrupting, but when the Prime Minister is speaking now, they want that we should not interrupt.

**Mr. Speaker:** I would just request the hon. Prime Minister in regard to one thing. If he is prepared to answer those interruptions, then he might yield, but if he wants to proceed uninterrupted, then he might continue, and I would ask the hon. Members not to interrupt. But when he himself sits down, then I have no option but to permit the interruption.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He had sat down, and that was why I put my question.

**Mr. Speaker:** I would request hon. Members now not to interrupt. I presume that the hon. Prime Minister does not want to yield. So, he might be allowed to proceed uninterrupted. There should be no interruptions. At the end of his speech, if there is anything to be asked, then I shall permit a few questions.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He may not yield in future, but when I put my question, he had yielded.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** The hon. Member might as well have waited to listen to my speech and then put his question.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It was because he had yielded that I asked the question.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** As I was saying, in the present circumstances we have no alternative but to go in for a bigger plan, because the country wants it and the country needs tremendous changes and great developments. Even our industrialists will also, I have no doubt, want a much bigger plan. But, of course, they would like to depend on getting aid and help more and more from foreign countries. Of course, we cannot accept that policy, because we have to depend more and more on ourselves. I do not mean to suggest that we do not want aid or help from other countries, but ultimately our objective has to be to reduce the quantum of help which we get from abroad. In fact, a much bigger plan was proposed in the Planning Commission; various committees met and there was a suggestion to have a plan of about Rs. 27,000 crores first and then of Rs. 24,000 crores.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Why not Rs. 30,000 crores?

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** There was even a suggestion for a plan of Rs. 30,000 crores. But after having taken everything into consideration we felt that we must look to the resources as well. There is no point in just being an idealist. Before we accept any plan, we must see what the resources are and how far it would be feasible to find both the external and internal resources. After having had talks with the Chief Ministers of various States, we came to the conclusion that it would be possible for them to find the necessary resources which had to be found from the States, and the Centre also would be in a position to find the necessary resources. So, in these circumstances, we agreed to this figure of Rs. 21,500 crores.

However, I must say that we will have to keep a constant watch on the resources position, and if we find that necessary resources are not forthcoming we will have to review the position. I do not think that this would happen, but yet I would like to say

that we must find the necessary resources; but if we do not get them, whether by the states or by the Centre, then we will have to review our position most carefully. In fact, every year at the time of the presentation of the Budget, the resources position will be carefully examined. It is necessary that we tap new resources and new sources. I know there will be taxation. We will try to get funds from our public sector projects through their earnings. There will be savings. All these elements will help in finding the necessary resources.

I have, however, a feeling that in regard to taxes, we can certainly tap new avenues. But in some cases, we have also to consider if a particular taxation measure has not reached the saturation point, and if it means almost a no-return, then we have to review the position. We have to consider it, because what we want is a constant flow of money and resources for our plan, and we should not certainly give the impression that there has to be taxation for taxation's sake.

We will also have to be very careful in regard to our foreign exchange position. We do not know what we will get from other countries with a view to finding necessary foreign exchange resources for the plan. But yet the picture does not seem to be very dim; the prospects seem to be, on the whole, fairly satisfactory. However, I would not like to express my views categorically one way or the other. Yet an effort has to be made, and our Finance Minister would soon be going to the United States and to some other countries with a view to discuss matters and see that necessary resources are made available for the Fourth Five Year Plan.

Of course, in a socialist society, the public sector has to receive the highest priority. I would not like to say much as to how our public sector projects have functioned . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Not worth saying.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** But as far as I can say, except for a few projects, on the whole the other projects have functioned very well indeed.

**Shri Ranga:** Question.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** In fact, the Finance Minister the other day mentioned the figures, the profits and earnings from the public sector projects. If we do not have the desire and necessary strength to run these public sector projects profitably—it is not merely a question of ideology—we will certainly have to reconsider. But I have no doubt that in a few years, in course of time, our public sector projects will be doing much better than the private sector projects. We have made considerable improvement in management, and we will have to effect further improvements, but it is necessary that the public sector projects should cover as many areas as possible. Of course, we have the private sector projects, and they have to play their own role. I would say that Government will try to help them as much as it can in order to achieve the targets which have been prescribed for them.

Shri Masani paid compliments to Pakistan for the progress they have made. I do not grudge it.

**Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot):** I did not, somebody else perhaps.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** Perhaps someone else said it. I would not like to go into details, and, I do not want to compare ourselves with other countries. Still, some kind of propaganda is being carried on, and therefore I thought I should make it clear as to what kind of progress Pakistan has made. It is only after a long period of very slow growth in the 1950's that Pakistan's economy has begun to grow rapidly, at over 5% per annum since 1959-60. Agriculture which grew only by 1.3 per cent per annum in the 1950's shows a rate of increase of 3.5% since 1959-60, which is about the average rate of growth of Indian agriculture over a

much longer period. The rate of growth in India in 1964-65 was 7.33 per cent, according to estimates just published.

No less important is the fact that Pakistan's development had been accompanied by a much greater disparity in income between the poor and the rich, and I shall quote what Mr. R. F. Husain has written in *The Times*, London, on August 13th. He had said:

"In the economic sphere there is great activity and on the whole the country gives an impression of expansion. There are more jobs and more moneys in people's pocket, but the disparity between the rich and the poor has increased alarmingly. The differences in their living conditions is glaring.

"The rich areas are remarkably clean and the poor disgustingly dirty. On paper vast sums of money are allocated to improve conditions, but all too often the money finds its way into the private pocket."

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha):** Where is the difference?

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** I do not say that we have completely removed all disparities. There are disparities in our country. Of course, there is a section which has reaped enormous benefits, and yet our effort has been to make an all-round development, all-round progress. There are sections in our country which are suffering or have suffered, yet it cannot be denied that a very large number of our people, their size is very great, have benefited by our plans and programmes. I would also like to add that compared with our population and with the area, Pakistan has got almost double the aid which we have received from other countries. That is a factor with which greater development is possible.

I know that we are facing a difficult situation in so far as food is concerned. It has caused us great concern during the last month and a half.

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This is rather a strange situation but unfortunately there has been a short-fall in the rains. This caused a special kind of situation creating doubts in the minds of the farmers as well as traders. The result is that there has been a shortage of food-grains in some parts of the country and there have been special difficulties in certain pockets. Luckily, we have now got the rains and it has given some relief. It has to be realised that the bigger wholesalers and if I may say so big farmers have got foodgrains with them and they will have to be tackled . . .

**Shri Ranga:** Question.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** I know there will be some difficulty in handling the big farmers but the State Governments have no alternative, the State Governments will have to handle and tackle the big farmers; they should try to persuade them, whatever the methods be. But this has to be tackled and they have to be handled.

