

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

कि क्या यह सम्भव हो सकता है कि चीन और पाकिस्तान, दोनों की ओर से जो आक्रमण की स्थिति हमारी सीमाओं पर बनी हुई है उसकी इस त्रि-राष्ट्र सम्मेलन में चर्चा न आई हो ? यह सन्देह राष्ट्र में व्याप्त हो रहा है कि यू० ए० आर० के प्रेजीडेंट को प्रसन्न करने के लिए इजराइल की चर्चा आई, चीन की नहीं आई। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वास्तविकता क्या है, यह बताया जाये ताकि जो सन्देह है उनका निराकरण हो सके ?

Mr. Speaker: I do not allow this question.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : यह न्याय नहीं है। प्रश्न आ जाये और उत्तर न आये। उत्तर तो आना चाहिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इस तरह से नहीं हो सकता है।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : यह न्याय नहीं है। आप बताइये कि हमारे प्रश्न में क्या कोई कमी है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं एक एक मेम्बर को भवाल पूछने की इजाजत नहीं दे सकता हूँ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : हमारे प्रश्न में कोई कमी है क्या ? 48 करोड़ जनता का जो राष्ट्र है उसका भविष्य इनके हाथ में है।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : सबल किया जा चुका है तो उत्तर तो आना चाहिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : दे दीजिये इसका जवाब।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं कह चुकी हूँ कि महत्व को तो हम कम नहीं कर रहे हैं। महत्वपूर्ण बात तो है।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Trivedi might begin now.

Shri Swell (Assam—Autonomous Districts): Why should we be excluded from asking questions? There is a Group I represent in this House.

Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa): You said that you would allow every Group.

Mr. Speaker: I cannot allow all.

Shri Swell: Is it because we do not shout? Is that so? Why have we not been allowed to ask questions? I would like to be satisfied on that. I would like to know why our Group has been concluded from the opportunity of asking questions. Why?

Mr. Speaker: Because I cannot allow all.

श्री बागड़ी : इनको भी सबाल करने दीजिये

Shri Swell: Because we do not shout, because we do not make noise, therefore our case goes by default?

Mr. Speaker: Shri Trivedi.

Shri Swell: This is not fair.

13.30 hrs.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with a great deal of hesitation that I rise to move the following motion:

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

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कराना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। माननीय नेता, जनसंघ, की भाषा हिन्दी है। यह जनसंघ के नाम पर कलंक है कि वह अंग्रेजी में भाषण दें। वह वोट मांगें हिन्दी के नाम पर और बोलें अंग्रेजी में, यह कहाँ तक उचित है ? (व्यवधान)

श्री शिव नारायण (बांसी) : माननीय सदस्य हिन्दी में बोलें ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : वह बड़ी अच्छी हिन्दी जानते हैं ।

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : मैं यह भी अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ कि मेरे मित्र, श्री यशपाल सिंह, अपने यश और सिद्धान्तों को गंवा कर एक जगह से दूसरी जगह कूदते फिर रहे हैं ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : मैं यहां अपने यश और देश के यश के लिए आया हूँ । अपने यश का पालन करना मेरा राइट है । माननीय सदस्य भी अपने यश के लिए यहां आए हैं, लेकिन वह अपने यश से तिरस्कृत हो रहे हैं, वह अपने यश को छोड़ रहे हैं ।

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : वह इस यश को समाप्त करने के लिए स्वतंत्र पार्टी में घुसने के बाद उस को छोड़ कर संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में शामिल हो गए हैं । वह अपने सारे सिद्धान्तों को गंवा कर केवल मुसलमानों के वोट लेने के लिए जनसंघ की बुराई करने लगे हैं । वह श्री त्यागी को हराने की नीयत से मुझे कोस रहे हैं ।

Mr. Speaker: Trivedi might continue his speech.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री त्रिवेदी ने मुझ पर जो आरोप लगाया है, आप मुझे उस के निराकरण का अवसर दीजिए । वह अंग्रेजी की गुलामी कर रहे हैं और मुझ पर इल्जाम लगा रहे हैं ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Before I speak as a representative of the Jana Sangh, I have taken permission from my party that I will speak in English.

श्री बागड़ी (हिमार) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री त्रिवेदी ने मेरे दल के एक सदस्य पर आरोप लगाया है । आपको उन्हें अपनी सफाई देने का मौका देना चाहिए ।

श्री शिव नारायण : हां, सफाई होनी चाहिए ।

श्री बागड़ी : वह अंग्रेजी के गुलाम हो गए हैं ।

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): What is all this? These Hindi fanatics are creating all this trouble.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The events of the past few months in the Houses of Legislature and the country indicate disregard of authority by people, and if it is allowed to go unchecked, the destruction of democracy in India is a certainty. I will put the question: has the Government imagined what will follow if democracy goes. Is dictatorship an answer to this?

श्री बड़े (खारगोन) : मैं श्री बागड़ी को बताना चाहता हूँ कि श्री त्रिवेदी की मदर-टंग गुजराती है और वह हिन्दी पलु-एन्टली नहीं बोल सकते हैं । इसी लिए वह इंगलिश में भाषण कर रहे हैं । श्री बागड़ी को इस तरह से बीच में इन्टरप्ट नहीं करना चाहिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब श्री त्रिवेदी को अपना भाषण करने दें ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Will it be better than commotion in the Lok Sabha, here, there and everywhere? People loosely talk of welcoming a dictatorship.

Shri R. S. Pandey (Guna): I want to know whether he has got permission from you to read his speech.

Mr. Speaker: Let him proceed.

Shri R. S. Pandey: The rule is that if an hon. Member wants to read out a speech, he has to seek the permission of the Chair.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I am not reading.

Shri R. S. Pandey: I want to know whether you have given him permission.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I am not reading out. Come and see here if you want to.

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय : माननीय सदस्य हिन्दी में बोलें ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The talisman of having a dictatorship replacing democracy is a fib. We had a picture of this dictatorship in Hitlerite Germany, and that fib has long been buried for those who have seen what a totalitarian regime means. In all totalitarian regimes it is the dictator who becomes omnipotent and practises tyranny upon the people, either by glorifying religion, or glorifying a race, or glorifying a particular class.

13.35 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

But the moment there is dictatorship, commonsense is buried deep, the use of commonsense in every dictatorship is denied. Therefore, a dictator is no panacea for the evils that have beset our country.

Let us, therefore, examine the reasons behind this, and in what manner we can rub out the disease which has grown up. Let us take the student agitation. Does the fault lie only with the students? In yesterday's statement which was made by Mr. Chagla, he has said, and I like his words, and I repeat them:

"The malaise with which the students appear to have been affected is one not confined to them alone, but has affected various sections of the society of which the students are a part. One of the common beliefs which has gained ground is that for getting any demand conceded you have to carry on an agitation, and if the agitation is backed by force there is a greater possibility of the demand being conceded."

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): I think that is true. You should co-operate with us.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: That is what I am going to do. I am quoting, and I appreciate it.

Who has brought about this belief, who is responsible for this belief? I have written at least 200 letters to the Railway Minister on various subjects, for not one have I received a satisfactory reply. Not once have the bureaucrats moved an inch from the position that they have taken. Injustice upon injustice has been done, patent injustice has been done, but the reply will be only this, that what has been done is all right.

Our present Education Minister, hon. Mr. Chagla, has been the Chief Justice of a great High Court. I do not think he will believe in this any longer, but he must have believed as a Judge *Omnia praesumuntur rite esse acta*, that all judicial and official acts are done regularly and properly. I think that must go.

Shri K. C. Sharma (Sardhana): They are supposed to be.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: When this presumption can be rebutted, there is no reason why this presumption should stand in the way of doing Justice. Whenever people approach the Government with their grievances, the Ministers with whom they come in contact with their grievances they find that these grievances are not listened to, and not listened to sympathetically, and are only listened to when there are brickbats thrown, heads broken. It is only then that Government listens to these things. That is why the belief has grown in the people that unless and until you back your agitation with force, the Government will not listen to you. Therefore, I say that the fault lies with the Government for having created this position.

There is another reason which I have seen. There is a growing parochial attitude and it is on the increase; it is visible today on the horizon, all

over India and this is so particularly after the Reorganisation Act of 1956. During the Bombay bandh, it is said that the non-Maharashtrians were set upon by the Maharashtrians and the police were just asked to look askance. What was the result? Many members of the legislature tendered their resignation *en masse*; 17 of them included two ministers tendered their resignation; we cannot tolerate this position; we are resigning. Of course the Chief Minister of the State, Mr. Naik, had made his mark. He had satisfied the parochials. Bombay is a cosmopolitan town. Everybody can live happily. Yet this attitude had been brought about. It is a bane on our democratic form of Government. Who laid the foundation for this? Are we responsible for it? You have to search your own hearts. Many of my friends who were in this House when the hon. late Gadgil made his speech, know what he said; he said that the fate of Bombay would be decided in the streets of Bombay and not in this House. That laid the foundation for the parochial attitude. On that foundation concrete was poured by the present Government. Very recently in the month of July, there was scarcity of water in Bombay and the Bombay Corporation passed a resolution that those who were non-Maharashtrians should go away from Bombay. What right had they to make a suggestion of that type?

Shri R. S. Pandey: It is not like that . . .

Shri U. M. Trivedi: You keep quiet, Mr. Pandey; do not disturb. This parochial attitude is growing in our country. Let us look at the riots about the borders of Karnatak-Maharashtra. I have seen pictures published in the Times of India, Illustrated Weekly that their police is watching on while the riots are going on. People are throwing stones at railway carriages, digging up the railway lines and the police is watching and protecting them.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): The diggers?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Yes, the diggers. Why? Because Karnatak wants to show, wants to make a show of force behind this agitation. And the Nijalingappa Government plays the role of the parochial. The agitation thus gets force. Who is growing parochialism in our country and who is feeding this? You should analyse this. I know that the riots are no good. I cannot for a moment support the student unrest and all the other things. Somebody is behind them. It is this parochial attitude that is behind them and it has brought about trouble. Yesterday, I had an opportunity of meeting one of the very high officials of the railways; he narrated to me the very painful story that in Vijayawada, Vizag and Dronachalam and other places, trains have been burnt, lines have been uprooted, official saloons had been destroyed, railway carriages smashed. In Vijayawada, the whole station has been smashed. The police of Mr. Brahmananda Reddy just watched on and looked.

Shri Muthyal Rao (Mahbubnagar): It is absolutely wrong; it is a lie.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It is not a lie. If you want, I will have that officer examined in your presence; I have seen telegrams that have come. . . . (Interruptions.) It is the parochial attitude that is coming out. The cat is out of the bag. It is not one man's attitude; it is a general attitude. The result: crores of rupees worth government property—whether it is the Central Government or the State Government property it is the property of the nation—has been destroyed. On whom should I lay the blame for this? I can squarely lay the blame on the shoulders of our present Government. I will not hesitate to lay it there. Utter disregard of authority by men and institutions is, in my opinion, leading to the destruction of democracy. If we do not cry a halt to this, the thing which we have built up for so many years, for which we

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

have been aspiring, for which our Constitution was made will go to dogs. It is high time that the Government made up its mind not to further increase the parochial attitude, not to feed it. Government has refused to listen to reason and has become fond of agitation, violent agitation, bloody agitation—I will call it—abominably cruel agitation. People have been burnt in some places alive. On what grounds? Why do these things happen? Who are responsible for destroying the very foundations of democracy which they were charged to preserve? If it is these people who set up the people to destroy democracy, then, Sir, I would request them most politely but as forcefully as I can to get out.

May I ask you to cast a glance at the humiliating food position that is obtaining in our country? How has the food shortage been brought about? What are the things behind it? In 1955, we had a deficit of only six lakh tons. In 1966, our deficit is one crore tons; and, according to some experts, even two crore tons. How is this deficit ground? I went to Taiwan very recently.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalappuzha): What?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Taiwan, Formosa, not your friend-country.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Barrackpore): They also do not agree with our boundaries.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I found that in 1945 their population was only 45 lakhs but they were not self-sufficient in foodgrains. Today, with a population of 1,53,00,000, they are not only self-sufficient in foodgrains but they are exporting 125,000 tons of rice to other countries.

An. hon. Member: Is their population growing?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It has grown to 1,53,00,000 from 45 lakhs.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): What about the massive aid in money and armaments Taiwan got from the USA?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: If he will wait a little, he will get the reply. (Interruption). The whole question is this. That country has not only grown self-sufficient but it is exporting to other countries. It is now the biggest producer of sugar in the world; it is the biggest producer of banana now and it exports to huge quantities of bananas to other countries. How? Not because of the American aid as my learned friend over there says. American aid has been stopped from 1961. But because they have put in their energy, because, as Chiang-Kai-shek put it, "I had so many corrupt officers and now I am devoid of all of them." It is that which has made that country stand on its own legs.

Unfortunately, at the helm of affairs of food, we have not got a man with imagination. There was one man, and that was the late-lamented Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. One fine morning the Food Minister comes to the House and says that all controls go and the prices come down. Look at the record. The records will speak.

An hon. Member: Today, the same thing can happen.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: You are telling the truth. In my own place I have found one thing. As a lawyer I had occasion to visit a site at one place. I had to walk over a heap of jowar spread over 80 ft. in length, 14 ft. in width and to a depth of at least nine inches. I had to walk over it. I asked, why not sell it. And the reply was, "How can I sell it if this Government wants to trade in it? Why should I sell it? Why should I not get the benefit and why should this Government get it?" People are

starving on the one hand, and on the other hand, this thing is getting rotten. Lakhs and lakhs of maunds of wheat and jowar are rotting, because of the silly, foolish and idiotic policy of not allowing the ordinary farmer to go into the market and sell his commodities. (*Interruption*). There is nobody who can boldly come forward to remedy this affair. Here also parochialism has played its part. Kerala is being starved. Rice is available in Madras and Mysore, but Kerala is not supplied, and so, next door, Kerala starves. Gujarat and Rajasthan starve because Madhya Pradesh will not give wheat and Maharashtra will not give rice. West Bengal is starved very much because Rajasthan Government though the people there had a lot of gram stored, would not supply any gram, although gram was rotting like anything. 50 lakh tons of gram had rotted in Rajasthan and it was not sent to Bengal where the people wanted grains.

Why go very far? Wheat and rice are not being supplied to Delhi by Punjab. How far will this parochialism go? We have to apply our minds to the disease that has beset our country. Who is responsible for this? Is it this side or that side or that gentleman? No. I point my finger to the Treasury Benches and say that they are responsible, and if they cannot remedy these things they must get out.

This bungling in regard to the food situation has brought about starvation deaths. Only this morning I was reading in the *Hindustan Times* that there have been three deaths in Rewa district through starvation. Have we come to that pass? Who is responsible for such a position?

Now, let me take up another subject, and that is, corruption in our country.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Rai-ganj): Do not forget it.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: As soon as you come, I get reminded of it! That is the whole thing. We have failed miserably in rooting out corruption from our country. I say we have failed even to check its growth. I say that the evil has so grown that an honest man is today ridiculed as a simpleton, just as the flesh-eater ridicules a vegetarian for not eating a dead animal's flesh. This corruption has now entered every department of the Government. The police started the riots in Gwalior by slapping innocent boys who went to report an accident. Why did they slap the boys? There is a rule, unwritten rule, with the police that no registration of any cognizable offence shall be made until and unless *dasturi* is paid which may be Re. 1 in one case and Rs. 2 in another case. (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member: Rs. 10.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I do not know. The boys were slapped; they were slapped and a professor who came to help he was also slapped and the whole trouble started. It is this police which started this trouble. They were slapped because they could not pay the *dasturi*.

Sir, I do not know if all of you have heard about a search being made in a village near my native place, a place known as Chhoti Sadri where a very rich merchant lived. It is reported that he had 90,000 tolas of gold. The Central Excise officers went from here, searched here, there and everywhere and finally took out as much as 39,000 tolas of gold. After having recovered 39,000 tolas of gold and 110 bars of silver, what happened? That big, rich man—merchant—got frightened. He sent for some good Congressman. He settled the dispute, the dispute between the officers and the rich man. They closed their eyes; and they allowed the rest of the gold to be taken out. Who took out the gold? The merchant's son took out the gold and gave it to some other friend to be hidden till such time as

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

the officers went away from that town. The officers were satisfied and went away. Then this rich man's son went to get back his gold, and he was shown the thumb. A big trouble arose. Again, the Congress came to the rescue. The man who had got all the gold ran up to one poor Member of Parliament who in turn took the man concerned...

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Could it be yourself?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: ...to the Chief Minister. These are things left to the hon. Member; let him not worry. Now, the thing went to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan said, "Why not weigh our Shastriji"—our late-lamented Prime Minister—"and give it to defence"? And the reply was, "Yes, Sir, we will do it." Then the whole batch came over to the Prime Minister here. And then it was found out here how much the Prime Minister would weigh and only that much gold, out of the stolen gold, was cut out, so that he may be weighed. Unfortunately on that very day, I was sitting in the Kerala Consultative Committee. When I read the news that such and such a man has offered to weigh the Prime Minister in gold, I realised that this must be stolen gold because this man had no gold. I wrote to Mr. Hathi that action must be taken forthwith and I informed Shastriji also that he must not pollute his person by getting himself weighed by this stolen property. Shastriji was in Hyderabad and just 8 days before his death, he told me that he had agreed not to get himself weighed. After that, a report was made to the police by the man who had surreptitiously taken out this gold that his property has been stolen and there was *golmal* going on. The cases are, of course, under investigation, but no investigation has been carried out to find out who those officers were who allowed this gold to go out. There is so much of corrup-

tion. We make much of the fact that in Bombay Rs. 9 lakhs or 10 lakhs worth of gold has been recovered. But here it was crores worth of gold, but nothing was done. We have now become immune to these corrupt things. When a man lives in a malaria-infested area, he gets immunity from the disease. Similarly, after having lived with this corruption so long, we have got immunity.