Secondly, we are getting imports and we expect to get adequate imports and we will try to help the areas which are in difficulties and try to help them as much as we can. This is of course the short term remedy. Immediately we have to do these things. Ultimately it is only greater production which will solve this problem and we attach the highest importance for that to the agricultural sector. Mr. Masani said that our allocation was rather very small and he mentioned this in percentage. In terms of percentage it may not be large as compared to what it was in the Third Plan and I would merely like to tell him that in actual amounts the allocation is double. For instance in the Third Plan the allocation was Rs. 1091 crores. Now, in the fourth Plan, it is Rs. 2,400 crores. In irrigation, power and rural works and rehabilitation and two or three other items which are connected with agriculture, there has been consistent in-

crease; there are big increases in the fourth Plan as compared to the third Plan. If irrigation, power, small industries, transport—all connected with the rural areas—if all these various items which directly benefit agricultural production are included, it will be found that the total figure comes to Rs. 4,387 crores as compared to Rs. 2,141 crores in the third Plan. So, the allocation is quite big.

The point is whether it would be possible for this sector to absorb all this amount of money; if it would be absorbed, naturally we will feel very happy. Not only that. I am prepared to say that in case there is any dearth of money for the agricultural sector, it would be found, and it would naturally be given the highest priority. Secondly, if there is to be any cut in any field, it will not be done in the case of agriculture. We may have to do it in some other sector but not in agriculture.

I would also like to say that what I had suggested was that in the first year of the fourth Five Year Plan, the highest allocation will be made for agriculture. I had said that the Planning Commission should give thought to it and also that they should prepare an integrated plan of agriculture. I do not know how it has appeared in the newspapers. I did not get either any oral or written information from the Planning Commission that they did not agree with this approach. What has appeared in some newspapers is absolutely incorrect. In fact, as I said, the Planning Commission is preparing an integrated plan of agriculture with the necessary inputs and all that; they should prepare a co-ordinated picture of agricultural development. They are doing it, and I have no doubt that the plan that they will draw up for agriculture will certainly put agriculture on a sound footing.

A reference has been made to planning. It has been said that the biggest evil is perhaps the planning of

our country's economic development and for that perhaps the Planning Commission is held responsible. I would merely say that in this vast country, with enormous problems, we cannot go ahead with the economic development without having a plan with us. And if there is no plan, we will present a distorted picture of our economy. I would like to tell Shri Masani that it is not only the socialist countries who have got planning bodies. Even in the United Kingdom there are two bodies which they have set up for planning.

**Shri Ranga:** Are they super-Cabinets placed on top of the Government. *(Interruption).*

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** It is not a super-Cabinet.

**Shri Ranga:** You are only a nominal Chairman of the Planning Commission. *(Interruption).*

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

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** The Planning Commission has been given its task, and it has to complete that task. It has completely to follow the policies of the Government. There is absolutely no reason to suggest that they can superimpose their views on the government. But certainly there is constant consultation and discussion and more or less we agree amongst ourselves. Generally we find that we see eye to eye with each other. As I said, U.K. France or other countries have a planning agency. Besides that, I might add that the World Bank, to which I think Mr. Masani will attach importance, also has suggested that there should be a proper plan for development. They will consider giving aid or loan only if a country has got a proper plan for development. **In the circumstances, to suggest that planning itself is some kind of evil will not be correct at all.** To some extent, I think with some reservation, Mr. Dandeker agreed with it.

We have to depend more and more on ourselves and we must contribute

the maximum, the country will have to give the maximum, in the form of taxes or in other forms. The imposts which have been levied might be heavy, but yet it is an indication of the fact that we want to contribute our best for the fourth plan and for helping in building up our economy. These imposts do not touch the common man at all . . .

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Question.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** . . . or needs or items which are daily necessities of life.

What is more important is that in the fourth plan, we must see that there is no deficit financing. Inflationary tendencies have to be checked and curbed. So, even if we have to undertake some burden, we should be willing to do so, so that at least there is no further inflation in our country and the prices are contained within a reasonable limit.

There is some doubt in the minds of the people whether these imposts or checks on imports might not affect our production. There is some substance in it. We will certainly have to consider as to what steps should be taken so that the increase in production is not handicapped. Naturally for raw materials and components, we need free foreign exchange and special efforts will have to be made to get it, so that production, specially in small-scale industries and even bigger industries, does not suffer.

Of course, in a regulated economy, there have to be controls and some regulations and checks. But I do feel that we have also to review side by side whether certain controls could not be lifted. After all, firstly, it is necessary that there should be minimum checks and counter-checks in so far as the setting up of industries is concerned. And, secondly, as I said, if necessary, controls in certain—of course, where it is absolutely essential—cases may be lifted. For example, we have recently lifted controls over some special qualities of

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steel and pig iron, and we have also decided it in principle that cement would be de-controlled except for the quantity which is needed by the Government. So we have to keep under constant review the kind of regulations, checks and controls we have, because it is essential that production should increase and nothing will help the country more than increased production in different directions.

Sir, I must say that the picture which Shri Dandekar painted the other day was as if there had been no progress at all and this country is just going to ruins. I would merely say that over the period of 14 years since we embarked upon planned economic development the real national income of the country has gone up by about 69 per cent, despite increase in population. The real income per head of the population increased by about 27 per cent . . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What about the distribution of that?

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** . . . production of foodgrains has gone up by over 54 per cent, the agricultural production as a whole rose by about 40 per cent . . . . (*Interruption*) . . . in 1963-64 the *per capita* availability of cereals, cloth and a range of manufactured articles has gone up since 1951, industrial production as a whole has been diversified and has increased by over 145 per cent, the generation of electricity is now five times more than what it was at the beginning of the First Plan. Hardly any crude oil was produced or refined in 1950. In 1964 the figures were 2.2 million tonnes and 9 million tonnes respectively. The production of steel presents a similar picture and in the matter of extension of irrigation facilities what has been done over the three Plan-period represents much more than the progress over half a century and in fact more than which preceded it. At the beginning of the First Plan the total gross area irrigated from all sources was about 55.8 million acres. Major

and medium irrigation schemes taken up in the first three Plans have alone an aggregate potential of about 44 million acres.

**Shri Ranga:** How much is going waste?

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** With what we propose to do in the matter of additional irrigation facilities over the Fourth Plan, all but a small proportion of irrigable area in the country would be provided with irrigation facilities. In this field, our achievements could perhaps compare with the best elsewhere. Simultaneously, there has been a large expansion in social services and transport capacity. When all is said and done, this, in the aggregate, represents no mean order of progress (*Interruption*).

I do not mean, Sir, to suggest that everything is satisfactory. We have to make considerable progress (*Interruption*). And, we have to tackle the much more difficult problems the country is faced with. I might, Sir, add that what is more important here is the implementation of our programmes and policies. It has often been said that we have been lacking in proper implementation and execution of our programmes and policies. We have been looking into this matter. There have been various study groups functioning. But I have often felt that, perhaps, these patch-works or these small efforts are not going to meet the situation, and I am of the opinion that there should be a high-power commission to go into this matter (*Interruption*). Because, it must cover the whole gamut of administration. There is the Secretariat, there are the directorates and, then we have also the administration in the districts. I think both these aspects are very important and they must be tackled by a commission which would be sufficiently powerful. I have no doubt that if we have a commission of distinguished people, it will produce adequate results. Their recommendations will be such as would help in

Improving our administration in building up our Secretariat and also in building up the services working in the field. So, in this context, I do hope that this proposal will generally be endorsed and approved, and I think it is an important proposal (*Interruption*).

I would not like to say much on other matters, but I have merely to request this House and also the people outside that we are at the present moment involved in a grim struggle with Pakistan in Kashmir and this is a time in which we should get the support and co-operation of all.