14 hrs.

We have the shameful spectacle today that 21 persons have been appointed as Ministers in the small State of Punjab. Out of them, three are those who have been castigated and indicted by the Das Commission.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Shame.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: What more proof is required? I can give not one, not ten, but hundreds of cases where the corruption is to the extent of not 1 crore or 10 crores, but 100 crores. Still we are not able to check it. Certainly we cannot solve this corruption problem by taking out the rosary from the pocket and counting the beads. Corruption will have to be rooted out by strong measures. Corruption comes on account of fear. That is what Roosevelt said—there should be freedom from fear and freedom from want. So, this Government which cannot guarantee or secure freedom from corruption—in other words, freedom from fear as also freedom from want does not deserve to remain any longer in the saddle in which it is and they should think of some way of going away.

So far as what has happened in Punjab is concerned, I will read out to you one sentence from today's issue of *Times of India*. I like the sentence and I take the liberty of repeating it:

"Having allowed so many camels of impropriety in the past, the

party cannot afford to strain in a pre-election year. Is this 21-man ministry of Punjab anything short of political jobbery?"

If you can swallow this political jobbery, am I not justified in castigating you and asking you to get out? I am sorry, Sir; I was referring to the Government not you.

When we framed our Constitution, some fundamental rights were created. But apart from that, we had some Directive Principles. I will just enumerate two of them. One is separation of the judiciary from the executive. Try however much you can, the Rajasthan Government will never agree to this separation.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: West Bengal also.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Thank you for the information. I have been living in Rajasthan and I find the people's fate always hangs in the balance and any amount of nepotism prevails. Injustice is being heaped upon the public and no relief is obtained by the citizens of that State. Times without number the Chief Justice has tried to do it, but nothing has come out. In Madhya Pradesh where it has been separated, I find the provisions of sections 107 and 145 of the Cr. P. C. are still vested in the executive. A case was narrated to me this morning in Delhi where a man went on from one court to the second court and then to the third court. The highest court decided his right to hold the shop which was allotted to him and of which he was in possession. But by giving Rs. 200 to the police officer, his luggage, machinery and other goods were thrown out and it was locked. The magistrate said:

"145 लग गई है । घब्र बन्द कर देगा । पीछे आओ ।"

How long can this contempt of court by executive officers continue like this?

The introduction of permits, controls, licences and certain other inhibitions on the practice of trade, profession and occupation through executive fiat have proved dangerous. It is a menace to the society. Sir, I think I will be right in putting it that a sacred promise made in the Constitution to the whole country in the Directive Principles has not been carried out and a deceit has been practised upon the public at large. Those who cheat have got no right to say that they should remain in power:

Let me remind you of the other solemn promise contained in the Directive Principles—cow protection. I do not want to appeal to anybody on sentimental grounds. Enough has been said and I do not want to reiterate the arguments that have been advanced. Those who are interested in it will find enough material to read in the Debates of the Constituent Assembly, Volume 7, pages 575 to 579. In his own unique way, late Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava had argued it. My friend Tyagiji also had argued it. Mr. Lari, a Mohammedan had argued it. Mr. Seadullah Khan had also argued for it. Every one had agreed that cow protection must be there and slaughter of cattle must be stopped. But today we find people are coming over, they are fasting, they are agitating and they are getting arrested. Yesterday we had occasion to see two hundred sadhus getting arrested, beaten and taken away. Yet we have not yet come to this conclusion that cow protection must be upheld and cattle slaughter must be banned. Very recently I heard that there is already a move on the part of this Government to establish a big cattle slaughter house in Agra near Hazaratpur. I do not know whether this is going to happen. Whither are we going? On the one hand we have made a solemn promise, a directive principle has been adopted by the whole country in the Constitution, in this sacrosanct Constitution over which we are creating such a great hullabaloo

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

for being called** and, on the other, we are not banning cattle slaughter. If this Government does not obey the Constitution, the directive principle adopted in the Constitution, I think it has no moral right at least to remain in office.

Before I conclude, Sir, I cannot refrain from looking into our foreign policy and passing a few remarks about it. Last week we had that big *tamasha* of the "summit". And, it was given the name of "non-alignment". Who are non-aligned? Are we, who were afraid of goondas, who allowed Tibet to be raped, non-aligned? Are we, who shouted from the house-tops when Suez was being captured, non-aligned? Are we, who kept quiet when Hungary was raped, non-aligned? And, who is non-aligned? Is that great ally of ours, Mr. Nasser, who says that annihilation of Israel must take place, non-aligned? Are we, a great nation, a nation of 45 crores, which could establish itself in this world as a great power, which can dictate terms to anybody it likes, going to stoop so low as to tell the oppressed Jews that we must join in whatever action is taken against them? Does it lie in our mouth to say so? Who are we to say that we agree to whatever policy he follows regarding Palestine. Sir, with what face did we accept the position that UAR was non-aligned? There is that PLO—Palestine Liberation Organisation—of which Shagayri is the head. He conferred with Chou En-lai. I have got photos here where he is talking with Shagayri, giving an undertaking that they will agree to Israel's liquidation and that they will help him in the liquidation of Palestine. What justification is therefor a small nation to be destroyed like this? We cannot look askance at such instances.

What is Mr. Tito? A great dictator. No doubt, in his own sphere he is a

great man. He must be a great man in his country. But what population in this world does he represent? Our rajahs and maharajahs have better title to be represented than him. He is called for the summit conference and put on the top. One day he quarrels with Stalin and the other day he embraces Khrushchev. What non-alignment is it? Have they said one word about the aggression that is going on against South Vietnam? No, they have kept quiet. What type of non-alignment is this? Why is it that these two only were chosen out of the whole world? For what specific purpose were they called, except that these two agreed to call us great? Many others would have called us great.

Shri Joachim Alva: You are being very unfair and unjust to two great masters of historic revolutions. Egypt suffered under British Jack boots on Suez for the sake of India.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: We are masters of a greater revolution. We have driven out the greatest power on earth, the British. We are greater masters. With this population we have driven them out without shooting a single bullet against them.

Shri Joachim Alva: Egypt has suffered for the sake of India.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The Chinese attitude is known to all of us, with all the potentialities of mischief against us. The whole mischief is facing us from the east-west and the north. Yet we had a curious logic. What was that curious logic. Very recently Ayub Khan made a statement against us and yet we are kowtowing to Pakistan that we want to be friendly somehow or the other. You cannot make friends like this. It is the bane of democracy that in democracy people do not want to fight any wars. When we won the war, when that little skirmish was over, when that little skirmish of 22 days was over, we came

**The words referred to were expunged earlier as ordered by the Chair—please see col. 457 for the expunction.

home, we were very glad, we looked at the score board and we were satisfied. But then came Tashkent and the whole thing we had done, where we laid down the lives of so many lives, went away from our hands. We had to admit that that portion which was taken from us is the property of Pakistan, in a very unenviable manner.

Sir, I put a question in the last session when the hon. Prime Minister had returned from her tour of Egypt, whether she came across any statement or whether she approved of the statement of one of the dignitaries of India about liquidation of Israel. She said that she had no knowledge about it. She herself has been a party to the statement that has come out. What did Dr. Zakir Hussain say:

"On 4th June, 1965, Dr. Zakir Hussain did say on the eve of his departure from India to Jordan that India would give its sympathy and support to whatever the Arab world decides about Israel."

Such a shameful statement was made. Then comes my friend, Sardar Swaran Singh, our External Affairs Minister. On 3rd June 1966, Sardar Swaran Singh is reported to have told the British Prime Minister:

"While his country could accept a collective guarantee of protection by the major nuclear powers no unilateral offer of protection satisfy it."

What is the meaning of this? What does he mean? This illogical and ridiculous attitude was unnatural in the extreme. It was like a beggar dictating alms. This is the shape of non-alignment. It appears that we could have told that India wants Russia, USA and China to guarantee protection and unless all the three signed protection by Russia or America would not be acceptable to us, China must agree to it. I will say, there cannot be a greater idiocy than this. Let the House know once for all that such foolish thing will not do and the fools must go. The tendency of our Government to

avoid friends in order to please enemies has made us very small in the eyes of the world. We befriended Communist China and discarded the friendship of Taiwan. We discarded the friendship of Israel and befriended those who allowed our goods to be seized in passage through Suez. Neither the Israelites nor the Chinese in Taiwan understand us for in our attitude there is neither morality nor realism. This Government has fed the people on slogans like an opium addict depending upon the narcotic. It is unfortunate and doubly so that this Government has now developed immunity against criticism just as some inhabitants of malaria infested area develop immunity from malaria.

Nearer home, the Government has bungled in its policy on Nagaland and Kashmir. We have raised battalions after battalions of Central Reserve Police but have not succeeded in curbing 3 lakhs of Nagas. Very recently 7 of our CRP men were killed. Formerly also 7 were killed. We say that the Naga hostiles have killed them. But if our CRP men kill any of those Nagas, they say that the poor Nagas have been killed and the poor CRP man is brought before the court and punished to be hanged. What kind of attitude is this? You cannot control 3 lakhs of Nagas? Give the opportunity to any of us here. Within ten days the situation will be controlled and there will be no Naga problem.

The same thing is happening in Kashmir. We have pampered Kashmir too much. We have been following a vacillating and indefinite policy, talking one thing at one time and another thing at another time, which has led to mischief. Let us take the view that Kashmir is acceded to India once and for all. We have become a nation, of Indians. We do not count in terms of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees. Our biggest foolish act has been to go on telling the Muslims that they are minorities. Where is the question of minority in

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

this country? Whoever is an Indian whatever his religion be, shall have equal rights. Any Indian can rise to any level through his efforts. We should not think in terms of Hindus or Muslims.

I would say that this Government has been the enemy of Hindus. This Government wants to please the Muslims even at the cost of Hindus because the Muslims are in a minority. It is the Congress Party which has created the fear complex in the minds of the Muslims that they are a minority community and that they should be protected so that they may not be annihilated by the majority community. In that way, the ruling party has ensured that the minority votes are secured by the Congress Party. This attitude of the ruling party has caused very great mischief in this country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must conclude now. He has taken too much of time.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I will end my denunciation of this Government by summing up what I have said. It has failed on the home front; it has failed on the foreign front; it has failed on the economic front; on the food front it has failed miserably. On the national front, it has made the people immoral, encouraged corruption, destroyed religion, maimed Hindu culture and brought down the prestige of this country in the whole world. Devaluation had done greater harm to its prestige than anything else.

I will end my speech by saying that failing there, in not observing and adhering to the freedom granted by the rule of law, which in my opinion means to be governed by laws which are definite and comprehensible, which are not modified, altered or amended, with retrospective effect, and administered by honest judiciary is the greatest blow that the Government has given to the masses. It is not deying the rule of law to which

we are entitled. Then, this Government has developed a communistic outlook that "the State knows what is right" and is avoiding democratic principles and leading the country into the throes of Communism. I, therefore, appeal to the House to -ise as one man to save the country for democracy and to throw out this Government here and now.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

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

Shri Masani.

Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa): What is the time allotted for this discussion?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Business Advisory Committee allots the time.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर): यह बहुत अजीब बात है कि प्रस्ताव पर बहस तो शुरू हो गई है, लेकिन उस के टाइम का पता नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Business Advisory Committee is meeting today when it will be decided.

Shri Shinkre: Is Shri Masani going to speak as long as the time is not decided?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He will take 25 minutes.

Shri M. B. Masani (Rajkot): Why 25 minutes? I may take half an hour. In any case, our party has got 40 minutes.

Many members here are perhaps heaving a sigh of relief that this is the last time this particular Lok Sabha will have to go through this exercise, and I would not blame them because the result is foregone. It is not true, as a matter of fact, that we can hope that this House has lost confidence in the Council of Ministers. I wish it were so, it should be so; but we know that the result is a foregone conclusion. In any event, this is a lame-duck Parliament, whose mandate

is nearly exhausted, and whatever value this discussion has is as an educative preamble to what is to follow. Because the real vote of no-confidence is not going to be passed this November nor this December but it will be passed by the people of India next February, and I for one have no doubt whatsoever that, when that time comes, the Congress Party will be soundly defeated at the polls. And it will be a well-deserved defeat; of that there can be no doubt.

Consider for a moment the state of our country today. Consider the state of the nation. On the constitutional front, the Constitution, which many of us were proud to have joined in framing, has been violated over and over again and amended on 18, 19 or 20 occasions. On many of those occasions the amendment was brought in for the simple purpose of trying to undo a judgement of the Supreme Court of India. In the process, the Fundamental Rights have been eroded and whittled away. For the last so many years, the state of Emergency has been made permanent, although there is no question of any clear and present danger to the security of this country. The Defence of India Act and the Rules have become a kind of crutch on which those in office have to rely, without which they cannot carry on the day-to-day administration of a country living in peace.

This state of affairs reminds us of what happened under British Raj, and I shall quote the words of Jawaharlal Nehru under the British to show very close to that we have come today and how we, on this side, feel that the position is as intolerable as he had in the days of the Rowlatt Act under the British. This is what Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"A Government that has to rely on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and similar laws, that suppress the press and literature, that has hundreds of organisations, that keep people in prison without trial, and that do so many

other things that are happening in India today, is a government that has ceased to have even a shadow of a justification for its existence. I can never adjust myself to those conditions; I find them intolerable."

We in the opposition find ourselves in the same position.

On the front of national unity, far from progress being made, we are steadily going backwards. The country is being fragmented today by encouragement given mainly by members of the ruling party, and even those in government, to all kinds of linguistic controversies, territorial claims of one State against another, the imposition of zonal barriers dividing this country into many sovereign independent States and class warfare of various kinds.

Public morality is the biggest casualty of these last 19 years of Congress rule. We have corruption, jobbery and inefficiency, which have become an established way of life. This kind of corruption has an inextricable link with the regime of statism and controls to which reference has been made. You cannot abolish corruption like this unless you decontrol and wipe out the permit-liaise raj and restore economic freedom to our people.

The latest example was given by Shri Trivedi when he mentioned how while this Government talks of economy and saving of public funds it creates in the Punjab a Cabinet four times as big as the last one although the territory of Punjab has shrunk to one-third in a House of 37, 24 members of Government—and in Haryana with a Party of 41 MLAs, 18 have been inducted into the Cabinet! It would seem, the smaller the State the bigger size of the Cabinet must be! No wonder that a report from Chandigarh says that those in charge of affairs are wondering how to find 42 rooms of sufficient status for these 42 gentlemen, 42 cars and 42 bungalows in a city which was

[Shri M. R. Masani]

not prepared for this kind of locust invasion.

I want to challenge even the formation of these two governments. I want to say that the very formation of these two governments is an impropriety. There was no reason whatsoever why these self-created governments, responsible neither to a Legislature nor to public opinion, should have been installed at this stage. Governor's rules should have continued till February and then a new Government should have come after the elections. Here is an example of how the power of patronage and bribery is going to be employed to try and doctor the elections.

Finally, as Shri Trivedi has said, even the Das Commission's recommendations have been ignored and four guilty men, unfit to hold office, have now been given the Cabinet rank again.

Shri Ranga: Condemned men.

Shri M. R. Masani: On the one hand there is corruption, jobbery and patronage, on the other there is abdication of authority, of the responsibility to maintain law and order. Criticism made in this House and elsewhere, which is reasoned and constructive whether by politicians or by the press is ignored. How very little of what we say has ever evoked a response from these gentlemen, but when somebody pulls chains, loots godowns and attacks property and person, that very demand is conceded. Now the people have come to realise that with the Congress governments at the Centre and in the States the only way to get something done is to resort to violence and force. This is a tremendous blow to public morality in any society.

I was in Bombay during the Bundh which created a Cabinet crisis in Maharashtra. I have seen and heard people who wanted to exercise their lawful right to go to their

jobs or colleges, who asked for police protection but who were refused it. The police stood by while goondas were not permitting men and women to go about their normal avocations. Citizens of Bombay were denied the protection of the law because the Congress Government in Maharashtra, the Home Minister, had said that the police should keep out of it and watch. This created a Cabinet crisis in the Maharashtra Government. It is true that most of those concerned climbed down, but I would like to pay my tribute to one honest Congress Minister who had the guts finally to resign. Shri Shantilal Shah, a veteran Congress man and trade unionist, stuck to his guns because he was ashamed of belonging to this corrupt degenerate Congress Government.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Did he say so?

Shri M. R. Masani: He has resigned; he is out. He did not use these very words but that was the meaning of his resignation; the words are mine.

This morning one of our most experienced, mature and responsible commentators has written an article entitled "The Crimest Situation in 19 Years", a few sentences of which, I think, I must put into the record of this House. Shri Moolgaonkar, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Hindustan Times* writing under the initials "S.M."—I hope, I have not indentified him incorrectly. —

"We see today the results which were always obvious to the meanest intelligence of the criminal abdication by Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States of their responsibility for maintaining law and order.

The situation we are facing in the country today is the grimmest in the 19 years since independence.

The future of the country is dark for many reasons, all of them directly attributable to 19 years of Congress rule".

He Goes on:—

"And all because a government which has lost all moral authority to rule is not capable of taking simple precautions in time because of incompetence abetted by the fear of losing a few votes."

Now we have come to this stage of our wonderful system of planning and statism that the location of a steel plant has to be decided not by the laws of the market, not by the needs of the consumer, not by economic considerations but by hunger strikes, burning of trains and uprooting of tracks.

Shri Joachim Alva: He used the same notorious phraseology against Nehru and he does that with his daughter's government.