**Shri Ranga:** You must deserve it.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** It is essential that nothing should be done which would in any way help Pakistan. Any disunity here in the country or any kind of strike will be... .. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. There should not be a running commentary from so many quarters. Let us hear the Prime Minister quietly. It is not a dialogue that is going on, it is a reply to a debate. It is not a dialogue that everywhere it should be interrupted or private conversation should be indulged in.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (विजनौर) :**  
उत्तर प्रदेश में क्या हो रहा है ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आपने जो कहना था कह दिया। डिबेट में हर एक को अपनी बारी मिलनी है और उस वक्त वह अपनी बात कह सकते हैं।

**श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय...

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब नेता जी आप बैठिये।

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** Sir, I would like to say, I do not know if

the hon. Members realise the gravity of the situation. I am really amazed over it. After all . . .

**श्री मधु लिमये (मुनेर) :** प्रधान मंत्री जी यह कैसे कह सकते हैं कि हम लोग स्थिति की गम्भीरता को नहीं समझते हैं ? हम अपेक्षा कर रहे हैं कि वे नाति को सफाई करें।

**श्री बागड़ी :** वे नाति की सफाई क्यों नहीं करते ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब आप बैठ जायें। पत्नीर उनके हाथ में है इसलिए उनको बालने दीजिए।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** वे हमें चार्ज कर रहे हैं कि हम लोग गम्भीरता को नहीं समझ रहे हैं तो हमें कहने का मौका दिया जाय।

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** I say it and I repeat it, because . . .

**श्री रामसेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) :**  
यह गलत आप कहते हैं। आप गम्भीरता का अहसास करते तो नाति बतलाते कि आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं और किस लिए सहयोग चाहते हैं ? देश में क्या वातावरण निर्माण कर रहे हैं ? पंजाब, उत्तर प्रदेश और उड़ीसा में क्या हो रहा है ?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. There can be only one Member on his legs at a time. We cannot proceed in this manner. I have said it again and again and now I am repeating it . . . (*Interruption*). Now I will ask every member to sit down.

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री हम पर चार्ज लगा रहे हैं।



**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आर्डर, आर्डर । माननीय सदस्य बैठ जायें ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप की व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री अविश्वास-प्रस्ताव पर बंशते समय, सरकार की जिन गलत नीतियों की आलोचना की गई है, उन का स्पष्टीकरण व कर के दूसरी तरफ जा रहे हैं । (Interruptions).

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** इस वक्त माननीय सदस्य ने स्वीच नहीं देती है । उन्होंने प्राइम-मिनिस्टर का जवाब सुनना है । बाद में मौका आने पर वह अपनी राय दे सकते हैं । इस वक्त वह बैठ जायें ।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** प्रधान मंत्री ने सहयोग की प्रणाली को है, इसलिए हम ने यह कहा है—वर्ना हम बिल्कुल नहीं कहते । सहयोग किस आधार पर ? किस नीति के लिए ?

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** I must say that I do not expect any support from the hon. Members of the Socialist Party . . . (interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. If three members stand up and talk at the same time, I will have to take some action.

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** सरकार की नीति ही ऐसी नहीं है कि उस को सहयोग दिया जाये । (Interruptions).

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य बैठ जायें ।

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** अगर प्रधान मंत्री हमारा सहयोग चाहते हैं, तो उन को अपनी नीति बदलनी चाहिए ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, . . . (Interruptions).

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अगर माननीय सदस्य इसी तरह बोलते जायेंगे, तो मुझे एक्शन लेना पड़ेगा । यह जरूरी नहीं है कि हर एक

बात माननीय सदस्य के माफिक हो या वह उस को पत्रन्द करें । (Interruptions).

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** प्रधान मंत्री चीन की मदद चाहते हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के दुश्मनों की मदद चाहते हैं—देशभक्तों और मुल्क के दोस्तों की मदद नहीं चाहते हैं । वह संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की मदद नहीं चाहते हैं, जो कि राष्ट्रीयता और समाजवाद की पार्टी है । वह देशद्रोहियों का साथ और सहयोग चाहते हैं । (Interruptions).

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय . . . (Interruptions).

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैं ने माननीय सदस्यों से बार-बार कहा है कि जब मैं खड़ा हूँ, तो वे नहीं बोल सकते । माननीय सदस्य बैठ जायें ।

**Shri Hanumanthalya (Bangalore City):** Action has to be taken.

**Mr. Speaker:** There is a limit. I have abstained and restrained myself all this time.

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** जो प्रधान मंत्री संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का सहयोग नहीं चाहता है वह देशद्रोही है । (Interruptions).

**श्री राधे लाल व्यास (उज्जैन) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, ऐसा बार-बार होता है । मेरा निवेदन है कि . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य बैठ जायें । जो कुछ हो रहा है, मैं उसको देख रहा हूँ ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** जो सरकार संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का सहयोग नहीं चाहती है, वह सरकार राष्ट्रद्रोही है ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अगर माननीय सदस्य खामोशी से नहीं सुन सकते, तो वह बाहर चले जायें । (Interruptions).

श्री मधु लिमये : हम नीति सुनना चाहते हैं ।

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं ने माननीय सदस्य से कहा है कि अगर वह नहीं सुनना चाहते हैं, तो वह बाहर चले जायें । मैं ने उनसे इतनी दफा कहा है । अगिरा नहि हद हाता चाहिए । इत तरह बार-बार बोलने का क्या मतलब है ?

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय,

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह डीटेड है, मजाक नहीं है । There ought to be some limit.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** I am sorry for what has happened. I shall not take more time of the House. However, I would like to say that any kind of activity which leads to violence, or which would be inciting violence in some form or another would be most unfortunate in the present circumstances.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Including firing.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** There can be meetings, protests, demonstrations and processions. We have no objection to any kind of opposition which is more or less peaceful and we will certainly listen to their views.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** But meetings are banned.

श्री मधु लिमये : सरकार भी लाठी-गोली की नीति छोड़ दे ।

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** Of course it would be left to Government to decide its course of action. Any kind of violence would be most unfortunate, especially in the present circumstances, and it would be exceedingly difficult for the government to put up with it.

In regard to Kashmir I do not want to say much. I have already expressed my views on what course or line of action we propose to take in Kashmir. But these incidents, our capturing of certain posts, should not put us in a state of complacency. The situation is much more difficult and much more grave. It is not going to be a short-term affair; it is going to be a prolonged thing. Therefore, we have to prepare our country to meet this menace and to meet the situation. In this any help or support from any quarter, even from those who oppose us, would be most welcome.

We are passing through critical days and we are passing through fire. We have no doubt that it is fire. But I would only like to say that this Government, which is passing through fire, will come out of it much brighter and much more stronger. In the face of this opposition motion I want to tell the House that it is this Government and the party to which we belong which will deliver the goods.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I opened the debate I had expressed the hope that the House would focus its attention primarily on the home front which, in my view, requires careful examination, and I am very glad that, by and large, and in particular in the reply of the hon. Prime Minister, that emphasis and that focus have been maintained. I wish I could say that the issues that have been raised have been adequately or satisfactorily answered.