Shri M. R. Masani: Turning to the international sphere, the Mover of the motion has done a great job in delineating the clear language the contemptible nature of our foreign policy. He has referred to the failure on our part to discriminate between friends and enemies, the Mimalayan blunders we have committed which have invited aggression and lost us large amounts of territories to the Chinese Communists. We have in Vietnam the failure of this Government to realise that the boundaries of this country lie on the River Mekong and if Communist China cannot be contained there, we shall be encircled by China and its friends all the way from Karachi down to Singapore.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Go and fight there.

Shri M. R. Masani: There is a failure to build any kind of a regional collective security system in Asia. Smaller countries are getting together to protect themselves from the Communist bandits. In Seoul there was a Conference where Japan, Malaysia and even so-called non-aligned countries, went along with the others and we were conspicuous by our absence.

Instead of that we had this pathetic summit the other day about which Shri Trivedi was so critical.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): Not like the Manila Conference.

Shri Joachim Alva: Why do you not tell your American friends not to arm Pakistan? They gave massive arms aid to Pakistan which has brought the Chinese at our doorstep.

Shri M. R. Masani: I see, Sir, that my Communist friends on both sides of the House cannot take it.

I was saying that we had this pathetic summit here. Shri Nath Pai, quite rightly, asked the Prime Minister this morning, "Why did you not go beyond pious platitudes?" The answer is obvious, namely, because the three governments that had met are all weak, downgraded governments—governments dependent on somebody or other for economic and military support. There is no strength in their legs. If three weak people come together, they do not become any stronger; they still remain as weak as they were. This was a miserable flop of three discredited governments trying to bolster one another by helping each other's morale. The result has been a complete failure.

The results of our foreign policy, briefly, are that today we are utterly isolated in the world. We have not got one friend to whom we can turn in time of need. The second result is that we have lost international stature. Our Government's name is mud in the rest of the world because of two things—our self-righteous posture on the one side and our economic medicancy, going with a begging bowl all over, on the other.

Finally, look at our economic condition today. I saw in the *London Economist* of a few weeks ago a paragraph summarising our economic

[Shri M. R. Masani]

plight. *The London Economist* is a very sympathetic paper where this Government is concerned.

"India today", it wrote, "is a land of disillusion. The country has had its self-confidence badly shattered, first by the ignominy of defeat at Chinese hands, and subsequently by the persisting economic crisis.... The disillusion is aggravated by the fact that things at home have turned out very differently from what the people had been led to hope. Planning is bad odour because of constant shortfalls. The public sector, far from being a lever of growth, has soaked up resources on which it yields hardly any return. Inflation, which has grown in step with higher plan investments, has increased the gap between income groups and thrown the burden of development on the shoulders least able to bear it."

Can we deny that this is a fair summary or picture of what is going on in this country? This picture is the result of the perverse policies in which this Government still wants to persist. The primary obligations of this Government are neglected. Our telephone service is a scandal. Letters now take three to four days to move from one city to another although there is air transportation. This morning we read a message from Ghaziabad which shows the rock bottom to which this Government has descended, saying that a notice has been put up in the Ghaziabad post offices that no postcards and stamped envelopes are available. The newspaper report goes on to say that they have been out of stock for already three days! Did this ever happen under British rule? This is the first time that this country is sinking to the level of Congo or some backward African State.

While all these basic jobs of carrying out the functions of Government are being neglected, this Government is busy putting up steel plants and

trying to make everything that it should not. Now they want to put their hands on foodgrains and the distribution of food, and finally, like a desperate gambler who has lost everything, they are looking with ugly, avaricious eyes at the money of the small depositors—lakhs of them—in the banks of India and wanting to spread their tentacles on them by talking of the nationalisation of banking.

Now what happened about devaluation? We were told that devaluation was for the sake of boosting our exports. Will one of the economic Ministers in his reply tell us in what way our export position has improved since we devalued the rupee? Will they tell us what has happened and to what extent our devaluation has been justified because, when we asked them what it was about, they said that it was primarily for the sake of exports. Our neighbours in Pakistan, whatever we may think of them otherwise, are more practical. The *Pakistan Observer* recently gave the export figures for the last two months in Pakistan. Exports during September, 1966, rose by 29.44 per cent, as compared to the previous month of August and, compared to the corresponding month last year, the exports for September, 1966, are 50.44 per cent higher. While they are doing this, we are wallowing in the aftermath of devaluation because our Government did not have the courage or gumption or intelligence to take the correct follow-up measures.

Then comes this horrible Fourth Plan. This Fourth Plan, if ever it is implemented, will spell the doom of this country. It has all evils of the Second and the Third Plans in an exaggerated degree. We are told that there is to be no deficit financing. That is a lie. Deficit financing is implicit in this Plan; it is inherent in this Plan. It has already taken place; already in the last six months, which are the first six months of the Fourth Plan period, it is admitted that there was deficit financing to the extent of

Rs. 200 crores. Yet, they go on saying in their Resolutions and Manifestos that there will be no deficit financing. If this is not a fraud on this country, I do not know what is.

Then let me say this. Prices are to rise; so long as the Congress Government is there, prices will rise. So long as the Congress Government is there, food shortage will continue. I do not like to be a prophet of doom, but let me put this to the House. If this Government is returned next February, God help us, there will be famine in the country in the middle of 1967 and thousands of people will die.

Shri Ranga: Mr. Subramaniam has said so.

Shri M. R. Masani: Thousands of people will die, if the people return this Government to office next time. *(Interruptions).*

Shri Ranga: You will see the people's graves.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): Famine depend on Indra.

Shri Ranga: That will be an epitaph written on your Government.

Shri M. R. Masani: A few days ago, my respected friend, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, sent a letter to the Press where he endorsed the views of Professor Shenoy in regard to the destructive and deplorable character of the Fourth Plan and asked our Government and our Prime Minister to call him in and listen to his counsel. My friend, Mr. Jayaprakash, is a very noble man, a great optimist.

An hon. Member: He was the hon. member's colleague.

Shri M. R. Masani: He is still my colleague; I am very proud to be his colleague. He is an optimist. He believes in the goodness of human nature. But I would like to tell him that there is no chance of this set of people ever calling in an honest eco-

nomist like Prof. Shenoy. It may interest this House to know that Prof. Shenoy is today in Ceylon, where a more intelligent Government has chosen to call him to listen to his views and benefit by his advice. But this Government, of ours will go on listening to those economic mountbans and charlatans who are sitting in the Planning Commission and who have brought this country to this pass.

This is the picture of our country. The verdict should be clear. Such a Government is unfit to exist even a day longer. But there are two fallacies prevalent which may prevent it from being thrown out and I would like to refer to them before I conclude.

The first fallacy is the one which is widely held mostly by the urban intelligentsia: "the Congress is invincible and you cannot defeat it". I have heard this from hundreds of highly educated people, graduates, people with constructive genius, people who have done things: "what can we do? They are hopeless people; they are a menace; they are destroying this country, but you cannot do anything against them." This is a big fallacy. This Congress is a paper tiger; it is a big balloon with gas in it. It only needs to be pricked. I say that because the facts are that this is not only a paper tiger, but it is also a shrinking tiger. This Congress Party never got a majority of the Indian people to vote for it. Ever since India became independent, not even in one election, even under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, did they get 50 per cent of the votes polled for the Lok Sabha. The highest they got was 48 per cent.

An hon. Member: What was your percentage?

Shri M. R. Masani: We did not exist at that time! The highest they got was 48 per cent. The lowest was in the last elections, 44.72 per cent for the Lok Sabha elections and yet, with that, they got 72 per cent of the seats, and they have got this fraud of a

[Shri M. R. Masani]

bogus majority. It only exists because of a fluke in the electoral system. This 44 per cent is not going to exist next year. At the very highest, I would give them 39 per cent and nothing more. Now the Gallup polls... (Interruptions).

Shri M. R. Masani: Let them listen to a few words. They may work a little harder; they may buck up and get more votes.

The Gallup polls that have been carried out this year show a very clear trend...

An hon. Member: By whom?

Shri Joachim Alva: By one who is the henchman of big business.

Shri M. R. Masani: They have been carried out by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion which is an affiliate of the Gallup institution of America which enjoys international prestige and which our own Government uses when it suits them. The Indian Institute of Public Opinion has polled a cross-section of opinion in the four metropolitan cities, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. In January-February, the Congress support was 60 per cent of those polled. In May-June, it had dropped sharply to 41 per cent. Perhaps we may have thought that this was a temporary decline or trough which would be got out of, but the latest figures for September-October are very conclusive. They show that it still remains at 41 per cent.

Shri Shinkre: Why is he diagnosing their disease?

Shri M. R. Masani: I am trying to be helpful. The September-October figures show that it is still 41 per cent. In other words, in the last three months, not even one per cent of the lost ground has been regained and it looks as if that is where they are going to remain. I was asked as to

what was the support to our Party. I will give that answer. According to the same poll, the non-socialist parties, which include my Party and the Jan Sangh, and maybe, other groups, got about 20 per cent; the non-leftist or non-socialist support was 20 per cent in January-February but by May-June it had risen to 42 per cent, i.e., double.

Shri Tyagi: It may be a clerical error.

Shri M. R. Masani: There was no clerical error. According to this poll, the support of the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh combined in the four big cities is equal to that of the Congress Party.

This morning the *Indian Express* starts an analysis of the Madras situation with the remark:

"People are with the Opposition, but the Congress may yet win."

This sums up the prospects in Madras. This is true of the whole country. That is why I am sounding this note of warning to people who think that just because the people are against the Congress, the position is favourable for the Opposition and they will be thrown out of office. This may happen or may not happen because of the reasons, given for Madras. This is because of the British electoral system which we have adopted, the system which very few 20th Century Constitutions have touched. Almost all the new countries and the new Constitutions have adopted some system of proportional Representation, but we in our wisdom chose the British one. The result is that Britain which has a two-party system is able to work the British electoral system, but we are not Anglo-Saxons with a spirit of compromise like Englishmen or Americans. We are Latins in our temperament. We are argumentative; we are quarrelsome; we split; we splinter; we form more parties rather than

unite. The result is that in our country we have six or seven parties rather than two. When we have six or seven parties, with the group system of the Latins and the British electoral system, we get the distortion which is represented by the composition of the Lok Sabha, i.e., 44 per cent of the people electing 72 per cent of the members, and *vice versa*. This is the evil and this has to be eliminated next February. This Government can hardly be expected to bring in a Bill for proportional representation to put an end to their Government and their monopoly of power. But the remedy lies on this side. The remedy lies on this side and the remedy is that we should have what they call in France a "second ballot". In France, when a Member does not get a clear majority in his constituency, 50 per cent or more, the two senior candidates are sent back to the polls the following Sunday and the man who gets 50 per cent or more is duly elected. We saw this in the case of Gen. DeGaulle's election as President only a few months ago. Because he could not get 50 per cent, he had to stand again against Mr. Mitterand, and he got 55 per cent and he was declared elected as President. What we have to do on this side, if we have the gumption, the intelligence and the patriotism, is to hold a second ballot in advance, to consider who is the strongest democratic Opposition candidate, and for the other democratic Opposition parties to withdraw and leave him alone in the field for a straight fight between the ruling party and the democratic Opposition.

An hon. Member: It will not happen.

Shri M. R. Masani: It is happening. I am very glad to say it is happening. I am very glad to say that this process has partially succeeded already. In Gujarat, in Rajasthan and in Orissa...

An hon. Member: Question.

Shri M. R. Masani: These are the States which we hope to carry—there is a complete agreement between the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party about the allocation of seats. And we ought to do this all over the country. We hope that the socialist parties and the other democratic parties will come into this kind of arrangement. This is not an alliance because there are many things on which we do not agree.

An hon. Member: It is misalliance.

Shri M. R. Masani: It is second ballot that I advocated and its only purpose is to remove the inequity of our electoral system and to create a Lok Sabha which really represents the will of the majority of the people and not a minority as this Lok Sabha which is functioning. It is our first target, therefore, to bring into existence, a new Lok Sabha where the balance of power is changed and where the monopoly of power is ended, because that is the will of the Indian people. Then, people ask: 'What will happen?'. That is not my business. It is the business of the President of the Republic, with the help of the newly elected Lok Sabha, to create a Government that enjoys the confidence of the majority of the Lok Sabha and of the people, and I think we can leave that to the President and to the new Lok Sabha itself.

This was the first fallacy to which I was referring. Then, there is another fallacy. That fallacy is that the interests of stability require the continuation of the Congress Government. Many of my rather cowardly business friends have been misled into believing this. It is complete nonsense. There is one situation alone in which the stability of this country and the continuation of our democracy can be secured and that is by a change of government in Delhi next February-March. If that does not take place, I warn the House that this country will drift in the direction of Ghana and Indonesia. For, if 60 per cent of the electorate rejects this Government and yet it comes back with 55 or 60 per

[Shri M. R. Masani]

cent of the seats, then I say with all responsibility that though I may accept the verdict of the Constitution such as it is, and I may bow to the quirks of the electoral system, the common man is not such a sophisticated democrat and he would not understand this, and he will not understand a discredited and demoralised government, after nineteen years of misrule, being rejected by 60 per cent and yet coming and sitting here, saying: 'I shall rule for five more years'.

Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti): Would my hon. friend allow me to put a question? In a public limited company where there are thousands of shareholders, will my hon. friend accept a change in the system of election of the directors and will he adopt the system which he has now advocated?

Shri M. R. Masani: Most certainly. I believe in the rights of the shareholders to change the board of directors at any time when the majority of the shareholders want it.

Shri Raghunath Singh: What about proportional representation?

Shri Shinkre: Should my hon. friend compare our country to a public or private limited company?

Shri Raghunath Singh: Will he accept proportional representation in joint-stock companies?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

Shri M. R. Masani: I hope I would have another five minutes without these constant interruptions.

Shri Joachim Alva: Would the managing agents have remained had not Government stepped in?

Shri M. R. Masani: I was saying that this is not the party on which the country can rely for stability. This is not the party that will protect the country from chaos or communism.

Shri Ranga: See what is happening all over.

Shri M. R. Masani: The Congress President publicly invited the communists to get back to the Congress. Was that a way of protecting the country from communism? During and after his visit to the Soviet Union, he made some amazing statements which I would like my hon. friends opposite sitting there, who are not communists, to consider. First of all, he was impressed even by Soviet housing and agriculture. What a joke! Anyone who follows the Soviet press knows that one of the biggest criticisms is that there are two fields of work where the Soviet system has completely failed to deliver the goods; one is homes for the people and the other is food for the people. That is why the Soviet Union is selling millions of dollars and pounds of gold to buy food for their people. This is what our wonderful Congress President has learnt. Then, he made a remark after announcing this wonderful success:

"On seeing your progress we are enthused that we can make similar progress in the same way as you have done. Your planning can be a guide to our own material advancement."

Shri Joachim Alva: My hon. friend is slandering Soviet building activity.

Shri M. R. Masani: This is from a party that is going to protect the country from communism. Then, he misread history and would have liked to rewrite it; for, Mr. Kamaraj Nadar said:

"The Soviet Revolution undoubtedly inspired India in its struggle for freedom."

Poor Mahatma Gandhi; poor Mahatma Gandhi who abhorred communism and who had no use for the October Revolution, evidently got inspiration from Lenin and Stalin! And then we find,

Mr. Kamaraj was eager in Budapest to learn how the democratic process of electing Members of Parliament was managed in a one-party State, namely Hungary. Was that a preparation for democracy or for a one-party dictatorship in 1972?

Our Prime Minister too has been showing very unfortunate tendencies of a Fascist kind. In Srinagar, according to *The Hindustan Times* of October 2, she said that there was no need for a second party in Kashmir, talking about Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's Opposition. If there is no need for a second party in Kashmir, she may now go on to say that there is no need for a second party in any part of India, and in fact, she has said so. At another meeting in India, she said that the slogan should be 'One nation, one team'.

Shri Ranga: What a shame!

Shri M. R. Masani: What does 'One nation, one team' mean?

Shri Tyagi: Unity.

Shri M. R. Masani: 'One nation, one team' is a totalitarian slogan.

Shri Ranga: Make room for a national government.

Shri M. R. Masani: In any democracy, the slogan should be 'One nation, two teams', one in office and one in the Opposition. That is the very basis of parliamentary government enshrined in our Constitution. I hope this remark does not indicate a consistent Fascist tendency on her part also.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): The phrase 'One team' refers to the Congress Party.

Shri M. R. Masani: If this Government does not go, then it is not only going to destroy the Congress Party and the Government but it will destroy the country. It will bring down the pillars of the stability of our country, of its economy and social life.

1821 (A) LS-9.

I remember in this very House, in this very Chamber, as a Congress Member of the Opposition, during the days of the RIN Mutiny, I made a speech here, and I said to the British Government once sitting there: 'For God's sake, go. Get out of this country while there is still order, administration and some stability, because if you hang on to power in India any longer, there will be no authority left; there will be chaos and you will destroy this country before you go'. And I say this today to these men also: 'For God's sake go while there is some administration and some order. Do not destroy the country before you go'.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Coming in the atmosphere as it does and in the background as it does, this motion of no-confidence lacks reality, lacks seriousness and lacks a sense of responsibility. That is how we look upon it, and I believe the Members on the other side who have moved the motion and delivered speeches must also be feeling likewise. In any case, we came prepared for it; because we had noticed in the newspapers that this session was going to be "a stormy" session. So, we came prepared for such motions. Though winter is not the season for storms, yet, when the elections are near can these storms be far behind; the elections are near, and, therefore, the Opposition storms are bound to burst. We came prepared for the bursting of these storms, the fury of which we have faced just now, and which we believe, and which I believe has passed over not only ourselves but over the heads of the Members in the House also.

14.59 hrs.

[SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF in the Chair]

In any case, having indulged in gymnastics over the rules of procedure all these days, the climax could be only a motion of no-confidence. What else could it be? The rules of procedure and gymnastics that they indulged in, twisting them, manipulating them and just trying to force the

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

Speaker to accept their point of view, all that having been exhausted, now comes the climax of a motion of no-confidence. We take it calmly. We have come prepared for it.

15 hrs.

In the evolution of democracy in this country after the Constitution came into existence, one regrettable feature is that it has led to the advent of irresponsible Opposition; I say irresponsible Opposition or groups of Opposition who do not feel the responsibility for what they do and for what they indulge in in this House. Shri Masani was speaking of six or eight groups. If I could count them on my fingers, it would be double that number. He may just read the newspapers and find out the names of the party members who come out with statements against the Government; he will find that their number will be at least a dozen. With this dozen splinter groups calling themselves Opposition, it has led to unreality, lack of seriousness and lack of a sense of responsibility. The scenes that we witness day to day in this House during what is called the zero hour are the result of the lack of that sense of reality and responsibility. Otherwise, we could not have seen the conduct that we saw this very day.

In the debate on this no-confidence motion, I have been following the arguments and the facts advanced by the Mover and the Seconder. It is nothing but repetition of unconvincing arguments and repeatedly disputed facts. Repetition of repeatedly disputed facts is indulged in in the hope that by constant repetition some amount of faith might be created, though they lack basis all the same. What I fear is that our friends in the Opposition are suffering from superfluous energy. These no-confidence motions are the results of that superfluous energy which they find amongst themselves which find their outlet through motions like these. I would advise them to spend their energy in

constructive channels, in channels of work helpful for building up the country, the nation and the people.

So far as Shri Trivedi is concerned, all his arguments were hung on one peg, and that peg is parochialism. He repeated parochialism a hundred times from beginning to end. I could not follow what the no-confidence motion had to do with parochialism in one State or another, in one part of the country or another or in one group of people or another. It might have been taken up differently, but how does a no-confidence motion get justifiably based on the fact that people of a particular area have exhibited parochial tendencies? Is that a sufficient justification for bringing in a no-confidence motion against the central Government of India? But they do it, because, as I said, they lack a sense of responsibility and a sense of reality in what they themselves do.

They have brought in government servants and corruption in this matter. In this matter, my Opposition friends take up a peculiar attitude. I feel amused at their attitude. When government servants are minding their own work, dutifully carrying on their work in their offices, they see in them only corruption, huge corruption, the monster of corruption in all officials of government, in all departments. But when they find a tendency in any section of government servants to agitate, to take out a procession or to hold a meeting, they find in them angels of heaven, and there is a rivalry amongst them as to who would go out first and welcome them. This peculiar attitude they take, this is the way they argue their own case. I wonder if they realise that what they do is nothing but contradicting themselves in one respect or another.

Just now Shri Masani was complaining that during the bandh in Bombay, somebody could not get police help to resist the person who were trying to bring about a bandh. Here again a two-fold attitude is visible. When the

police try to exercise their right and duty to make it possible for people to carry on their own work day to day, they condemn the police; but when the police do not help, the police is condemned. When the police help, they say the police are exceeding their power; when they do not, they condemn the police. They can take up only one of these two attitudes. The police remain as the mainstay of the stability of the State. When they condemn the police, they should realise that even the police have some due to be shown to them. They are called upon to face very difficult and critical situations. In very critical situations, they help not only the government but also the people. Therefore, they should be shown that consideration, that they are doing their work. But that is not shown. That is the pity of it. Throughout the whole day, that is the whole burden of their song.

Shri Masani was indulging in some midsummer night's dream as to what would happen next February. I say that is a midsummer night's dream that in February the Congress Party will be ousted and that Shri Masani's party will come and rule in this House.

An hon. Member: Impossible—it is building castles in the air.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: There are some persons who have midsummer night dreams. He is one of them. Let him have it.

He gets angry because the Constitution has been amended. I had an earlier occasion to reply to this charge against this Government when Shri Kamath made that same attack. Many of the amendments have been done unanimously in this House—most of them—without the Opposition and the Congress Party differing. And many of the amendments have been made to bring about integration. The amendment about Goa, that about Pondicherry and that concerning Chandernagore—these had to be done. Then

why this meaningless and senseless charge that the Constitution has been amended a number of times, without trying to refer to the occasions and the necessity for which it has been done?

They are all very good and well-meaning people. This has got to be accepted. But one thing surprises me. Shri Masani was referring to a report in today's papers that postcards are not available somewhere and that this did not happen during British rule. I would ask him to go over the files of newspapers for the last 150 years and find out what happened in the British rule. He was in the Congress Party. I would like him to tell this House what it was that brought them into this party and what it was that kept him in this party. Having exhausted all the possible advantages he could get out of his association with the Congress party, he deserted it.

He was referring to a *Times of India* report and other reports. He believes in all reports. Probably all our Opposition members do. But they do not believe in the Government of India report, the small report which the Government of India publishes about the progress that has been achieved during the Congress rule. This is a report of 1965, and I recommend it to the study of Mr. Masani and other members of the opposition to find out whether the Government of India has done anything during the last 19 years. It is a small report, it does not take much time to go through it. Instead of running to the *London Times*, *Times of India* and other things, let them go through the report published by the Government of India itself. They will have facts on which they can rely and which will correct their own misunderstandings and some illusions from which they suffer.

He was referring to Jaiprakashji. My experience of Jaiprakashji has been for very long years, and I am convinced of it that whatever he sets his hands on, he muddles. The last muddle is this Naga business. After

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

finishing the Naga business and muddling it to the utmost that he could, he sets about running after Sheikh Abdulla. So, in spite of Mr. Masani's commending him to us, at least I would not be one to accept his guidance.

There is one particular argument that Mr. Masani indulges in, that we came to this House in a majority on a minority of votes. He has studied so many reports of Britain. Does he know that the previous Wilson Government had been returned to power on a vote, I believe, of about 43 or 44 per cent of the electorate, and the present Wilson Government in Britain, which enjoys undisputed majority in Parliament, has come into power only on a vote of 47 per cent? It is not we alone, but there are bigger parliaments and bigger democratic governments who come to power on similar voting. There is nobody in that Parliament like Mr. Masani to challenge Mr. Wilson that he has no authority in Britain because he has not come on the strength of over 51 per cent of the votes. This is a strange argument heard only in this House and from particular parties.

There was some calculation as to what would be the adjustment of parties and the adjustment of candidates by which "the non-socialist parties," that was Mr. Masani's claim, —I pity the socialist party members who joined hands with him to bring about this no confidence motion—have come to an arrangement among themselves to set up candidates which they will be able to carry through the election. Well, I do not know what the non-socialist parties will carry through. At least I come from a State where the lists of the Congress Party have been announced months before other parties could come into the field. We announced it in the beginning of October, and October has ended and November is going; up till now neither the Socialist nor the non-Socialist, neither the so called Leftist

nor the so-called Rightist party has been able to announce any list of members on behalf of its own party, nominated for the next election.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Because they are not guided by Atulya Ghosh.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: You can seek his guidance, that will improve you spiritually, morally, intellectually and in every way.

Whatever may be said about his organisation, the Congress, about what has happened in the last 10 years or before that, by all my friends over there put together, it has a vitality today which is not going to be defeated or disturbed by anything that they may do. The wonder is that it has that vitality. It has that vitality because it carries in its traditions, in its spirit, the service of so many people, so many persons, so many leaders, so many devoted heads of workers, the like of not one of whom can be found in any one of the other parties or all of them put together. That is the source of strength and stability of this organisation. What is the good of getting jealous and envying the Congress? You cannot beat it like that. You have got to evolve personalities who will deliver that amount of sacrifice, that amount of service to the country. After that you come and say that you have some claim to say something.

Mr. Masani was saying that the stability of the country requires that Congress rule should be ended. I say in reply that the stability of the country requires that Congress rule should be retained. Till such time as the country is completely integrated and all the problems with which we are faced, problems of inter-State difficulties, problems of linguistic difficulties and other administrative problems, are solved to bring about one integrated nation, one integrated country, one integrated people, Cong-

ness rule must be upheld in this country and must continue. And I hope it will continue in spite of what they do and feel.

In the end I shall only refer to some of the achievements which this book refers to. They say that we do not do anything, and that there is not much that can be said about our achievements. Of course, I do not refer to all the question that they raise. One question that has been continually raised the first question was the emergency question. Mr. Masani raised it. He said: there is no emergency, why do all these precautions continue? Today you must have found that in the name of clarification the Prime Minister was subjected to a cross-examination as to why such and such a thing is not mentioned when such and such problem is there, when the emergency was there. And now when the no-confidence motion comes, there is no emergency, they say why should emergency provisions continue? There are two things happening in the say at an interval of only a few hours, to be observed only curiously.

Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma (Khammam): There are two members in the opposition, and there is no quorum.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Each one of them is a hundred in himself, is a host in himself.

The student agitation was referred to. Therefore, I must make a reference to it. The student agitation has been going on all through the country. The peculiar feature of this student agitation is this, that the students as a combined group do not make a move. I have passed through student agitations myself and I am in contact now at the present moment with students who are agitating. What I find is that among the students there are replicas of all the parties. All the parties are represented there and that leads to a very peculiar situation. Even the communist party-sponsored students are divided like the party it-

self, into the right group and the left group. So, this agitation has to be tackled very carefully and very cautiously, and I believe the Education Minister will do it. In the statement which he made he has stated that the political parties should leave the students alone, and unless my friends over there choose to withdraw their own stamp from among the students, the students themselves will be in very great difficulty. They are not only not helping the students, they are putting the students and the interests of the students into great jeopardy. That is what I could say to them.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: What about the Congress Parishad students.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: This is what I was going to say about what we have done. No State could have done and no State in history has done what we have done within the last 19 years. Immediately on the transference of power we had a Constituent Assembly, and within two years that Constituent Assembly had brought into existence the present Constitution. You study the history of all other constitutions. No constitution came into being so quickly. Along with that, we had the Planning Commission. Almost with the achievement of Independence itself, the first plan came into operation and it was concluded successfully, as it was expected, within the time calculated in the plan itself. The bringing into existence of the Constitution, the completion of the first plan in due time—these are achievements of which any State would take credit, except my friends there who are fond of nothing except self-condemnation. This is a peculiar feature to be found among them; they are so much fond of self-condemnation and hence they indulge in it all the time. Production has increased in almost all the sections—in the production of iron ore, in steel, in machine building and in all the other sections; except in the matter of food, in all other things we have almost reached self-sufficiency.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Prices?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Prices have risen. But you refer to production of the railway wagons, electric or steel or diesel engines.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Accidents?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: We are exporting coaches and wagons... (Interruptions.)

Mr. Chairman: No running commentary like this. The hon. Member must conclude.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: We have developed production of components to such an extent that we can ourselves set up a complete jute mill or sugar mill. (Interruptions.) Similarly, in the production of motors and motor cars and electric motors, we have increased production. Steel production has increased from 2 million to 6 million tons; the corresponding production figures for aluminium are 10,000 and 80,000 tons. The Education Minister said that there was almost an explosion in education. These are concrete achievements—not castles in the air of which we boast or on which we want to depend. I only warn that my friends in the Opposition, in their anxiety and eagerness to bring this Government into discredit, and to win the next elections, should not deny facts. Go by the facts; let us not repudiate facts and figures, I believe the verdict of the electorate in 1967 will be the same as it was in 1957 and 1962.

श्री स० प्र० मिश्र (बेगूसराय) : सभा-पति जी, एक लड़के का किस्सा है कि वह कई बार भेड़िया आया, भेड़िया आया चिल्लाया था। और अन्त में भेड़िया आया था। यह चिल्लाना उस लड़के को बड़ा महंगा पड़ा था। मैं समझता हूँ कि हर सेशन

में, हर दफा हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग जो यह नाहक अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाते हैं, शायद यह अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव भेड़िया आया के चिल्लाने जैसा ही है और यह सौदा उन को ही बड़ा महंगा पड़ेगा। उन को ही महंगा पड़ना तो कोई मूज को ज्यादा तकनीक न होती। लेकिन हो सकता है कि यह सौदा देश को भी महंगा पड़े, क्योंकि बेवक्त, बिना कारण भेड़िया आया यह चिल्लाने से सरकार तो जा सकती है, उस को कोई चिन्ता नहीं रह सकती है। आगे के दिनों में ऐसे प्रस्तावों की कोई ग्रहणियत, कोई असर सरकारों पर नहीं पड़ सकता है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि विरोधी दल के लोग जो अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव हर मौसम में, हर सेशन में यों ही ले आते हैं यह अपनी गैरजवाबदेही का बहुत बड़ा नमूना पेश करते हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि वह अगर यह समझते हैं कि उन को फायदा होगा, क्योंकि उन की नजर में आने वाले चूनाबों पर है और उस पर नजर रख कर वह ऐसे प्रस्ताव बार बार लाते हैं, बिना वजह लाते हैं और अकारण चिल्लाते हैं, तो उस से उन को तो फायदा होगा ही नहीं, देश को हो सकता है इस से नुकसान हो। प्रजातंत्र को, लोकतंत्र को इस से नुकसान हो सकता है।

अभी तो पिछले सेशन में यह प्रस्ताव आया था। इस बीच में क्या बड़ी बातें हुई कि फिर अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव ले आये? दो सवाल इन्होंने उठाये हैं। एक तो देश में अनाज की कहीं कहीं कमी पड़ गई है। हमारे ही सूबे बिहार में एक अकाल की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है और उत्तर प्रदेश में और कुछ और जगहों में भी ऐसा है। और दूसरा है विद्यार्थियों का आन्दोलन, विद्यार्थियों में जो अशांति है। मैं समझता हूँ हर चीज के लिए सरकार को जवाबदेह मानना सरकार को बहुत

बड़ी नाकन मानना, सरकार को देवता और भगवान की जगह बिठा देना है। सूबे बिहार में बहुत कुछ सूखा पड़ा है। पूरे मौसम में, पूरी वर्षा ऋतु में वर्षा बहुत कम हुई। नतीजा यह हुआ कि मुख्य खरीफ की फसल, धान की फसल सूख गई और वहाँ अकाल की स्थिति है। लेकिन इसके लिए सरकार कैसे जवाबदेह हो सकती है। अच्छे अच्छे देशों में जहाँ सिंचाई के इन्तजाम हैं, वहाँ भी जब मानसून, वर्षा बिचकुल खत्म हो जाती है तो वहाँ भी ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो सकती है। मैंने अपने ही सूबे में घूम कर देखा है, जहाँ नहरें हैं, पुरानी नहरें और नयी नहरें हैं, उनमें भी मुश्किल से आठ नौ आने फसल हुई है। इसलिए कोई प्राकृतिक आपदा आये और उसके लिए भी सरकार को जवाबदेह ठहराया जाय, यह अनुचित है। कल को किसी इलाके में भूकम्प आ जाय तो कहेंगे कि सरकार की गलती से भूकम्प आया और इस पर अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लायेंगे।

दूसरी बात जो विद्यार्थियों का सवाल है वह बहुत दुखदाई बात है। अभी चपला बाबू ने बताया कि विरोधी दल के लोग और कहीं हमारे दल के कुछ लोग भी उसमें सम्मिलित हो जाते हैं। यह आन्दोलन जो चल रहे हैं जैसे आन्ध्र में जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है जिसमें विद्यार्थी शरीक हैं वह किस बात के लिए चल रहा है कि वहाँ चीया या पांचवां लोहे का जो कारखाना खुले, वह उनके गांव में खुले, इसके लिए आन्दोलन चल रहा है। हम भी अपने समय में विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन में शरीक रहे हैं। वह जमाना था जब देश की आजादी के लिए हिन्दुस्तान के विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन में आते थे। मैं इस बात के साथ नहीं हूँ कि विद्यार्थियों को हमेशा राजनीति से अलग रहना चाहिए। वक्त आ सकता है, वक्त आता है राष्ट्रों के जीवन में जबकि हम विद्यार्थियों को भी आहवान करते हैं। चीन का हमला हुआ, पाकिस्तान का

हमला हुआ, विद्यार्थी कालेज छोड़ कर फौज में भर्ती होते थे और जाकर सरहदों पर लड़ते थे। आजादी का आन्दोलन, 1921 का आन्दोलन चला, 1942 की क्रान्ति आयी उनमें विद्यार्थी आये थे। लेकिन उस समय उनके सामने एक बड़ा मकसद था, देश की आजादी का सवाल था। लेकिन आज यह विरोधी दल के लोग या हमारे ही दल के लोग अगर ऐसा करते हैं तो बहुत बुरा करते हैं कि छोटी छोटी बातों में विद्यार्थियों का इस्तेमाल करते हैं। इस तरह वह विद्यार्थियों का जीवन बरबाद कर रहे हैं। जहाँ तक उन की अपनी समस्याएँ हैं, उनकी अपनी कठिनाइयाँ हैं, उनको देखना चाहिए सरकार को और यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि जब तक आन्दोलन न करें उनकी चीजें नहीं देखी जायेंगी। इस देश में आजादी से पहले सिर्फ उन्हीं लोगों को पढ़ने लिखने का और यूनिवर्सिटीज में जाने का मौका मिलता था जो थोड़े से बड़े लोग होते थे। आजादी के बाद ही हम शुरू शुरू में ऐसा नहीं कर सकते थे जैसे कि दूसरे देशों में होता है कि बहुत कम लोग यूनिवर्सिटीज में दाखिल किये जाते हैं। ऐसा करते तो वही मुट्ठी भर लोग जो अंग्रेजों के वक्त में फायदा उठाते थे उन्हीं को फायदा होता। आज सभी को यूनिवर्सिटी में जाने की पूरी सुविधा है और नतीजा यह है कि पटना में एक कालेज है। जिसमें साढ़े तीन हजार विद्यार्थी हैं, 200 अध्यापक ह और ढाई सौ तीन सौ से अधिक विद्यार्थियों के लिए होस्टेल बगैरह की व्यवस्था नहीं है। इसलिए विद्यार्थियों की समस्याओं को सरकार को समझना चाहिए, देखना चाहिए और यह भी मैं मानता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि यूनिवर्सिटी के दरवाजे पर सख्ती की जानी चाहिए। अभी तक यह प्समय था कि जो चाहे यूनिवर्सिटी में जा सकता है। लेकिन यह सवाल विद्यार्थियों का है, हमारे एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर, हमारी सरकार को इसे देखना चाहिये। लेकिन यह बड़ी बुरी बात है, बड़े दुख की बात है, बड़ी गरहित बात है कि राज-

[श्री म० प्र० मिश्र]

नीतिक पार्टियां अपने स्वार्थों के लिये विद्यार्थियों का इस्तेमाल करते हैं और विद्यार्थी इन के हथकण्डों का शिकार बन जाते हैं।

सभापति जी, शायद आपको मालूम हो और दूसरे लोगों को भी मालूम हो कि इस देश में इस समय विद्यार्थियों में जो अशांति फैली हुई है, उस को लेकर पीकिंग रेडियो रोज आन्दोलन मचा रहा है, रोज हमारे विद्यार्थियों को शाबासी देना है और उनके आन्दोलन को बढ़ावा देना है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि पीकिंग रेडियो के इस प्रकार के बढ़ावा देने से कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है, लेकिन इसका एक अर्थ है, पीकिंग रेडियो भूल जाता है कि जिस समय इण्डोनेशिया में विद्यार्थियों ने कम्युनिस्ट राज्य के खिलाफ, कम्युनिस्ट आक्रमण के खिलाफ, चीन के फौलादी शिकंजे के खिलाफ वहाँ की सरकार को उलट दिया था, वैसे ही उन्होंने वहाँ पर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को भी खत्म कर दिया था। उस समय पीकिंग रेडियो की शाबासी कहाँ चली गई थी? यह ना समझें कि आज वे विद्यार्थियों का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं, कल यही विद्यार्थी उन को छोड़ देंगे, कल उनका भी उलट कर खत्म कर देंगे। मेरी यह बात भी आप नोट कर लें।

श्री बाबी (इन्दौर) : खत्म करेंगे, जब दिखेंगे।

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : हम देश में विद्यार्थियों की ज़रूरत समझें, हैं, देश की आजादी पर, देश के संकटकाल पर कोई विपत्ति आये, तो विद्यार्थियों को आगे आना चाहिये।

श्री बाबी : स्टील प्लान्ट के लिये नहीं आना चाहिये ?