We had alleged, in so far as the primary issue of food is concerned, that agriculture has been cruelly neglected in the last two Plans, and that the next Plan proposes to repeat that neglect. The hon. Prime Minister has tried to refute that charge by mentioning the figures of actual allocation and not the percentage and by mentioning that while the percentage had not risen beyond 22.2 to 22.8 per cent for irrigation and agriculture, the actual allocations were larger. The

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actual allocations are given in the Memorandum on the Plan at page 11, that in place of Rs. 1,700 crores there are Rs. 3,400 crores, that is double. But what does this double mean? This double is in a doubled Plan. The quantum of the Plan has gone up from Rs. 10,000 crores in the Third Plan to Rs. 20,000 crores in the Fourth Plan. So, the percentage is the same. You have doubled the allocation in twice as big a Plan. Even though you have said that you will give it priority, you have kept agriculture right at the bottom, as in the Third Plan. These absolute allocations are misleading in many ways. During the last five years the rupee has depreciated to the extent of 35 per cent. So, these allocations have to be cut down, if I may say so to the hon. Prime Minister, by 35 per cent if we really wish to know how badly he has been misled by the Planning Commission.

I had asked two questions of the Food Minister, both of which he has failed to answer. One question I had asked was what deliveries have you made from the 3 million tons which you have collected during the period of rising prices and great distress to our people during the last few weeks and months? No reply was given to that because, as I said, the Government of India is the biggest hoarder in the country today. I asked another question. I asked the Government why the Agricultural Prices Commission's unanimous rejection of maximum prices for rural products has been ignored. Why have the Government not accepted the unanimous decision of the Agricultural Prices Commission that while there may be a minimum price there may be no maximum price? No answer was given. The Food Minister made a long speech but forgot to answer these two points.

I am not surprised because, in the last few days Government have taken a major defeat on the food front. One of the three experts whom they themselves selected to form the Agri-

cultural Prices Commission has resigned in protest. The day after I spoke in this House pointing out that the Commission was being ignored, one of the three Members has put in his resignation which has been accepted. The Member who has resigned is Dr. Raj Krishna, one of the finest economists in the country. In his letter of resignation to the Food Minister, he says:

"He had also serious doubts not about the logical necessity of rationing but about the workability and some of the economic and welfare consequences of it in the conditions in our country."

Then, he goes on to say:

"...it would be very odd for him to oppose the fixation of maximum prices for certain types of transactions and at the same time to help in the determination of maximum prices and to oppose the continuation of zones and then to help in the determination of the "right" quantities of "exports" and "imports" of every State in India."

He ends up by saying:

"It is very distressing for me to read reports of distress which could, according to my reasoning be less with a different policy, and yet to be associated with the pursuit of the present policy."

Here is a vote of no-confidence in the Government from one of their experts chosen for his expertise in this very field.

13 hrs.

In so far as planning is concerned, our criticism is not that there is planning in the country. Mr. Dandekar has very clearly explained that from 1959 we have been saying that the Swatantra Party believes in Planning. But it believes in a different kind of planning. My hon. friend the Prime Minister now referred to the British pattern of planning. We have said for years that that kind of planning, the National Economic

Development Council in England, is exactly the kind of democratic planning that we want in this country. We do not want the kind of planning that has been borrowed wholesale from the Soviet Union because the essential difference between the Soviet pattern and the Western pattern is that one is coercive, the Command Economy, and the other leaves it to the people to follow the Plan or to show that the Plan is wrong and to improve on the Plan. What do we specifically suggest? We suggest that the present Third Five Year Plan, most of whose targets are not fulfilled today, should be allowed to continue for two more years so that the majority of the targets might be fulfilled and then, of course, another Five Year Plan may be taken in hand after proper consideration. That is the concrete proposal which I put before the House and the Government. They have not shown by one answer what is wrong with this proposal. If they want a very orthodox precedent, let me remind them of Mr. Khrushchev's example. Mr. Khrushchev did exactly this when he took over from Stalin and found the country in a mess. He said then, "We have not fulfilled the present Plan. Let us extend it by two years and make it a Seven Year Plan. When we finish it, we will move on to the next Plan." Here is the Communist leader of the biggest Communist country providing a precedent. They do not have to follow our advice, let them follow those whom they have followed so far. This proposal that we have made has not been rebutted and not a single argument was advanced by the Treasury Benches to show what would go wrong if the Third Plan was elongated for two years and properly completed and that time used for a little rethinking and little heart-searching as to where we are going and how we are doing.

There is today the jungle of controls. It paralyzes initiative and increases corruption. Every control means an additional opportunity for corruption. As far back as 22nd April, a Memorandum was presented

by the Opposition in Rajasthan to my hon. friend the Prime Minister. It made charges against the Chief Minister of Rajasthan of misdeeds, blatant acts of corruption, gross misrule and naked acts of favouritism. I am informed by the memorialists that although this was submitted on the 22nd April to the Prime Minister, he has not vouchsafed them with a reply even today. That is how when you go in for a regime of excessive controls, even if you are good people, you are driven gradually into conniving at corruption and shielding the guilty. Mahatma Gandhi, and nobody knew the rural masses in the country side better than him, repeatedly attacked controls. This is what he said on one occasion at a prayer meeting:

"Control gives rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black-market, and to artificial scarcity. Above all, it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative. It undoes the teaching of self-help...it makes them spoonfed. This is a tragedy next only, if indeed not equal to, fratricide on a vast scale....".

It was against that fratricide that Mahatma Gandhi laid down his life. Even while he was fighting against fratricide, he compared the evil of controls to the evil that in the end destroyed his life but keeps his memory sacred for ever. This is the great master of the ruling Party whom they treat with such scant courtesy and thought.

The emphasis on controls, regimentation and Statism is where the Government is going wrong. They are hopelessly outdated on this issue. It is not only free countries, it is not only the democracies, that see this. More and more socialists and communists all over the world are beginning to see the validity of what I am saying.

We accept the socialist aim of a "free and equal society" but we are

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perspective enough to see that the method of Statism and controls is not the method that leads society to a free and equal society. If I had the time, I would have read from the programme of the German Socialist Party to show that they are against planning beyond a minimum; they are against controls beyond a minimum; and they lay the greatest stress on free competition and a free way of life. In other words, the German Socialist programme is nothing more than a paraphrase of our own programme. But why go to socialist democracies? Let us go to the communist countries. I wish hon. Members opposite would read a little more of what appears in the Soviet press and in the Soviet economic journals. Let them read Professor Lieberman, as my friend Mr. Nath Pai points out, and they will find a very rapid shifting away from regimentation, Statism and planning to a free competitive economy.

Only day before yesterday, in the *Economic Times* of August 24, there was a whole article on the Yugoslav scene. The hon. Prime Minister was there not long ago. I wonder if he educated himself on this particular point? In case he did not do that, let me read a few sentences from what the Yugoslav Government is doing here and now as we are discussing the problems. It says:

"Yugoslavia has lately been suffering from all the well-known economic ills—wild inflation, balance of payments deficit, sluggish productivity in her factories. The Government is now trying to give a hard, competitive tone to the economy in order to restore it to health."

And how do they propose to restore it to health? They are doing it precisely by the measures we, on this side, have been suggesting and not by the measures that my hon. friend

the Finance Minister suggested. It says:

"The startling downgrading of the dinar is, paradoxically, the first step in an effort to make Yugoslavia's currency stronger and to strengthen the country's over-all economic position...."