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : नहीं।

श्री बाबी : लेकिन वह तो आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं।

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : यह गलत है। लेकिन हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई, जिनको मोन्ज की परवाह नहीं है, रास्ते की परवाह नहीं है, किसी भी काम के लिये कोई सा भी रास्ता इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं, इनका सिर्फ एक भ्रम है कि वे इस देश के लिये कुछ नहीं करना चाहते हैं। इस देश में दो तरह के कम्युनिस्ट हैं—ये अपने आपको मास्कोवादी या पीकिंगवादी कहते हैं, लेकिन कोई भी अपने को दिल्लीवादी कम्युनिस्ट कहता हो, ऐसा नहीं है।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त : अमरीका वाले कांग्रेसमैन।

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : सभी कांग्रेसमैन दिल्ली वाले हैं, लेकिन सभी कम्युनिस्ट मास्को या पीकिंग के हैं।

सभापति महोदय, आज मुझे एक बात से बड़ी खुशी हुई, जिसका त्रिवेदी जी ने अपने भाषण में उल्लेख किया—इस देश में अशांति पैदा करने की जानबूझ कर एक कोशिश हो रही है और उस कोशिश के पीछे कौन से हाथ हैं? संसद् के भीतर, असेम्बलियों के भीतर भी उसको लाया जा रहा है और जान बूझ कर एक पड़यन्त्र के अनुसार उसको किया जा रहा है। इसमें हमारे कम्युनिस्ट लोग शरीक हैं। इनको सोचना चाहिये था कि इस प्रकार की कार्यवाहियों से क्या दिक्कतें पैदा हो सकती हैं। प्रजातन्त्र में, लोकतन्त्र की संसदीय शासन व्यवस्था में इनका जरा भी विश्वास नहीं है और ये वही काम करते हैं, जिनके इशारे इनको बाहर से मिलते हैं। ये ही हमारे विद्यार्थियों को भड़काते हैं और पीकिंग रेडियो उनको शाबासी देता है और फिर इनके साथ ही हो गये हैं—हमारे मित्र लोहिया साहब। मैंने पिछले दफ्ता भी कहा था कि हम लोहिया साहब की खैर मनाते हैं। एक दफ्ता इनकी पार्टी ने 1936 में गठबन्धन

किया था, लेकिन फिर 1939 में उनकी पार्टी करीब करीब खत्म हो गई थी, अब फिर मायूसी में आकर उन्होंने कम्युनिस्टों से सम्बन्ध बना लिया है, अब अगले साल लोहिया साहब पार्टी के रूप में बचेगे या नहीं, मुझे इसमें शक है। हम लोहिया साहब की खैर के लिये प्रार्थना करते हैं।

श्री बाजी : अपनी पार्टी की खैर बनाओ, अब फिर हार कर आयेगी।

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : हम अपनी पार्टी को जानते हैं, दो-तीन महीने सब करो, नतीजा देख लेना।

सभापति जी, यह जो अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव इस समय सदन के सामने है, यह विरोधी पार्टियां दरअसल अपने प्रति, अपने खिलाफ अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाई हैं। जिस आदमी को अपने में यकीन नहीं रहता है, वही दूसरों पर शक करता है, दूसरों पर अविश्वास करता है। इनको अपने में विश्वास नहीं है। अभी मसान. जी ने फरमाया कि यहाँ का संविधान ही गलत है, यहाँ की वोट की प्रणाली ही गलत है, इसमें प्रपोजनल रिप्रेजेंटेशन होना चाहिये—“नाच न जाने, अंगनवां देड़ा”। आज विरोधी पार्टियों को इतना ही नहीं भालूम कि हम अपने को सफल विरोधी पार्टी कैसे बनावें, दस-दस, बीस-बीस दल हैं, दस-बीस तरह के विचार हैं जो एक दूसरे से टकराकर खत्म हो जाते हैं। अब कहते हैं कि संविधान गलत है, उसको बदल देना चाहिये, प्रापोजनल रिप्रेजेंटेशन होना चाहिये। फ्रान्स का उदाहरण देते हैं, फ्रान्स एक बड़ा उन्नत देश है, प्रापोजनल रिप्रेजेंटेशन का उसने बहुत दिनों तक प्रयोग किया, नतीजा यह हुआ कि डिगल को अना पड़ा और उस संविधान को तोड़ कर फँक देना पड़ा, उस प्रणाली को अपनाते से क्या होगा? वही होगा जो वर्षों तक फ्रान्स में होता रहा। मैं आपसे यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जरा अपनी जगह पर बैठ कर सोचिये कि आप क्यों कमजोर हैं, क्यों नहीं

एक विरोधी दल या दो विरोधी दल बनाते, लेकिन अपने को एक नहीं बना सकते। इस देश में एक अजीब मनोवृत्ति शुरू हो गई है कि कांग्रेस से ही सब तरह की उम्मीद करते हैं और उम्मीद करने लगे हैं कि हमको भी, यानी विरोधी दल को भी कांग्रेस ही बनाये, सरकार ही पैदा कर दे। यह बात कैसे हो सकती है? जब उनको कामयाबी नहीं होती है तो एलाएन्स करने लगते हैं और इस एला-एंस के बारे में मुझे श्री जवाहर लाल जी की एक बात याद आती है कि पांच लंगड़े यदि अपने पांव बांधलें तो क्या पांववाले बन जायेंगे एक लंगड़ा तो कुछ कदम चल भी सकता है लेकिन पांच लंगड़े तो पांव बांधकर एक कदम भी नहीं चल सकते हैं। विरोधी पार्टियों का भी यही हुआ होने वाला है, इन लोगों के द्वारा देश में अशांति फैलाने या पार्लियामेंट को अप्रतिष्ठित करने की कोशिश करना एक बड़ी गंभीर बात है। इसका नतीजा इनको भोगना पड़ेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस चुनाव में जनता से पूछे कि आप क्या ऐसे लोगों को भेजना चाहते हैं जो संसद के भीतर जाकर, विधान सभाओं के भीतर जाकर, उसकी प्रतिष्ठा को गिरावें, स्वीकर के हुकम को न मानें, उनका अपमान करें, तो निश्चित बात है कि मतदाता सोच समझ कर अपना वोट देंगे। मैं सभसत्ता हूँ कि अगर यह प्रस्ताव, यह बात साफ साफ हमारी तरफ से, कांग्रेस की तरफ से रखी जाय, तो जनता इन में से बहुत से लोगों को अगली दफा इस संसद का मुंह नहीं देखने देगी।

एक सबसे अजीब चीज यह हुई है कि लोहिया जी ने अपने को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से बांध लिया है, जब अपनी ताकत नहीं रही तो इस पार्टी के बल पर जीतना चाहते हैं, यह लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी देश के जो बड़े बड़े हित हैं, बुनियादी हित हैं, यह पार्टी हमेशा उनके खिलाफ रही है और जब ये हमारी सरकार या हमारी पार्टी या उसके नेतृत्व की निन्दा करती है, तो हमको उससे सहा रा होता है

[श्री म० प्र० मिश्र]

कि हम सही रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं। जिस दिन ये हमारी तारीफ करने लगेंगे, कभी-कभी करने लगते हैं तब हमको समझ लेना चाहिये कि हमारा रास्ता ठीक नहीं है। पिछला दफा जब हमारे नेता का चुनाव था तो इनकी पार्टी के एक बड़े नेता ने ब्यान दिया था कि फलां उम्मीदवार को जो वोट देंगे, उनके नाम छापने चाहिये लेकिन जब उनके पसन्द के उम्मीदवार को वोट दिया गया और वह चुना गया तो उस प्रधान मंत्री के साथ भी वे क्या सुलूक कर रहे हैं, यह सबके सामने स्पष्ट है। इसीलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी जब हमारा विरोध करती है, तो हम समझते हैं कि हम सही रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं, जिस दिन हमारे प्रति मुलायम होने लगे, हमें सोचना चाहिये कि हम गलत रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं। बार-बार कहा जाता है कि सत्ता को छोड़ दो, गद्दी को छोड़ दो, सबाल यह है कि किसको दे दें। क्या जनसंघ को दे दें, जिसका केवल एक ही नारा है कि "गो हत्या को बन्द करो"। जनसंघ का राज्य हो तो सब चीजों को समेट कर पांच हजार वर्ष पुरानी जो कोई व्यवस्था इस देश में होगी, उसको लना चाहेंगे, क्या ऐसी दक्यानूसी पार्टी को दे दें? इनके बाद किस को दें, क्या कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी को दें, जो मास्को या पीकिंग की तरफ लाल दरी बिछा देंगे, ऐसे लोगों को दे दें? रूजवेल्ट जब तीसरी दफे अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति पद के लिये खड़े हुए और जीते—तो अखबार वाले यह पूछने लगे रूजवेल्ट से कि आपने न्यू डील चलाई है। आपके खिलाफ इतनी चर्चा हो रही है, आपकी हिम्मत कैसे हुई कि दूसरी बार आप खड़े हो रहे हैं राष्ट्रपति के पद पर। रूजवेल्ट ने जो जवाब दिया वही कांग्रेस की और से हमारा जवाब है। रूजवेल्ट ने कहा था :-

"I know everybody is against me except the voter".

यह लोग कहवाघर में या चायघर में बैठकर बातचीत मुना करते हैं। अभी जब धं

पालियामेन्ट भवन को आ रहा था, जो साहब मुझे छोड़ने आ रहे थे उन्होंने कहा कि बड़ा असन्तोष है कांग्रेस के खिलाफ। सभी लोग उससे नाराज हैं। मैंने कहा कि यह असन्तोष कांग्रेस का पैदा किया हुआ है। हमने लोगों में उम्मीदें और इच्छायें जगाई हैं। पन्नास वर्षों के कांग्रेस के आजादी के आन्दोलन का नतीजा यह हुआ है। हमने उन लोगों की उम्मीदों को जगाया है जो कि मर चुकी थीं। उनमें नई उम्मीदें जगी हैं और इच्छायें जगी हैं। बीस वर्ष में सबकी उम्मीदें पूरी हो जायें यह नहीं हो सकता। जन्म-जन्म में लोगों की उम्मीदें पूरी नहीं होती है। अगर उनमें कोई असंतोष है, नाराजी है तो इसमें कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है। लेकिन चायघरों और कहवाघरों में जो बातें होती हैं वह वोटर्स की राय नहीं है। जो लोग हल्के फुल्के गाने सुनते हैं, उनकी बात है। गैलप पोल की बात कही जाती है। मैं भी कहता हूँ :

"Everybody is 'against the Congress, but not the voter."

इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि धीरज रखो, घबराओ नहीं। दो ही तीन महीनों का वक्त है। हिन्दुस्तान के मतदाताओं का फैसला फिर होना है। मेरा विश्वास है कि हमारे विरोधी उम्मीदें किये हुए हैं, और अपने दिल में वह भी जानते हैं कि उनकी उम्मीदें गलत हैं। कांग्रेस की जीत निश्चित है और उनकी जीत अनिश्चित नहीं, उनकी हार निश्चित है। लेकिन इस घबराहट से वह देश में जो अशान्ति पैदा कर रहे हैं मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको पूरी ताकत से उसका सामना करना चाहिये।

प्रधान मंत्री जी को बघाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने आन्ध्र के मुख्य मंत्री से कहा कि जब तक तुम्हारे लोग आन्दोलन करते रहेंगे, हम कोई फैसला नहीं करेंगे। वह अपना आन्दोलन बन्द कर दें तब हम उस पर विचार करेंगे। ऐसी चीजों का इसी तरह से फैसला होना चाहिये। कहीं वह गाय को बचाने के

निर्गम आन्दोलन करें, कहीं वह इत्याद कारखाने के लिये आन्दोलन करें, यह कितनी गलत चीजें हैं। आज वह विद्यार्थियों का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। यह इस्तेमाल क्या करता है, यह आने वाले दिन बतलायेगे।

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Sir, we have just heard two speeches which I must say are symbols of arrogance. I would like to tell my hon. friend, Shri Chapalakanta Bhat-tacharya that usually pride goeth before a fall. He said these are all election stunts. But the speech which he has made is nothing more than the various speeches he is going to make in the various parts of his constituency saying how much production has gone up in so many industries and so on. But he will not say anything about the 'rise in prices, the cut in the real wages, the spurt in profiteering and blackmarketing and what has been the fate of the common man. All that he will not say. Therefore, let us not try to challenge each other that we are trying to out-do the other in electioneering stunts. He has talked about the increase in industrial production, but he has not stated at all how in these two months, between the time we discussed the last no-confidence motion and today, accidents, shootings and famine have increased and engulfed our entire country.

Never before such an orgy of violence has taken place as is witnessed in every State in our country and the trigger-happy police has killed, I think, by now hundreds of young boys and citizens. Even teachers and professors have been killed. In any other country, this would have been enough for that Government to have been thrown out. The trouble started from the capital of Delhi where the law students agitated. Then the agitation engulfed M.P., U.P., Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Jammu and Kashmir and now Andhra. My

hon. friend was saying that not all States have been affected. But I say, almost all States have been engulfed is this. The immediate causes may be different in each State, but there is only one cause which is common to all the agitations that have taken place. That is Congress misrule. They are responsible for the turbulent situation that has taken place, especially the criminal attempt to stamp out these agitations by terrorisation and by letting loose the trigger-happy police.

In any other country, if within the span of a few weeks so many students had been killed—we can say that our roads would be literally strewn with dead bodies if we put them side by side—such a Government would have been hounded out. But ours is a country which is fast becoming a police state. It is because of this, on this one score that we want to support this no-confidence motion moved by Shri Tri-vedi.

Instead of tackling the deep-rooted causes of the outbursts, the entire attitude of the Government has been "Teach the students a lesson". Otherwise, how else can we explain that in UP, in Gwalior and Ujjain, we find police entering the class rooms and laboratories and using them as battle-grounds, destroying equipment, inflicting grievous injuries on those who are lawfully there and reducing the whole place to a shambles? I do not say there had not been excesses on the part of the students. As a teacher, I cannot say that. But who is responsible for it? It is the situation created by this Government in the educational, economic and political fields that is responsible. It is no use trying to blame others; it is those who are in power who have created a situation where the whole of India has gone up in flames.

In UP, police entered the PPN College against the express wishes of the Principal, forcing entry, chasing and

[Shrimati Renu Chakravarty]

beating students including girls, man-handling even teachers. When I read about it in one of our papers, I was thinking of the days of old when in the British days when there was any such incident, the entire nation rose up and demanded that there would be no infringement on the autonomy of universities and educational institutions. The very shock killed the Principal. (*Interruptions*). He says this is not something to be shocked at! (*Interruptions*). Similarly police forced their way into the USSD College hostel, opened fire and beat up the Principal and Warden. What happened in UP from where we have had three consecutive Prime Ministers, which is supposed to be the citadel of the Congress? In Agra, the Head of the Physics Department, Mr. B. P. Khandelwal, was accompanying the procession, as a right-minded teacher should have done, to see that the procession was peaceful. But the police fell upon them and beat up not only the students, but injured that very professor. In UP, all the college principals presided over by the Vice-Chancellor of Kanpur University, Acharya Jugal Kishore, joined together and condemned the police action.