"...Internal producers' prices have been able to rise because imports have been closely restricted by currency allocation through the banks. Imports are now to be allowed relatively freely...."

"Now tariffs are to be lowered to 11.8 per cent, in the hope that at the new exchange rate and with this small tariff, foreign goods will offer a steady competition to domestic producers and so prevent further inflationary price increases. At the same time, factories will have an incentive to export more."

This closely follows the pattern of Ceylon which I commended to the House when I opened the debate three days ago. It is very interesting that since I spoke, a communist country is now following the Ceylonese path and rejecting the path that this Government insists on pursuing.

I was very interested to hear Dr. Mishra from the Communist benches when he talked about "the new class," the new class that is so well-described in 'Djalas' which I have in my own way tried to describe on more than one occasion in the last twelve or twenty-four months. Dr. Mishra pointed to a new class of parasites and exploiters, some in the State sector and some in the private sector, who combine to loot the community, who use the licences and permits and quotas to extort from the community and he went on to say that these people now play a very prominent part in the Ministry-making of the Congress State Governments. I am very glad that a member of the Communist

Party is so perceptive as to follow our analysis.

The only vested interest in this country is the vested interest of this new class, the new class which has a mixed physiognomy, partly politicians in office, partly officials, and partly private capitalists who play ball with these people. That is the only class against which the common people have to wage a fight today.

This Government has neglected its basic obligations, as Mr. Dandekar pointed out yesterday. It cannot supply water to the farmer; it cannot supply drinking water; it cannot provide transport and communications. But this Government goes into all walks of life where it has no business to go. The politician pokes his nose into every walk of life of the community from one end to another.

I shall leave aside business, because we have discussed it enough. There are other walks of life where they go. Take universities. I was very glad to hear my hon. friend, the Education Minister, admitting, yesterday that there is far too much politics in universities. Who took it there? Was it not the Chief Ministers and Education Ministers of State Governments who wanted either to become Vice-Chancellors or to nominate Vice-Chancellors? All universities are being corrupted by political interference from the ruling party.

Not only universities, take sports also. The politician cannot keep his finger out of sports also. I was very glad that the Indian Olympic Association last month drafted a model Constitution—a Sub-Committee has drafted a model Constitution. It has recommended that persons engaged in active politics should be made ineligible to be members of National Sports Federation or Sporting Associations in the country. As one engaged in politics, I welcome this.

The politician has a very legitimate place in the life of this country, but when he tries to displace educationists, sportsmen and businessmen, it is time that he is put in his

place. By antagonising people in this manner, our class are inviting their doom. People are getting fed up with politicians of all kinds. People are saying "Sab Chhor Hain" (*Interruptions*). People are getting fed up because of the misdeeds of the hon. members opposite.

As this debate was going on, I received a letter from a gentleman in the South, an educated man, a lawyer. He says in this letter: "A number of us feel that the country has to be saved from the politicians first before it can be saved from Pakistan and China." I reject the sentiment. I think this is a gross exaggeration of a legitimate feeling of resentment against the attempt of the politician to dominate every walk of life. If the politician does not stick to his own walk of life, which is politics, he will soon find that the politician is thrown out of politics itself, as is happening in certain other countries.

I am alarmed—I do not know whether other hon. Members hear this kind of thing as much as I do—at the number of young, educated, middle-class men who come to me and say: "Let us scrap the Constitution and have a military dictatorship". I have to spend hours arguing with such people. Good people in any country would be good democrats. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** This is indirectly a kind of incitement to subvert democracy.

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

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I am surprised that my hon. friend, Shri Hanumanthaiya, should say such a thing.

I am warning this House that, if we do not stick to our task of ruling this country, if we try to put our fingers into every field, whether it is business or sport or education or text-books, we shall create such resentment among the younger people,

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the more intelligent people, that they will try to throw us out of our own legitimate sphere, which is to rule the country.

I am a staunch democrat; I do not yield to anyone in that. When Mr. Hanumanthaiya asked me the other day as to what was my attitude to the burning of public property and violence, my answer was very clear: we deprecate and denounce all violence and burning of public property. All violence coming from unauthorised sources must be condemned *ab initio*. Our path is not the path of "increasing misery;" we want our people to progress with increasing prosperity and increasing well-being. Let me say this: when people burn and loot, they are quite wrong; but they are not the only culprits. There are the other culprits also who weaken democracy by being in office and not giving good government, by lowering respect for those in office, by spreading cynicism about democracy and morality among the common people, who strengthen the hands of those who want to resort to violence and destruction of property. As a democrat, let me be fair: I condemn those who incite violence and also condemn those who create conditions of starvation, misery and hardship, conditions where common people loot and burn.

I believe that this Government has misused the Emergency and the Defence of India Rules in some cases. I do not say that there has been a gross misuse. I do not think that the Government have become Fascists. When it is said that the Government have become fascists, I have defended it in a public meeting by saying that such people did not know the meaning of fascism.

There have been cases of misuse of the Emergency and of the Defence of India Rules and for that I do not want the House to accept my word.

I want to refer to what the former Attorney-General, who enjoyed confidence of this Government over a number of years, said recently in a learned lecture he gave. Mr. M. C. Setalvad said in Madrs on August 16:

"The continuance of the Emergency now approaching the close of its third year and the Presidential order depriving citizens of their right to move the courts for infringement of fundamental rights were a 'negation' of the rule of law and had cast a 'slur' on the fair name of constitutional and democratic government."

He also pointed out that the use of the Defence of India Rules to deal with students, to deal with foodgrain hoarders, to deal with striking trade unionists or to deal with my friend, Dr. Lohia, is a completely misuse of the Defence of India Rules. If Dr. Lohia or anyone else breaks a law, by all means put him up before the court and try him and if the Magistrate convicts him, then let him go to jail for his crime. I do think that Government are provoking people with a certain measure of impatience by their misuse of special powers.

My friend, Dr. Karni Singhji gave a challenge to the Opposition for our responsibility, and I accept that challenge. I think he is right in saying that, along with the Government, we too are letting down our people by not providing the country with an alternative government. The people are sick of this government, but they do not know where to turn to. It is our fault that we are not providing the country with an alternative government and he is right in saying that. He performed a public service in pointing a finger at this side of the House. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** In regard to controls, you are misleading the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have already appealed to the Members. He will please resume his seat.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I was referring to Dr. Karni Singhji and I do not know why Mr. Alva should get annoyed.

I was saying that Dr. Karni Singhji was right. If democratic opposition parties continue to squabble among themselves, continue to allow the absence of Proportional Representation in our Constitution to create a Lok Sabha thoroughly unrepresentative of the people, then they also are to blame. So far as I am concerned, I can assure Dr. Karni Singhji that my Party and I have striven since 1961 and will continue to strive (*Interruptions*) until we can bring the opposition democratic parties to a measure of co-operation that will give at least an honest Lok Sabha representative of the people. I would, Sir, in that context .... (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** I ask the Members to be patient now and listen to the reply.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** ... like to pay a tribute to Acharya Kripalani, our veteran, who has ceaselessly tried at this advanced stage and in his frail health to bring democratic opposition groups together. I hope he will continue his efforts.

Now, I come to the last part of my speech, and that is to answer a plea that has been made and a question that has been put by many hon. Members. That question was this: "Is this the proper time for a motion of no-confidence in the Government"? My hon. friend Shri Mahatab put that question; Shri Hanumanthaiya put that question. A fair lady, Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha, put that question. Shri C. Subramaniam also raised that issue. The question was: "When the country's affairs are in such a mess, when the home front is collapsing, when we are facing bankruptcy, when our frontiers are threatened, is this

the time to bring forward a motion of no-confidence?". May I ask in return: "If the land is flowing with milk and honey, if everything in the garden is rosy, if the country's relations with all its neighbours are good, would that be the right time for a motion of no-confidence?". Let there not be any misapprehension....

**Shri Joachim Alva:** He is misleading the House in regard to controls. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have called the hon. Member to order so many times. Can he not listen with patience? He has to listen with patience, even though he may not agree with the hon. Member who is speaking.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** But he is misleading the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is his business and it is his turn to reply now, and he is replying to the debate. The hon. Member should listen with patience.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Let me assure the Prime Minister and the House and through them the country and the world that there can be no misconception about where we stand in regard to the attack and infiltration from Pakistan. When I opened this debate, I said to the Prime Minister, "I agree with you that defence involves the right to retaliate, the right even to cross the frontier and attack the enemy in his own territory", and the whole House has with one voice supported that point of view. On that issue, there is no difference between us. Whatever the fate of this motion of no-confidence, let India and the world know that on that point we are all at one with Government, and the Prime Minister will get the fullest co-operation he wants on that issue.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha):** Does he get it from his own people?



**Shri M. R. Masani:** But when the home front is in danger of collapsing, it is essentially a national service to draw attention to those false policies of Government and to those wrong policies of Government which are endangering our defence and which are endangering our economy, and that is what we of the Opposition have tried to do.

My hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh must read his history again. He gave the example of Britain. In Britain, it was exactly the other way about. Let me remind him that, when the Second World War was on, when the Chamberlain Government was doing badly, Mr. Chamberlain invited the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Attlee, to join his Cabinet. Mr. Attlee said: 'I will not join your Cabinet till you resign and until a new Conservative Government with a new policy comes in'. He moved a motion of censure against Mr. Chamberlain. That motion was defeated, as our motion will be defeated today. But the Conservative Party had the sense and the imagination....

**Shri Ranga:** And the patriotism.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** ...and the patriotism to draw a moral. Mr. Chamberlain went and tendered his resignation to the King, and the King sent for Mr. Churchill and (*Shri Joachim Alva:* You are not a Churchill.) said 'Labour are prepared to co-operate with you if you go in for a Coalition Government'. That was how the Opposition behaved in Britain during wartime. We are only following that very excellent British model.

Another argument is: 'When you have not got a majority, why do you move a motion of no-confidence?' If we had a majority, there would be no need to move a motion of no-confidence, because we would not be sitting here on this side. In a Parliamentary democracy, the Opposition

moves a motion of no-confidence only when it has no majority; otherwise, the occasion does not arise. It is true that the people in the galleries might get a very wrong idea of the strength of the Government and the Opposition. Let me remind them...

**Shri Sonavane (Pandharpur):** Can the hon. Member refer to the galleries?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** All right; I would say that the people in the country may have a wrong impression, but let me remind the House that the political parties and groups that are supporting this motion of no-confidence...

**Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti):** Divided house.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** ...polled more votes in the last elections to the Lok Sabha in 1962 than my hon. friends opposite. We may be under-represented in this House and they may be over-represented, but we represent over half the country, and this motion of no-confidence has the country behind it. As Acharya Kripalani said yesterday, this is the voice of the people. It is even the voice of many Congressmen who may not have the courage to speak out openly.

Finally, we were asked: 'Why don't you talk to us; why don't we sit together and solve these problems? Your suggestions will be considered'. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I ask you to consider our experience here, since my party was formed in 1959, on every issue that we have raised, on every constructive suggestion that we have made, we have been brushed aside without the slightest attempt to answer us.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** My hon. friend is misleading the House in regard to controls. He has changed four times in his career. What did he say in 1944?

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

**Shri M. R. Masani:** From 1959, Shri J. B. Kripalani and I had warned the country against Communist aggression. But the former Government refused to listen to us and went on with Panchsheel. We had warned against the wrong priorities in the Second and Third Plans. Yesterday, Shri C. Subramaniam said that there was no fertiliser. You may read my speeches on the Second and Third Plans, and you will find that I had pleaded for fertilisers and not for steel. Today, we are suffering because the Opposition has not been listened to.

On every Budget, we have pointed out that excessive taxation will be inflationary, but we have not been listened to. When the next budget came, we are told that the last one was inflationary, but the next one will not be inflationary. When this House first rejected the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Bill, we pleaded that it be dropped. But the previous Government brought it back again within a few weeks and forced it through the House.

When the Gold Control Bill was before the House, everyone knows that nobody wanted that Bill except the Finance Minister, but he was allowed to bully the whole House into passing that Bill which everyone knew was worthless.

There was even one occasion when the Congress Members of the Joint Committee were over-ruled, and that was on the Companies (Amendment) Bill. I hope my hon. friends will remember it. That was in regard to the conversion of loans into equity shares. At that time, the Joint Committee's report was over-ruled; the decision of the majority of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party was over-ruled, and this House was bullied into passing a law that it did not believe in.

With this record, are we to accept this invitation to sit down and talk things over? Let the Government

change its attitude to the Opposition. Let them say that in some cases they are prepared to listen with an open mind and modify their policies. When that happens, we shall be glad to co-operate.

This motion of no-confidence is due to the failure of the Government to listen to the voice of reason, whether it comes from here or from the press or from the public of India. They are people with closed minds, they will not listen, they persist in error, and when they persist in error, we have no option but to resort to this step.

I have no regrets for having introduced this motion. I think that the last four days have been highly educative to this House and to the country on important economic issues affecting our home front.

More than being educative, we have provided a constitutional channel for the seething discontent in the country and the bitterness among the common people against those in office. If my hon. friends opposite do not want motions of no-confidence, they will have riots and they will have revolution. This is the democratic and constitutional way of giving expression and vent to the pent-up feelings of the people. If the people lose heart, if they despair, as many people do in India, and say there is no escape from these people in office and we have got to suffer them for our lifetime, then Indian democracy is sunk.

Finally, this motion has given hope to the people. It has shown them what can be done. It has given them a foretaste of the shape of things to come. They now know that it can be done and it will be done some day, and that India will have a new and a better Government.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta Central): There is one point of explanation which I wish to place before the House. Our Party had supported the censure motion on certain grounds

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

which we had indicated. We had expected that Shri M. R. Masani when he replied to the debate would speak in a manner which would reflect the maximum unity as far as Opposition Parties were concerned. But I am sorry to have to say that the way he has placed his case disables us from giving full support to his motion. We wish to censure Government but we shall do so for reasons very different from what Shri M. R. Masani has placed before the House.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy** (Kendrapara): I would request you to read the motion. Let it not be construed that all of us accept all that has been said by the Mover.