In all the speeches of the Congressmen, has anybody condemned these police excesses? They say, the police have done an excellent job; I do not stand for burning of trams and buses. But let us understand what is the root cause of all this. Vice-Chancellors, Principals and Wardens have all been humiliated. Academic autonomy and the sanctity of the campus has been desecrated. What is happening in Osmania University? The entire Syndicate, the entire Academic Council, students and professors are in favour of the retention of the present Vice-Chancellor. But by executive action, by legislative action of the ruling party, they want to put in their man. Political favouritism is the root cause of much of the evils happening today.

Sir, it may sound a bid out of place here, but when my hon. friend on the other side was paying so much tribute to his leader, Mr. Atulya Ghosh, I was thinking in my mind that this House elects every two years a representative on the Shantiniketan University. Is it Mr. Ghosh? Not a single member who has been a professor, even of that party is chosen. Persons who is not even a graduate of any university is chosen! I say, Sir, academic people are not chosen to deal with academic matters.

I am sorry Shri Chagla is not here. I have had discussions with our students. Whatever might have happened, as teachers we have to understand our students and, they have to understand their teachers. But I find that appointments and promotions depend on political people helping them up the ladder. I have seen that Government's entire attitude of dealing with the problem is that of a bureaucrat and not of an academic mind.

What happened in 1964? In 1964, I think, the Chief Ministers met. The whole matter regarding students unrest was discussed. It had not gone out of control at that time. What did they decide? Is it not the mentality of a policeman? They said that strike must be put down with a firm hand, even in the form of rustication temporary or permanent. I remember the days—and my friend Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya coming from the same State as I do knows it—of the great movement that took place against the rusticator methods of the notorious Mr. Oaten and Mr. Stapleton. The entire student movement led up by the Congress came and battled against them. Today we are trying to curb and to crush the students by rustication. Is that the method?

When we look at our own children, I wonder how many there are on that side who were first-class and second-class students. Many of them who are

third-class, worthless people, who have not passed any examination, and they are sent abroad. When it comes to the students coming from common man's family, if they are third-class students they have to go to Ghaziabad and Panipat to take admission because they are third-class students. Most of them are people who are working. They get up early in the morning and rush to the station. The trains are always late. They go on complaining. They go on writing letters but nothing is attended to. Then they sit on track and protest. When they sit on the track, there is violence. Then the police rush down upon them. Let Mr. Nanda not call the Inspector-Generals of Police, let him call the student leaders, talk to them and try to understand their difficulties and then only he will be able to do something.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): I have done so.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: You have called some people whom you think are student leaders. Do not call the I.G.'s first, call them last.

The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh): I think we should call the Communist leaders.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: You may call us, certainly, if you like. We are better than your I.G.'s who are killing people.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: We know more about education than your I.G.'s.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: We are better educationists than your I.G.'s.

I was saying, about the meeting of the Chief Ministers. This is the authoritarian police-minded programme of the Chief Ministers which has brought about this turbulent situation. During the past two months two lakh students have been involved in demonstrations. Lakhs more are joining if this situation continues. You may try

to gain political capital by saying that this has been organised by the Opposition. But I warn you that there will be a rousing protest and no amount of police and pressure will be able to crush it down.

Student unrest can never be quelled in this way. The causes lie in the situation created in the country—the poverty, the frustration, the corruption in every department. What is the standard that has been laid down by this Government? Today, in the Punjab, you have elected ministers who have been given strictures by your own Commission. The Ruling Party's President praises Mr. Patnaik who has had strictures from the CBI. If this is the ideal, how can you prevent the students from agitating? In every department of academic life, the teachers, the students, each one of them, are seeing frustration surrounding them. Teachers are on the streets demanding a better pay scale. It is not a pleasant sight to see them squatting on the streets when they should be teaching in the schools and universities. Why is it that this happened? Month after month they have been coming to members of this Government, to the various heads of departments demanding a better deal. But nothing is done. Today everybody has understood that there is only one way to make this Government sit up and that is to agitate and become turbulent. You have put a premium on agitation and now you turn round and say that the blame lies on the Opposition.

The approach should be educational and social and not by calling in the police. You know, Mr. Patil, the strong man of the Congress, always gives threats to everybody. At Meerut, in a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, he said that these leaders are "vagabonds". He said they had no business to launch agitations when their parents went without food. Who is responsible for making them go without food? He has sold our country and sold us for

[Shrimati Renu Chakravarty]

P.L. 480. He told us about the large buffer stock he was building and said that our granaries are full. But when he left we find that he left us with the granaries empty, with starvation stalking the land. He went over to the Railway Ministry and started a series of accidents.

Today we have got one or two Vice-Chancellors still who are very good. We have seen that Mr. R. K. Nehru of the Allahabad University had to admit it that all this trouble is due to lack of essential amenities. Professor Triguna Sen, as long as he was Vice-Chancellor of the Jadhavpur University of Calcutta saw to it that there was no trouble and he left that University without any trouble. He had close contact with the students and he has deprecated the practice of calling police inside the campus. He has strongly expressed himself against the use of force against students. Students need an ideal. Students are the most sensitive section of our people. They need romanticism and inspiration. What have we done? Have we been able to give it? This Government has not been able to give it. There is frustration from which they suffer, and that is the cause of this. Between the last No-confidence Motion and today what have we done? Every day when we open the papers in the morning we see that a few more lives have been lost, a few more flowers have been plucked from this earth, never to rise again. I do not know who will come into power next time. I do not know whether this friend of ours is going to be returned at all. But such a Government that has carried out its rule with police firing and using bullets on young students, young lives, should not be returned to power.

Sir, we have not given them inspiration. We have not given them the new idealism that we had in view. When we fought the British we never thought of bigger and bigger jobs, we

thought of the nation, of the country and our people. Today our entire education is not oriented in that way. We run after money. We see how we can get more money, from the Indo-US Foundation. I was shocked to find in the US paper the "Christian Science Monitor" writing about this Foundation,

"... it is only a matter of time now but formal action was unlikely till after general elections in India."

The Indo-US Foundation will be a reality, but only it is postponed till after the general elections in India! It says further—large counterpart funds are there in other countries also; countries like Burma, Poland and UAR are not receptive to the ideas like the Indo-US Foundation.

Shri Swaran Singh: He may be as mistaken as Shri Masani.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: I have seen what is in the American papers. You hide many things about what you have done, what many of your ministers have done there in the USA, what you have signed on the dotted line over there. But it comes to us in through the *Christian Science Monitor*, *New York Times* and all that.

Then there is the Peace Corps. 1450 Peace Corps people are here. One Principal of a school at Pilani has written that he had two teachers from the Peace Corps and they were unqualified, inexperienced and held thoroughly anti-Indian views! Still, when Mr. Harriman came I do not know whether Shri Swaran Singh or our Prime Minister had a long chat with him. On what? On Vietnam and the Peace Corps. What is this Peace Corps? Why do you want them here? Have we not got the teachers and agronomists in our country? I say: throw them out, because they are CIA agents. I do not want you to take my word for it. I am sure Shri Swaran Singh has seen Mr. Heikel's statement. He is

a well-known journalist of UAR and he has made a statement that the CIA agents have percolated even to the higher echelons of Government. So, what to say about people down below?

16 hrs.

How is it that we have brought ourselves to this position? It is because we have been cringing. The World Bank tied us hand and foot and made us devalue. What is our present position in the world? What do Mr. Tito and Mr. Nasser say? Do not go by their joint communique but see what they have to say in private. They say: do not beg but demand. That is real independence and non-alignment. But instead of demanding we are cringing before the U.S.A.

The presence of Shri Asoka Mehta reminds one of the person who boasted that he was the Minister of Navy in Switzerland. Another person said "I am one better; I am the Minister of Justice in Hitler's Germany". But, we have a Minister of Planning who caps it all because he is really presiding over the liquidation of planning. He has become a Minister of Beggary. He is today the official liquidator of our Plan. Today we have a Plan only after it is vetted by the U.S.A. Mission. We had already submitted ourselves to the scrutiny dictates of the World Bank. Now the second Mission, the Belj Mission has come. Now our people will have to submit to him the details of our plans. I find that one of the Ministers objected to this but another Minister said: you must show all the papers. I suppose even our defence papers are going to be shown to him. That is exactly the reason why today India has lost prestige in the World.

An hon. Member: For whom the bell tolls?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: That we do not know, but we certainly know what has happened after devaluation. Shri Manubhai Shah's statement with regard to exports is

the most revealing statement which we have seen. During the last three months after devaluation there has been a crash in exports. Have we been able to do anything? Nothing. We have lost everything—prestige, money, economy. And where do we stand today?

We were told by the Prime Minister—it was a pledge to the nation—"accept devaluation; I pledge there will be no increase in prices". Yet, the prices have gone up today. We are being told today that in November the price index is going to fall by one point. Why? Because rice has now come into the market. But what is the present position? During the last three months the prices have gone up on soap, foodgrains and other items. Just before *dusserah* you allowed the cloth manufacturers to put up their prices. In the meantime, we are giving concession upon concession to the foreign capital. Yet, the foreign capital is not satisfied. I find from the Economic and Political weekly that the foreign investor who had come to India before devaluation now wants that he should be allowed to repatriate profits at the old rates. Therefore, more concessions have to be given to him. The international oil companies have been pressuring our Ministries. I gather that at least one Minister has stood up to them. But I do not know what other Ministers will do. We do know that the foreign capitalists have asked for more and more concessions, more repatriation of profits, and we have done all this in order to attract foreign private capital.

The worst part of it is, what have we got in the form of aid? I want this Government to tell us that. You have sold our country. But what have we got in the form of aid? Out of Rs. 900 crores which was promised as non-project aid, only a part of it has come, and even less has been actually disbursed. And what is this Rs. 900 crores? This was meant for the year 1965. What is the aid that was promised to us in 1966? Nothing yet. As

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

far as project aid is concerned, Shri Asoka Mehta went there, had talks with his counterpart and told us that we are going to get many billion dollars worth of aid. Nothing has come. This is the bankrupt economic policy of this Government.

Politically where are we? What has happened to us? Look at the Patents Bill. This Patents Bill will never go through this Parliament. There is a lurking suspicion in our mind, it will be pushed out. It has already been changed. The Americans have objected to it and many of the foreign patent holders have objected to it. We have already scaled down some of our clauses, but even then I have my own doubts whether we are at all going to pass it.

We are soft-peddling the role of the United States imperialism. Even at the summit conference when our Prime Minister spoke, in her opening speech—not in the communique; in the communique something more was added—she studiously avoided saying anything about United States imperialism, the imperialism that tried to stifle us when we were attacked by Pakistan. We are hugging to our hearts this West Germany, which is now helping China, thinking that we shall get aid. They are giving super-sonics to Pakistan. They are helping China today and we have accepted the position that we shall lick their boots; we shall not recognise East Germany.

Let us understand, we are not at one at all with those who say that China has done the right thing. We are critics of China. Our party has been split on this question. We believe that when we stand up to China it is not necessary to hug ourselves to the bosom of United States imperialism. That is our position. If we

do that, we shall do so to our cost and at our peril.

On the question of Vietnam what did we see? We try to keep on saying what Shri Masani says that the Vietnamese troops are foreign troops. What was the Geneva agreement? Let Sardar Swaran Singh tell us. They said that there was to be reunification of the two Vietnams. If that is so, they cannot be treated as foreign troops. We are trying to quibble on this question. Vietnamese are Vietnamese, whether of the north or of the south. Let them be united; let there be an election. That was the job of the International Commission. It did not do that. Today they say, "Let there be withdrawal of all foreign troops". The only foreign troops on the soil of Vietnam are the United States troops. Let them get out. Let the Vietnamese choose whatever form of government they want to, whether it is the Saigon type, Hanoi type, Communist type. It is their choice and their will. Why should we impose anything on them?

Day before yesterday, I have heard, the Prime Minister had spoken to certain newsmen when she said that she understands how difficult it is for the United States to stop the bombing of Vietnam. Sardar Swaran Singh at least—I give him his due—stuck to the position that the bombing must stop unilaterally. I hope that that is the position and our Prime Minister does not go about wobbling every now and then. When she goes to a banquet with President Johnson, she immediately calls him a man of peace and when she comes here and is pressurised by some people in her Secretariat and her mediocre entourage, she immediately starts understanding how difficult it is for the United States to stop bombing! Why does she understand things in this way? Are the Americans Vietnamese? Why are they there? Let them get out. Why does she not understand that position? As an Indian does she not know that

when the British were here, we were not prepared to listen to any one who argued that there was reason for the British remaining in India? Let us remember that nobody is going to fight your battle, not even your friends, the Americans. Let us remember that we have to fight for our independence, whether it is against China or against American imperialism. We have to be strong and united. (*An Hon. Member*: what about Russia?) Russia may or may not help you. Why should we depend upon Russia? Let us stand on our own feet and not become beggars.

Shri Varior (Trichur): They depend on Russia only.

Shri A. P. Sharma (Buxar): We are reminding you only.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Try to stand on your own legs for a change.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Everywhere this Government has reduced this country's prestige. Economically it has reduced us to subservience; politically we are the target of blackmail. Foreign and Indian monopolists, big business, squeeze out their pound of flesh. We have given them incentives but when it comes to the question of paying bonus, **Shri Jagjivan Ram** of all people, who is supposed to be a representative of the most oppressed, goes to that meeting and says, "We do not know anything; let the two sides, the employers and the employees decide". Does he not know that if industry has gone up, as **Shri Chapalakanta Bhattacharyya** has said, has it gone up because of Birla and his sons and nephews or because of the sweat and toil of the workers? Are they not entitled to the wealth that they have created at least in the form of bonus? **Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri** has given to his big business friends bonus shares, hundreds of them. Let **Shri Nanda** look at any of the papers and see the number of bonus shares that are being issued. Today we talk of socialism and social control of banking and say that that is the same thing as nationalisation. But then **Shri**

Patil, being a little more of a straightforward man, goes to Bombay and says, "Do not worry; whatever exists now, that is socialisation; that is social control; that is everything; it is only a way of giving a sop to some people."

Mr. Chairman: She may conclude now.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I will conclude now. Today we see famine stalking many parts of India.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: No; famine is not stalking India.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: He is a blind man. And the excuse is that there is drought; what can we do?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: She is absolutely wrong. Famine is not coming.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I am really feeling great pity for my hon. friend, but he does not matter. He is not to be taken very seriously because there are other people here. He may ask his own colleagues from Bihar and U.P. who are very much agitated over this drought. They are calling upon God. They are saying that it is God-given drought; what can we do? I want to ask my Bihar friends one question. When there was a cry about lack of food, in the beginning of August there was a huge protest against the strikes and bandhs called by the Opposition to draw attention to it. At that time the Congressmen said that this was an election stunt by the Opposition parties and hundreds were put in jail without trial. Today you suddenly say that there is drought and now Bihar must be saved from famine. Did you not know that? Sowing had started by the end of July. Did not know there was very great shortage of rainfall? Today you suddenly realise that there is drought. How is it that this has happened? One man is very happy and he is **Mr. C. Subramaniam**. According to him, PL 480 is the only panacea now, because he has not built up any buffer stock; neither **Mr. Subramaniam** nor **Mr.**

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

S. K. Patil has done anything. We find that the shadow of the 1943 famine is today stalking Bihar and U.P. You find such a situation today. There is no attempt on the part of the Government to do anything...

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: She wants famine to come but it will not come.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: ... to see that all the surplus is to be rushed to Bihar, all the surplus is to be rushed to U.P. Today I heard that there are many people who have got surplus hoards of food. One of our friends here—I think Mr. Trivedi—was saying that somebody was walking over jowar. It must have been a fairly rich landowner who has been able to keep that jowar so long. Is it not the job of the Government to take that surplus and send it to those who have been afflicted? We have failed to do it because the machinery of the Government is rotten and the very base of social class on which the Congress stands, is this rich land-owning class who are the hoarders and profiteers. You have forgotten your Bhubaneswar Resolution. Today all those things are gone. Mr. Patil, whose granaries were full, has just now come to the House. Due to him we are today reduced to be subservient to P.L. 480. For that also we have to pay in dollars. We have devalued our rupee and so we have to pay more.

Is there any national food policy? None at all. Rush food from wherever stocks can be requisitioned and boundaries of States should not be allowed to hold this up. Let us not play, tom-foolery with the Food Corporation of India any longer. Let us introduce rationing in all the deficit pockets. Whichever way we look, this Government has brought down this country to penury, starvation and in the comity of nations we have to hang our heads down in shame. That is why we charge this Government that it has brought

us to this plight. That is why we support this motion.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah (Adoni): The hon. Members who preceded me had made a forceful and vehement speech attacking the Government and its policies. I have been listening very attentively to the speech made by the hon. Member, but throughout her speech there was not even one constructive suggestion and the speech was always negative in approach.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: No-confidence motion means that. Why should there be any constructive speech?

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: That is evident from the entire political situation in the country, as my hon. friend Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya has very pertinently pointed out. The Opposition Parties, or rather, I cannot say 'parties', but the Opposition groups, are behaving in an irresponsible manner and are not only wrecking parliamentary democracy in the country but are also creating chaos and confusion. The various bands organised by them and the coming together of strange bed-fellows who do not have any common programme or common approach towards problems...

Shri S. Kandappan (Tiruchengode): Let my hon. friend say something about Andhra Pradesh.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: They have entered into an adjustment; they do not want to have any electoral alliance but they want an adjustment. My hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani was saying that they were entering into no electoral alliance but only there was an adjustment. I ask: Adjustment for what?

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंबई) : आपको खत्म करने के लिये ।

An hon. Member: To defeat the Congress.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: This adjustment is only to create confusion and chaos. The electorate fully knows that these Opposition groups, whatever may be their tactics, cannot give this country a stable government. They know that. The Opposition groups may play some mischief with some of the middle-class people, the people living in the urban areas, the intellectuals and so on. Of course, we do sympathise with these people, because the cost of living has gone up. But the Opposition groups want to create sufficient mischief, sufficient confusion and sufficient chaos. Fortunately or unfortunately, the press in this country has also adopted a very negative attitude. No agency of the press is very much alive to the situation prevailing in the rural areas.