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

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

*The Lok Sabha divided:*

**Division No. 7]**

**AYES**

**[13.36 hrs.**

Alvares, Shri  
Bade Shri  
Badrudduja, Shri  
Bagri, Shri  
Banerjee, Shri S.M.  
Berwa, Shri Onkar Lal  
Bhattacharya, Shri Dinesh  
Bheel, Shri P.H.  
Brij Raj Singh, Shri  
Buta Singh, Shri  
Chakravartty, Shrimati Renu  
Chatterjee, Shri H.P.  
Chaudhury, Shri Tridib Kumar  
Daji, Shri  
Dandekar, Shri N.  
Dwivedy, Shri Surendranath  
Ghosh, Shri P.K.  
Gupta, Shri Indrajit  
Gupta, Shri Kashi Ram  
Kachhavaiya, Shri Hukam Chand  
Kakkar, Shri Gauri Shanker  
Kamath, Shri Hari Vishnu

Kandappan, Shri S.  
Kannamwar, Shrimati Tai  
Kapur Singh, Shri  
Kar, Shri Prabhat  
Kohor, Shri  
Krishnapal Singh, Shri  
Mahananda, Shri  
Manoharan, Shri  
Masani, Shri M.R.  
Mate, Shri  
Maurya, Shri  
Mohan Swarup, Shri  
Mukerjee, Shri H.N.  
Nair, Shri Vasudevan  
Nath Pai, Shri  
Pandey, Shri Sarjoo  
Pottakkatt, Shri  
Ramabadrans, Shri  
Ranga, Shri  
Reddy, Shri Eswara  
Reddy, Shri Narasimha  
Reddy, Shri Yallamanda

Sen, Dr. Ranen  
Seth, Shri Bishanchander  
Sezhiyan, Shri  
Shashank Manjari, Shrimati  
Shastri, Shri Prakash Vir  
Shinkre, Shri  
Siddhanti, Shri Jagdev Singh  
Singh, Shri J.B.  
Singh, Shri Y.D.  
Sivasankaran, Shri  
Solanki, Shri  
Swamy, Shri M.V.  
Trivedi, Shri U.M.  
Utiya, Shri  
Verma, Shri S.L.  
Vimla Devi, Shrimati  
Vishram Prasad, Shri  
Warior, Shri  
Yadav, Shri Ram Sewak  
Yajnik, Shri  
Yashpal Singh, Shri  
Yudhvir Singh, Shri

**NOES**

Abdul Rashid, Bakshi  
Adbul Wahid, Shri T.  
Achal Singh, Shri  
Achuthan, Shri  
Akkamma Devi, Shrimati  
Alagesan, Shri  
Alva, Shri Joachim  
Anjanappa, Shri  
Ankineedu, Shri  
Anthony, Shri Frank  
Arunachalam, Shri  
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
Babunath Singh, Shri  
Bajaj, Shri Kamalnayan  
Bakliwal, Shri  
Bal Krishna Singh, Shri

Balkrishnan, Shri  
Balmiki, Shri  
Banerjee, Dr. R.  
Barman, Shri P. C.  
Barrow, Shri  
Barua, Shri R.  
Basappa, Shri  
Basumatari, Shri  
Baswant, Shri  
Besra, Shri  
Bhagat, Shri B.R.  
Bhagwati, Shri  
Bhanja Deo, Shri L.N.  
Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri  
Bhargava, Shri M.B.  
Bhattacharyya, Shri C.K.

Birendra Bahadur Singh, Shri  
Bist, Shri J.B.S.  
Borooh, Shri P. F.  
Braieshwari, Prasad, Shri  
Brij Basi Lal, Shri  
Chakraverti, Shri P.R.  
Chanda, Shrimati Jyotsna  
Chandak, Shri  
Chandrabhan Singh, Shri  
Chandrasekhar, Shrimati  
Chandriki, Shri  
Chaudhry, Shri Chandarmani Lal  
Chaudhuri, Shrimati Kamala  
Chavan, Shri D.R.  
Chavda, Shrimati Joraben  
Chuni Lal, Shri

- Dafte, Shri  
 Daljit Singh, Shri  
 Das, Dr. M.M.  
 Das, Shri B.K.  
 Das, Shri Sudhansu  
 Das, Shri C.  
 Deo Bhanj, Shri P.C.  
 Desai, Shri Morarji  
 Deshmukh, Shri Shivaji Rao, S.  
 Day, Shri S. K.  
 Dhuleswar Meena, Shri  
 Dighe, Shri  
 Dinesh Singh, Shri  
 Dixit, Shri G.N.  
 Dorai, Shri Kashinatha  
 Dubey, Shri R.G.  
 Dwivedi, Shri M.L.  
 Elayaperumal, Shri  
 Ering, Shri D.  
 Firodia, Shri  
 Gahmari, Shri  
 Gajraj Singh Rao, Shri  
 Ganapati Ram, Shri  
 Gandhi, Shri V.B.  
 Ganja Devi, Shrimati  
 Ghosh, Shri N.R.  
 Goni, Shri Abdul Ghani  
 Gondh, Shri  
 Govind Das, Dr.  
 Guha, Shri A. C.  
 Gupta, Shri Badshah  
 Gupta, Shri Shiv Charan  
 Hajarnavis, Shri  
 Hanumanthaiya, Shri  
 Harvani, Shri Ansar  
 Hazarika, Shri J.N.  
 Heda, Shri  
 Hem Rai, Shri  
 Himatsingka, Shri  
 Iqbal Singh, Shri  
 Jadhav, Shri M.L.  
 Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas  
 Jagjivan Ram, Shri  
 Jamir, Shri S.G.  
 Jamunadevi, Shrimati  
 Jayaraman, Shri  
 Jedhe, Shri  
 Jena, Shri  
 Jha, Shri Yogendra  
 Joshi, Shri A.C.  
 Josh, Shrimati Subhadra  
 Jyotishi, Shri J.P.  
 Kabir, Shri Humayun  
 Kadadi, Shri  
 Kajrolkar, Shri  
 Kamble, Shri  
 Kanakasabai, Shri  
 Kannamwar, Shrimati Tari  
 Karni Singhji, Shri  
 Karuthiruman, Shri  
 Kedaria, Shri C.M.  
 Keishing, Shri Rishang  
 Khadilkar, Shri  
 Khan, Shri Osman Ali  
 Khan, Shri Shah Nawaz  
 Khanna, Shri Mehr Chand  
 Khanna, Shri P.K.  
 Kindar Lal, Shri  
 Kisan Veer, Shri  
 Kodoki, Shri Liladhar  
 Koujalgi, Shri H.V.  
 Kripa Shankar, Shri  
 Krishna, Shri M.R.  
 Krishnamachari, Shri T.T.  
 Kureel, Shri B.N.  
 Lahtan Chaudhry, Shri  
 Lakshmikanthamma, Shrimati  
 Lalit Sen, Shri  
 Laskar, Shri N.R.  
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati  
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.  
 Mahtab, Shri  
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini  
 Maimoona Sultan, Shrimati  
 Majithia, Shri  
 Malaichami, Shri  
 Malaviya, Shri K.D.  
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.  
 Malliah, Shri U.S.  
 Manan, Shri  
 Mandal, Dr. P.  
 Mandal, Shri J.  
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad  
 Maniyangadan, Shri  
 Mantri, Shri D.D.  
 Marandi, Shri  
 Maruthiah, Shri  
 Masuriya Din, Shri  
 Metcharaju, Shri  
 Mathur, Shri Harish Chandra  
 Mehdi, Shri S.A.  
 Mehrotra, Shri Brij Bihari  
 Mehta, Shri J.R.  
 Mehta, Shri Jashvant  
 Melkote, Dr.  
 Mengi, Shri Gopal Datt  
 Menon, Shri Krishna  
 Menon, Shri P.G.  
 Minimata, Shrimati  
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali  
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
 Mishra, Shri M.P.  
 Misra, Shri Bibudhendra  
 Misra, Shri Shyam Dhar  
 Mohammad Yusuf, Shri  
 Mohanty, Shri Gokulananda  
 Mohsin, Shri  
 More, Shri K.L.  
 More, Shri S.S.  
 Mukane, Shri  
 Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda  
 Munzani, Shri David  
 Murli Manohar, Shri  
 Murthy, Shri B.S.  
 Murti, Shri M.S.  
 Muthiah, Shri  
 Naik, Shri D.J.  
 Naik, Shri Maheswar  
 Nanda, Shri  
 Naskar, Shri P.S.  
 Nayak, Shri Mohan  
 Nayar, Dr. Sushila  
 Nesamony, Shri  
 Nigam, Shrimati Savitri  
 Niranjan Lal, Shri  
 Oza, Shri  
 Paliwal, Shri  
 Pandey, Shri K.N.  
 Pandey, Shri R. S.  
 Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath  
 Pandit, Shrimati Vijay Lakshmi  
 Pant, Shri K.C.  
 Paramasivan, Shri  
 Parashar, Shri  
 Patel, Shri Chhotubhai  
 Patel, Shri Man Sinh P.  
 Patel, Shri N.N.  
 Patel, Shri P. R.  
 Patel, Shri Rajeshwar  
 Patil, Shri D.S.  
 Patil, Shri M.B.  
 Patil, Shri S.B.  
 Patil, Shri S. K.  
 Patil, Shri T.A.  
 Pattabhi Raman, Shri C.R.  
 Prabhakar, Shri Naval  
 Pratap Singh, Shri  
 Puri, Shri D.D.  
 Raguhnath Singh, Shri  
 Rai, Shrimati Sahodra Bai  
 Raj Bahdur, Shri  
 Raja, Shri C.R.  
 Rajdeo Singh, Shri  
 Raju, Shri D.B.  
 Raju, Dr. D.S.  
 Ram, Shri T.  
 Ram Sewak, Shri  
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.  
 Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Ramakrishnan, Shri P.R.  
 Ramanathan Chettiar, Shri R.  
 Rameswamy, Shri S.V.  
 Ramdhani Das, Shri  
 Rampure, Shri M.  
 Ramshekhar Prasad Singh, Shri  
 Rane, Shri  
 Rao, Shri Japanatha  
 Rao, Dr. K.L.  
 Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy  
 Rao, Shri Muthyal  
 Rao, Shri Rajasopala  
 Rao, Shri Thirumala  
 Raut, Shri Bhola  
 Rawandale, Shri  
 Ray, Shrimati Renuka  
 Reddi, Dr. B. Gopala  
 Reddiar, Shri  
 Reddy, Shri Linga  
 Reddy, Shri R. Surendra

Reddy, Shrimati Yashoda	Siddanappa, Shri	Thomas, Shri A.M.
Roy Shri Bishwanath	Siddiah, Shri	Tiwary, Shri D.N.
Sadhu Ram, Shri	Sidheshwar Prasad, Shri	Tiwary, Shri K.N.
Saha, Dr. S.K.	Singh, Shri D.N.	Tiwary, Shri R.S.
Sahu, Shri Rameshwar	Singh, Shri K.K.	Tripathi, Shri Krishna Deo
Saigal, Shri A.S.	Singh, Shri S.T.	Tula Ram, Shri
Samanta, Shri S.C.	Singha, Shri G.K.	Tyagi, Shri
Saraf, Shri Sham Lal	Sinha, Shri Satya Naryan	Uikey, Shri
Sarma, Shri A.T.	Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari	Upadhyaya, Shri Shiva Dutt
Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati	Sinhasan Singh, Shri	Vaishya, Shri M.B.
Satyanyanya, Shri	Sivappraghassan, Shri Ku.	Valvi, Shri
Sen, Shri P.G.	Snatak, Shri Nardeo	Varma, Shri M.L.
Shah, Shri Manabendra	Sanavane, Shri	Varma, Shri Ravindra
Shah, Shri Manubhai	Soy, Shri H.C.	Veerabasappa, Shri
Shah, Shrim-ti Jayaben	Srinivasan, Dr P.	Veeranya, Shri
Shakuntala Devi, Shrimati	Subharaman, Shri	Venkatesubbiah, Shri P.
Sham Nath, Shri	Subramaniam, Shri C.	Verma, Shri Balgovind
Shankaraiya, Shri	Subramanyam, Shri T.	Verma, Shri K.K.
Sharma, Shri A.P.	Sumat Prasad, Shri	Vidyalankar, Shri A.N.
Sharma Shri D.C.	Surendra Pal Singh, Shri	Vijay Anand, Maharajkumar
Sharma, Shri K.C.	Surya Prasad, Shri	Virbhadra Singh, Shri
Shastri, Shri Lal Bahadur ]	Swamy Shri M.P.	Vyas, Shri Radhey Lal
Shastri, Shri Ramanand	Swaran Singh, Shri	Wadiwa, Shri
Sheo Narian, Shri	Tahir, Shri Mohammad	Wasnik, Shri Balkrishna
Shivananappa, Shri	Tantia, Shri Rameshwar	Yadav, Shri N.P.
Shree Narayan Das, Shri	Thengal, Shri Nallakoya	Yadav, Shri Ram Harkh
Shyam Kumari Devi, Shrimati	Thimmaiah, Shri	Yadav, Shri B.P.

**Mr. Speaker:** The result of the Division is: Ayes 66, Noes, 318.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Shri Ranga:** This is the biggest censure on you.

13.37 hrs.

#### COMPANIES (SECOND AMENDMENT BILL—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** Further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri T. T. Krishnamachari on the 18th August 1965, namely:—

“That the Bill further to amend the Companies Act, 1956, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration.”

Shri Vidyalankar may continue his speech.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):** May I ask your guidance in regard to the timing? We have got 2½ hours left.

**Mr. Speaker:** Five hours had been allotted. Now we have 2½ hours left. We will have one hour for general discussion and the rest for clause-by-clause consideration.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** You Sir, were not in the Chair when this Bill was being discussed. Many members had expressed a desire that the time should be extended. It was left to you to decide. The Chairman was there at that time. So many amendments have been tabled.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will see.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : समय बढ़ाया जाय ।

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : देखेंगे ।

**Shri A. N. Vidyalankar (Hoshiarpur):** Mr. Speaker, the other day I started by congratulating the Finance Minister on bringing forward this Bill. I know that the Finance Minister has a very soft corner for the corporate sector and, rightly, he desired that such amendments should be made to the company law so that the corporate sector should be able to play its progressive role and approach