Coming as I do from the rural areas and being myself an agriculturist, I know what tremendous progress has been made during all these years since the attainment of Independence. The irrigation potential has gone up. The peasant has started working seriously not only for himself but also for the sake of the country.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) : देहांत में क्या इनने तगड़े लोग होते हैं।

सभापति सहोदय : इंटरप्शन किसी वक्त तो वाकई ठीक रहते हैं लेकिन बार-बार ऐसा करना ठीक नहीं है।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : क्या देहांतों की तरक्की हो रही है।

सभापति सहोदय : कभी कभी तो इंटरप्शन सोने में सोहागा होता है लेकिन बार-बार इंटरप्शन नहीं होना चाहिये।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : देहांतों में क्या इस तरह के तगड़े लोग होते हैं।

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: I know that Shri Hukam Chand Kachayaiya may be confining himself to a mill area, and, therefore, he may knowing

only about textiles, but he does not know anything about agriculture; I can say that boldly.

श्री मधु लिनये : यह आपके खास मंत्री को पता नहीं है।

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: There is considerable improvement in the agricultural production programmes of our country. It may not be up to our expectation. That is a different matter altogether.

But if we take these three Plans together, we find that the irrigation potential has gone up to 18 million acres in this country. The production of foodgrains has gone up from 50 million to 75 million tons. In spite of the lady Member Shrimati Renu Chakravartty charging this Government and saying that the people of this country will die of starvation because of the wrong policies of this Government, I stoutly deny this allegation and this forecast and even though we may not have any external help either from America or from any other country, I dare say that this country will survive, and the kisan will make this country live for ever. It is no use misleading the people. I am also throwing this challenge to them. Let those people face the elections which are very near, the electorate's verdict is awaited. Let them fight on fair ground. Let them not use this tactics. In Andhra Pradesh, the Opposition Parties, taking advantage of the agitation that is going on in the steel plants have purposely advanced their bands from the 16th to the 2nd instant, and they want to add fuel to the burning situation. They have joined in this mob fury; if my information is correct, a bank has been burnt and a man thrown into flames. Today in the lobbies I have been requesting my friends from Andhra belonging to the Left CPI to join in an appeal to be issued by all the parties together requesting the people of Andhra not to indulge in violence and arson but to agitate in a

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

peaceful constitutional manner. But they are reluctant to do so. They are not prepared to issue an appeal. So it is obvious as to whose hand is behind these acts of vandalism.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty has been preaching to us about patriotism. We know more about patriotism than the hon. Member. Perhaps memories are very short. During the 1942 quit India movement, in our war against the British, we know of the traitorous role played by the communists...

An hon. Member: Imagination.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: In the press also, there is a report of an interview given by Shri Nambudiripad about the Red Guards movement in China. His replies to the questions by the correspondent are most astonishing and revealing. That gives a clear indication of the direction of the attitude and activities of the Left CPI. I only want to warn the nation to beware of these people who are prepared to sell away the country also if it will suit their ends. Coming back to agricultural production, to which I wanted to confine myself, it has been stated that in many States, specially Bihar and eastern UP, drought and famine conditions are prevailing. In spite of the fact that drought conditions prevail in various parts of the country, adequate steps are being taken so far as the irrigation programmes are concerned and the production programmes go. Our Government are determined to take up this challenge and have a new strategy in agriculture so that our economy may become self-reliant and we need not depend upon other countries any more for our foodgrains.

I think it is the duty of everyone, not only members of the Congress Party but also the members of all Opposition parties to give a helping hand in this and not to criticise Government and behave in a destructive manner and create misery in the land. We also have been stressing this and

saying, 'let all the other activities of the Plan be suspended, let everything be concentrated on agricultural production and agricultural production alone'. If that is done, we are sure that by the end of this Plan we are bound to succeed in our attempt to have 100 million tons of foodgrains produced in the country.

To achieve this target, what are the steps that should be adopted by Government and also by the people? This is a matter to be discussed. It is a matter in which the Opposition also should lend its hand in support. Instead of doing that, they come here and sponsor no-confidence motions knowing full well the fate of such motions. It is only for propaganda purposes that these no confidence motions are brought up.

I would also appeal to my hon. friend, Shri Trivedi, to search his heart, go into the countryside and see whether no developmental activities have taken place all these years. They have taken place and that cannot be denied, unless one wants to ignore those things and blame Government for everything. We blame Government for drought conditions also. If rain does not come, they want to blame Shri C. Subramaniam for that. This is the role being played by the Opposition today.

I would make a sincere appeal to my friends. We are wedded to parliamentary democracy. We have adopted a Constitution by which we have given equal rights to every citizen living in this country. Let parliamentary democracy operate and succeed in this country. Let the electorate give its verdict. If it is in favour of the Opposition, we are prepared to bow to it and sit in the Opposition. But we cannot proceed in the way we are doing now. If they think that by this unruly behaviour and by these obstructionist tactics they can cow us down and

bring disgrace or shame to Government, they are thoroughly mistaken.

I know the opinion or feelings of people in the countryside. I have no doubt in my mind that given some time and also a dynamic programme and also the necessary enthusiasm to go about, we will be able to achieve our target and fulfil the Fourth Plan goal.

As regards the law and order situation, I want to say this. There is a students' unrest. Nobody denies it. But I want to ask our friends to what extent they were responsible in inciting the students. There are some difficulties which the students have. We do sympathise with them. Our Education Minister has very rightly alluded to them. But in addition to that, there are certain extraneous matters which are not at all connected with academic institutions. These extraneous elements take advantage of the situation and incite the innocent people to revolt or stage demonstrations against Government.

The trade union spirit is unfortunately entering into other services also. The policemen of Delhi are also following in the steps of the trade union movement. This is not a healthy sign. I would only request the hon. Home Minister and other concerned Ministers to see that their grievances are redressed. There should not be an impression given that the Government is not alive to the needs of these people.

As regards unrest among teachers and other factors concerning the law and order situation, I would only say that Government should be more alert and more responsive to public demands and feelings and see that they are redressed in a constructive manner. The administrative Reforms Commission in their interim report have also suggested the constitution of two bodies to go into public grievances. So far as this matter is concerned, I also agree with the

Opposition that the administration is not up to the mark and is not upto what we have been expecting. Something drastic has to be done to overhaul the administration so that they may look to the needs of the people and be responsive to their new urges and aspirations.

I would again appeal to Shri Trivedi to withdraw his motion.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : सभापति महोदय, मैं इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। सभ्यता है कि जो अविश्वास प्रस्ताव रखा गया है वह बहुत मौजू है।

मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का रहने वाला हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश में पुलिस और पी० ए० सी० का जो नाच मैंने दो महीनों में देखा है वैसे शायद अपने 48 साल के जीवन में कभी नहीं देखा। यहां पर विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन के बारे में चर्चा की गई है और यह कहा गया है कि विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता बढ़ती जा रही है। आखिर विद्यार्थी जीवन में हम सब लोग रहे हैं। आज क्या बात हो गई कि विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता आ गई। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसके बारे में विद्यार्थी संस्थाओं से पूछा जाना चाहिये। यह कहा जाता है कि वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों का तथा दूसरे लोगों का भी इसमें हाथ रहा है और यही कारण है कि परिस्थिति इतनी गम्भीर हो गई है। लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि विद्यार्थी संस्थाओं के जितने भी नुमायन्दे थे उन लोगों ने बयान दिया है और उन्होंने कहा है कि राजनीति से इनका कोई मतलब नहीं है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अगर विद्यार्थियों को लाठी और गोली का शिकार बनाया गया और इस तरह से उनको अनुशासन की तरफ लाने की कोशिश की गई तो यह शायद न होगा।

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

कानपुर में मनातन घर्म कालेज के प्रिंसिपल शर्म हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि कानपुर के विद्यार्थी जो कि उन से पढ़े हैं और शायद आज कलेक्टर और डी० सी० आदि उच्च पदों पर हैं उनके विद्यार्थी रह चुके हैं। जब पुलिस और पी० ए० सी० यूनिवर्सिटी के कैम्पस में दाखिल हुई तो इस साठ साल के प्रिंसिपल साहब ने हाथ खड़ा करके कहा मेरे कैम्पस में मत आओ, मैं विद्यार्थियों को हटाने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। इसके जवाब में वहाँ के दारोगा साहब ने यह कहा कि ये प्रिंसिपल साहब हैं, इनकी खबर अच्छे तरीके से ली जाए। उस साठ साल के बूढ़े प्रिंसिपल को जिसका चालीस साल से सम्बन्ध शिक्षा संस्थाओं से रहा है, मार मार करके बेहोश किया गया और बेहोश करके उनको एक तालाब के किनारे डाल दिया गया.....

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (बादा) :
 क्वेश्चन ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मेरी बहन क्वेश्चन कहती हैं। उनको मालूम होना चाहिये कि वहाँ के कांग्रेस पार्लियामेन्टरी सेक्रेटरी ने, वहाँ के शिक्षा मंत्री ने, वहाँ की कांग्रेस के जितने भी सदस्य हैं असेम्बली के उन्होंने जा कर उनसे माफी मांगी है। उनकी तमाम बाईं तरफ को लकवा मार गया है, उनको पेरिलेटिक ग्रैटक होने लगा है।

इसके अलावा एक और घटना मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ। पी० पी० एन० इंटर और डिग्री कालेज के प्रिंसिपल साहब ने जब देखा कि लड़कियों के ऊपर पी० ए० सी० के जवान हमला करना चाहते हैं तो उन लड़कियों की इज्जत और अस्मत् बचाने के लिये जो कि हम सब का फर्ज है, घर्म है, ईमान है, चिल्ला कर कहा कि लड़कियों के ऊपर हाथ मत उठाओ, इन पर हमला मत करो। लेकिन जैसे ही टीयर गैस छील फेंका गया वह वहीं पर मर गए, उनका

देहान्त हो गया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन सब घटनाओं की खुली जांच होनी चाहिये। जिस तरीके से विद्यार्थियों को पुलिस द्वारा लाठियों से मारा गया, जिस तरह से विद्यार्थियों पर गोलियां चलाई गईं, जिस तरीके से साठ साल के प्रिंसिपल को मारा गया, जिस तरीके से साठ साल के प्रिंसिपल की मौत हुई, उस सब की अदालती जांच होनी चाहिये। अदालती जांच के बारे में जब कहा गया तो कहा गया कि अदालती जांच तो हम करवायेंगे लेकिन डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट के कंडक्ट की जांच करने के लिए एडीशनल डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट होगा। कानपुर शहर में यह हुआ, प्रतापगढ़ में मही हुआ, इलाहाबाद में यही हुआ, लखनऊ में यही हुआ। विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन आज क्यों हो रहा है? वे लोग बेकारी के कारण परेशान हैं, इनसिब्योरिटी उनके सामने है, उनकी अपना भविष्य अन्धकारमय दिखाई देता है, शिक्षा पद्धति को बदलने की कोशिश नहीं की गई है, शिक्षा इतनी महंगी हो चुकी है कि लड़के जानते हैं कि अगर वे एक बार फेल हो गए तो उनके माता पिता उनको दुबारा नहीं पढ़ा सकेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि ये जो बुनियादी चीजें हैं इनकी तरफ आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये। शिक्षा मंत्री जी के स्टेटमेंट को मैंने देखा है। कुछ जुमले उसमें उन्होंने ऐसे कहे हैं जिनके लिये मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद दिये बगैर नहीं रह सकता हूँ। सही तरीके से आप इस समस्या पर विचार करें। मैं भी राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से यह बात आपके सामने नहीं रख रहा हूँ। यह एक नैशनल प्राबलम, एक राष्ट्रीय सवाल हमारे देश के सामने है। विद्यार्थियों के लिये बार बार हम कहते हैं कि ये ही हमारे देश के बनाने वाले हैं, यही देश के भावी निर्माता हैं, इन्हीं पर देश का भविष्य निर्भर करता है।

आप टीचर्स को देखें। आज भूख हड़ताल टीचर्स द्वारा क्यों की जाती है।

जो कारण है, उस में आपको जाना चाहिये । उनके ऊपर लाठियां चलाई जाती हैं । पी० ए० सी० गंगा नाच करती है । कानपुर शहर में दस बारह साल से बच्चों को पकड़ कर डकैती के मुकदमे उन पर चलाये गये हैं । आज वे जेलों में बन्द हैं । अगर किसी भाई को शक व शुबहा हो तो मैं दाबे के साथ कहता हूँ कि वे मेरे साथ आएँ और चल कर जेल का निरीक्षण करें और उन बच्चों को पूछें कि क्या डकैती उन्होंने इस देश में की थी । अदालती जांच के लिए अगर इन्कार किया गया है तो आखिर क्यों किया गया है । उनको मालूम है जो पील है, जो कलई है वह खुल जाएगी । यह किसी राजनीतिक पार्टी का मामला नहीं है । जो प्रिंसिपल मर गया है वह बहुत रिसपेक्टफुल परसन था ऐसा व्यक्ति था जिनकी इज्जत आप और हम सब करते हैं । जब वह सामने से निकल जाता था तो हम सब नतमस्तक हो कर उनके चरणों की धूल लेते थे । यही बात दूसरे प्रिंसिपल की है । शिक्षा संस्थाओं की पवित्रता अगर पुलिस उन में घुस जाती है तो कहां रह जाती है । पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में गोलियों और लाठियों के बूते पर विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन को कुचलें, किसान आन्दोलन को कुचलें, इसको किसी भी दृष्टिकोण से उचित आप नहीं ठहरा सकते हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि लाठी और गोली के बूते पर यह सरकार नहीं चल सकती है । इस सरकार को चाहिए कि यह कुर्सी हट जाए । अगर लाठी गोली के बूते पर इस सरकार को चलाना है, आपको, प्रजातन्त्रीय उसूलों के आधार पर नहीं चलाना है, लोक तन्त्र के आधार पर नहीं चलाना है तो यह सरकार चल नहीं सकेगी और इस सरकार को हट जाना चाहिये ।

डाउट के बारे में यह कहा गया है कि यह नेचुरल कलेमेटी है । अगर कभी गम्भीर ज्यादा पड़ती है तो सरकार कहती है कि सूखा पड़ गया है अगर बारिश ज्यादा होती है तो कहती है कि बाढ़ आ गयी है अगर

जाड़ा ज्यादा पड़ता है तो कहती है कि पाला पड़ गया है, इनका कुछ भी कसूर नहीं है । यह तो पाले और सूखे के बीच में हैं और सूखे के बीच में खुद ही सूखी चली जा रही है । इसका कोई कसूर नहीं है । मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि सितम्बर के महीने में जब यह कहा गया कि बारिश नहीं हुई है और हमारे खाद्य मंत्री ने क्या कोई व्यवस्था की है तो इस ओर कोई गम्भीरता नहीं दिखाई गई । सिर्फ यह कह दिया कि सब व्यवस्था कर दी गई है । लेकिन आप देखें कि क्या व्यवस्था की है । करोड़ों रुपये ब्लाक डिबेलेटमेंट भ्रष्टाचारों को दिये गये हैं कम्प्युनिटी डिबेलेपमेंट के कामों के लिए जिसका केवल मात्र एक काम है, खुद का डिबेलेपमेंट करना, कम्प्युनिटी का नहीं । करोड़ों रुपये का ड्रेनेज हुआ है । अगर माइनर इरिगेशन फैसिलिटीज प्रोवाइड की जाती तो पूरा उत्तर प्रदेश बच सकता था, पूरा बिहार बच सकता था । 52 जिलों में से उत्तर प्रदेश में 47 जिले ऐसे हैं जिनमें सूखा पड़ा हुआ है । सरकार कहती है कि 41 में पड़ा हुआ है । चार पांच में पार्श्व है और 41 जिले ऐसे हैं जिनमें पूरा सूखा पड़ा हुआ है । वहां की मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा कि हमें कुछ करोड़ रुपया दिया जाए इस समस्या का सामना करने के लिए । जब वहां से डिमांड आई तो जवाब यह दिया गया कि इस वक्त हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है । प्लानिंग के मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हैं कि हम पहले उसकी जांच करेंगे कि देश के किन किन भागों में, किन किन इलाकों में सूखा पड़ा है उसके बाद रुपया देंगे और वह भी पूरा रुपया नहीं दिया जाता है । सूखे के लिए विरोधी दल वाले जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं, इसके लिए नेचर भी जिम्मेदार नहीं है, यह नेचुरल कलेमिटी भी नहीं है । यह नैशनल कलेमिटी भी नहीं है ।

It was the greatest calamity of this Government, and this Government must resign.

[श्री स० मो० बनजी]

ग्रेटेस्ट कलेमिटी सरकार है। इसकी पूरी जिम्मेदारी है। यह जो फाकाकशी और भुखमरी में दौड़ हो रही है, बेकारी और भुखमरी में दौड़ हो रही है, पता नहीं कौन इसमें जीतने वाला है। इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर है। उन्नीस साल से जब से इस सरकार ने भ्रमसन सम्भाला है और जो दुर्व्यवस्था देश की है मैं समझता हूँ उसके लिए पूरी तरह से यह सरकार जिम्मेदार है। इसको इस जिम्मेदारी से अलग नहीं रहना चाहिये। मेरी मुअज्जिब बहन इंदिरा जी जो कि देश की प्रधान मंत्री हैं कानपुर गई थीं। वहाँ जाकर इन्होंने कहा कि विरोधी दल पार्लियामेंट में प्रोसीडिन्ग को रोकने की कोशिश करता है और देश को पता होना चाहिये कि इससे देश का कितना नुकसान होता है। उन्होंने बताया कि अठारह हजार रुपया घंटा नुकसान होता है। यह अठारह हजार का नुकसान नहीं होना चाहिये। बस करोड़ रुपया लेकर डा० तेजा चले जायें विदेश में, वह तो होना चाहिये, पी० ए० सी० की रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक अमीचन्द प्यारेलाल देश को चूमें, मिनिस्ट्रों को बदनाम करें, मिनिस्ट्रों की जेबों में पैसा दें, वह तो होना चाहिये गंज साहब हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को गंजा करते चले जायें, वह तो होना चाहिये और उनको रोकने के लिये कोई कार्रवाई नहीं होनी चाहिये लेकिन अगर एम० एम० बनजी साहब, हिरेन मुखर्जी साहब या मधु लिमये साहब कुछ अध्यक्ष महोदय से इस सब के बारे में निवेदन करते हैं तो यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिये, अगर वे बहस की मांग करते हैं तो यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिये, यह खराब बात है कि देश का अठारह हजार का नुकसान हो। करोड़ों का नुकसान तो होना चाहिये, उसकी इनको कोई परवाह नहीं। अगर यही चीज है जो कि प्रधान मंत्री जी कहती हैं तो मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी मुअज्जिब बहन आएँ और कानपुर से मेरे खिलाफ चुनाव लड़ें और यही आधार हो कि आया अठारह

हजार का नुकसान सही है या नहीं। मैं लड़ने के लिए तैयार हूँ।

आप यह भी देखें कि कानपुर शहर में श्री राम रतन गुप्ता जो कि लक्ष्मी रतन काटन मिल के मालिक हैं उनको 31 लाख रुपये की इनकम टैक्स में छूट किसने दी है। वहाँ पर 47 दिन से हड़ताल चल रही है। चीफ मिनिस्टर उत्तर प्रदेश ने लिखा कि इस कारखाने को सरकार अपने हाथ में ले ले। पता नहीं श्री मनु भाई शाह का ऐसा करते वक्त हाथ क्यों कांप जाता है। सही बात यह है कि राम रतन गुप्ता ने चाहे गवर्नर के भाई को या मिनिस्टर के भाई को भरती कर रखा है तीन चार हजार रुपये तनख्वाह पर। उसने 75 लाख रुपये स्टेट बैंक से इस आधार पर लिये कि काटन मिल के खिलाफ यह लोन दिया जाए। इनक्यायरी करने पर मालूम हुआ कि काटन मिल नहीं है, काटन वेस्ट है। तीन महीने से मजदूरों को तनख्वाह ही नहीं दी है। आखिर यह सरकार जब शोलियां चला सकती है, विद्यार्थियों को डिफेंस आफ इंडिया क्लब के मातहत गिरफ्तार कर सकती है, लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों को गलत तरीके से उत्तर प्रदेश में विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन के साथ जोड़ सकती है और उनको गिरफ्तार कर सकती है, तब क्या कारण है कि इस सरकार का गुस्सा रहम में बदल जाता है जब राम रतन गुप्ता की बात आती है। क्या यह इस वास्ते है कि वह सी० बी० गुप्ता के दोस्त हैं और चुनाव फंड में उनसे पैसा लेना है? आज मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि चीफ मिनिस्टर की रीकमेंडेशन के बाद भी इस मिल को क्यों नहीं लिया जा रहा है और इस बारे में क्यों डाइनेटरी टैकिट्स और डीलेइंग मैथड्स काम में लाए जा रहे हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उस व्यक्ति का इनकम टैक्स का 31 लाख रुपया माफ करने की जिम्मेदारी किस की है। मैं लेबर मिनिस्टर से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उसके द्वारा

12 लाख रुपया वर्कर्स का प्राविडेंट फंड जमा न किये जाने की जिम्मेदारी किस की है और उसने जो एम्प्लॉईज स्टेट इन्शोरेंस कॉर्पोरेशन में ढाई लाख रुपया जमा नहीं किया है, जो कि वर्कर्स के खून-पसिने की कमाई है, उस की जिम्मेदारी किस की है ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि हम चाहें या न चाहें, कानपुर शहर रहे या न रहे, लेकिन राम रतन गुप्ता साहब रहेंगे, क्योंकि सरकार को चुनाव जीतना है और वह चुनाव में पैसा देगा । आज यह सरकार बदनाम है । न तो जनता का उस पर विश्वास रहा है और न उसको जनता पर विश्वास रहा है । अगर इन्साफ के तराजू पर तोला जाये, तो एक तरफ तो सात हजार मजदूर हैं और दूसरी तरफ राम रतन गुप्ता और उसकी धैली है, लेकिन उस धैली की वजह से उसका पलड़ा भारी है ।

एक तरफ तो कहा जाता है कि पाकिस्तान का हमला होने वाला है और चीन से खतरा है, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ आर्डिनेंस फ्रैंचटरीज में दो हजार लोगों को रिट्रैबमेंट नोटिस दिये गये हैं । शाहजहाँ पुर की क्लोदिंग फ्रैंचटरी, कानपुर की पैराशूट फ्रैंचटरी और झाड़ू की हेवी व्हीकल्ज फ्रैंचटरी में यह कदम उठाया गया है । कहा गया है कि वहाँ पर काम की कमी है और अब जवानों की वर्दियों की जरूरत नहीं है । आर्डिनेंस फ्रैंचटरीयों की कास्ट पर बीस हजार आइटम ठेकेदारों को दिये जा रहे हैं । यह भी कहा जा रहा है कि जो लोग पन्द्रह बीस साल से टेलर का काम कर रहे हैं, उन को टरनर बना दिया जायेगा । मैं यह अज्ञ करना चाहता हूँ कि यह मिनिस्टर बनना थोड़े ही है, जो कि इतना आसान है । एक टेलर को टरनर बनाना मुश्किल है । मिनिस्टर बनना आसान है, क्योंकि उसके लिए किसी खास क्वालिफिकेशन की जरूरत नहीं है । हमारे यहां बंगाल में अगर कोई बच्चा बघमाशी करता है, पढ़ता नहीं है, तो उसको कहते हैं कि तुम्हारी किस्मत में यही लिखा है कि तुम मिनिस्टर

बनोगे, तुम्हारा और कुछ नहीं होने वाला है । मैं सुरक्षा मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा— भगवान करे वह आपरेशन के बाद जल्दी ठीक हो जायें—कि अगर वाकई चीन और पाकिस्तान से खतरा है, तो जिन लोगों ने 1962 से अपनी सारी जवानी देश के लिए हथियार वगैरह बनाने में निष्ठावर कर दी है, उनकी छंटनी नहीं की जानी चाहिए, क्योंकि यह बिल्कुल गलत है ।

आज जब देश में बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है, हमारे 24,000 इन्शोरेंस एम्प्लॉईज छंटनी का शिकार हो रहे हैं, क्योंकि उन के यहां इलेक्ट्रॉनिक कम्प्यूटर लगाए जा रहे हैं । चूंकि अमरीका में आटोमेशन है और चूंकि हमें भी अमरीका के साथ जाना है, इस लिए यहां भी आटोमेशन किया जा रहा है । अगर गवर्नमेंट ने अपनी नीति में परिवर्तन नहीं किया, तो 25 नवम्बर को बीमा कर्मचारी सारे देश में एक दिन की हड़ताल करने जा रहे हैं । मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारे देश में ऐसा आटोमेशन न किया जाये, जिस से बेकारी बढ़ने का भय हो ।

अभी हमारे मिन, श्री बेंकटासुब्ब्या, ने पुलिस का जिक्र किया । क्या यह सही नहीं है कि जब "बंगाल बन्द" का सवाल आया, तो वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री श्री पी०सी० सैन ने सैटर को लिखा कि वहाँ के लिए रिजर्व पुलिस की व्यवस्था की जाये, क्योंकि हो सकता है कि यहां के पुलिस वाले गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लॉइज की पे स्ट्राइक के समय गली न चला सकें । हम जानते हैं कि यहां पर दो हजार पुलिस वालों ने तन्खा नहीं ली और दस हजार पुलिस वालों का डिमास्ट्रेशन हुआ । आज स्थिति यह कि पुलिस, टीचर बैंक कर्मचारी, सैट्रल गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लॉइज और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लॉइज सब नाराज हैं । वे क्यों नाराज हैं ? क्या सरकार समझती है कि आपोजीशन के लोगों ने उन को नाराज कर दिया है ? मैं अब

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधी दलों में यह ताकत नहीं है कि वे कांग्रेस की उस पंक्ति इमारत को गिरा सके, जिस को तिलक और गांधी ने खड़ा किया था, जिन के चरणों में बैठ कर इस देश के लोगों ने राजनीति सीखी है। आज सी० बी० गुप्ता कांग्रेस की इमारत की छत को गिरा रहे हैं, कमला पति त्रिपाठी उस के सैहन की उखाड़ रहे हैं, जगनप्रसाद रावत उसकी खिड़कियों को तोड़ रहे हैं। हम लोग इस इमारत को नहीं गिरा रहे हैं।

श्री रावेलाल व्यास (उज्जैन) : आन ए पायंट आफ आर्डर। क्या माननीय सदस्य इस तरह उन लोगों की अलोचना कर सकते हैं, जो इस सदन के सदस्य नहीं हैं और यहां पर उस अलोचना का उत्तर नहीं दे सकते हैं ?

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य सिर्फ रेफरेंस कर रहे हैं।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस की इमारत को कांग्रेसी ही तोड़ रहे हैं और हमारी मुश्किल बहन, इन्दिराजी, सीमेंट की बोरी ले कर सारे हिन्दुस्तान में घूम रही हैं, लेकिन यह इमारत इस तरह जुड़ने वाली नहीं है।

जहां तक इस मोशन आफ नो कान्फिडेंस का तास्सुक है, भले ही यह गिर जाये यह गिरेगी, लेकिन एक बात मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ कि लोग फाकाकशी और भुखमरी का मुकाबिला करगे। यहां पर कहा जाता है कि इलैक्शन में देखा जायेगा। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इलैक्शन ही जीवन का अन्त नहीं होता है। जहां पर टुमैनिटी सफर और ब्लीड करती हो, लोगों का खून होता हो, मानवता का खून होता हो, तो लोग उठेंगे। श्रीमती सावित्री निगम जो कुछ कह रही हैं, वह कानपुर में विद्या-

धियों के सामने यह बात कहें। छोटे छोटे लड़कों को मार दिया जाये। हम लोग यह सहन नहीं करेंगे। उस के खिलाफ विद्रोह होगा और इस सरकार को जब-दंस्ती उखाड़ कर फेंक दिया जायेगा।

सभापति महोदय : अभी बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी की मीटिंग हुई है। उस ने यह फैसला किया है कि हाउस छः बजे तक बैठा करे, तो हम अपने सारे बिजनेस को खत्म कर सकेंगे। मुझे उम्मीद है कि हाउस इस से एग्री करेगा।

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : कल से।

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : नहीं, आज से ही।

Shri D. D. Puri (Kaithal): Sir, may we know how much time has been allotted to this debate?

Mr. Chairman: 12 hours.

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : सभापति महोदय, सब से पहले तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ लोगों को आश्चर्य हो सकता है कि यह अविश्वास प्रस्ताव क्यों लाया गया है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि आश्चर्य की बात तब होती, जब यह अविश्वास प्रस्ताव न लाया जाता। खास तौर पर ऐसे मोके पर, जब कि अगले चुनाव से पहले यह संसद का आखिरी अधिवेशन है, अगर यह अविश्वास प्रस्ताव न आता, तो मैं समझता कि विरोधी दलों की तरफ से बहुत भारी गलती होती, हालांकि यह जाहिर है कि इस के जरिये वे जो मकसद हासिल करना चाहते हैं उसमें वे कामयाब नहीं होंगे।

इस अविश्वास प्रस्ताव पर विचार करते-हुए, हमें दखना होगा कि संसद के पिछले अधिवेशन और वर्तमान अधिवेशन के बीच

में ऐसी कौन सी घटनाये हुई हैं, जिन के कारण सरकार के प्रति यह अविश्वास-प्रस्ताव लाया जा रहा है। मैंने श्री त्रिवेदी, श्री मसानी और श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती के भाषण सुने और अभी श्री बनर्जी का भाषण सुना, जो किसी पार्टी में न होते हुए भी कम्युनिस्टों के लैफ्ट और राइट से भी आगे हैं। मैं कह सकता हूँ कि इन लोगों ने केवल पुरानी बातों को ही दोहराया है और सिवाये एक दो बातों के कोई नई बात नहीं कही है।

कांग्रेस बैचिज की तरफ से हमारे साथी, श्री मिश्र ने कहा कि विरोधी पार्टियाँ छात्रों के आन्दोलन का राजनीतिक शोषण कर रही हैं। मैं उसके सम्बन्ध में बहुत अधिक नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। विरोधी पार्टियों के माननीय सदस्यों का जो भाषण यहां हुआ है उस से ही सदन और देश इस बात का पता लगा सकता है कि किस तरह से सदन के बाहर तो यह विद्यार्थियों के आन्दोलनों का शोषण करते ही हैं, सदन के अन्दर भी किस तरह से विद्यार्थियों के आन्दोलनों का यह शोषण कर रहे हैं। मैं इस के संबन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार पर विद्यार्थियों के आन्दोलनों को दबाने का जो लांछन लगाया है, सरकार ने ऐसा कुछ नहीं किया है। पिछले दिनों में जब से विद्यार्थियों के आन्दोलन हुए हैं, सरकार ने जो जो कदम उनकी समस्याओं को समझने के लिए उन का समाधान करने के लिए उठाये हैं उन से सारी बात स्पष्ट है। उन्होंने छात्रों के प्रतिनिधियों को बुलाया, वाइसचांसलरस को बुलाया और जो देश में अमन अमान कायम करने के जिम्मेदार हैं उन लोगों को बुला कर के गृह मन्त्री ने जो काम किया इस समस्या को समझने और सुलझाने का, मैं कहता हूँ कि इससे अधिक और कोई भी सरकार इस देश में नहीं कर सकती थी। मैं वाम-पंथियों से पूछना चाहता हूँ खास तौर से

लेफ्ट पार्टी के कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर चीन या रूस में इस तरह का आन्दोलन होता या जब जब हुए हैं इस तरह के आन्दोलन तो किस तरह का व्यवहार उन के साथ किया गया है। लेकिन जब वहां उस तरह का व्यवहार किया जाता है तो इन की तरफ से एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा जाता है। राइट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की सदस्य श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती ने वियतनाम के ऊपर बहुत भ्रांसी बहाये। जब मैं ने इन्टरप्ट किया तब कहा कि चीन के साथ हमारी कोई हमदर्दी नहीं है। लेकिन चीन ने जो हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण किया और आज भी जो हमारी हजारों बर्गमील भूमि उसने दबा रखी है, उसके लिए एक शब्द भी निन्दा का चीन के प्रति क्यों नहीं कहा आज मुझे इस बात से तो आश्चर्य जरूर हुआ कि जनसंघ के हमारे साथी बहुत तालियां पीछे से बजा रहे हैं। स्वतंत्र पार्टी के भी साथी बहुत तालियां कम्युनिस्टस के उनके पीछे से बजा रहे हैं। यह आश्चर्य इसलिए हुआ कि एक तरफ मसानी साहब ने नान-लेफ्टिस्ट पार्टी की बात कही और दूसरी तरफ तालियां। मैंने तो इनका भाषण समझने का जो कोशिश की, उस से मैं समझ सकता हूँ कि खास तौर से जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी का जो गठबन्धन हुआ है कुछ प्रांतों के अन्दर या जो साम्प्रदायवादी पार्टियां हैं उन के साथ गठबन्धन हुआ है, शायद उन की तरफ मसानी साहब का इशारा था। लेकिन जो नान-कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियां हैं और यह जो लेफ्टिस्ट और राइटिस्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियां हैं, उन के और इन के बीच में जो गठबन्धन होता है यह बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है, और उस बात को सामने रखते हुए जिस का जरा भी बुद्धि है, अकल है, और मेरा खयाल है कि अकल होगी लोगों को, तो वह समझ सकते हैं कि सिवाय, अगले चुनाव में फायदा उठाने के अलावा इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव का और कोई मकसद नहीं हो सकता।

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

सभापति महोदय, अब मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने पिछले दिनों में कौन कौन सी बातें देश की समस्याओं का समाधान करने के लिये कीं। जब हमारे देश के अन्दर बिहार और यू० पी० में सूखा और बाढ़ का प्रकोप हुआ तो सरकार ने जो कदम उठाये हैं, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ इन साधियों से कि उस को पढ़ें और देखें। मैं यह दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि सरकार जागरूक है। सरकार ने ऐलान किया है और मैं भी अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से यह कह सकता हूँ कि जब तक इस पार्टी की सरकार इस देश के अन्दर रहेगी कोई भी आदमी किसी भी देश के कोने में भूख से या सूखे से नहीं मर सकता। यह काम यह कांग्रेस पार्टी ही कर सकती है।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : अखबार झूठ बोलता है क्या ?

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : वह आप ने लिखवा दिया होगा।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : कांग्रेस पार्टी का अखबार है।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : जब श्री चपला कान्त भट्टाचार्य ने औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात कही तो उस के खिलाफत में श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती ने यह कहा कि उत्पादन तो बढ़ा औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में लेकिन मजदूरों का क्या हुआ ? मैं खास तौर से मजदूर क्षेत्रों से सम्बन्ध रखता हूँ, सभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं और मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि यही सरकार है जिस ने मजदूरों के जीवन स्तर को भी ऊँचा उठाने के लिए काम किया और उस की सब से जीती जागती मिसाल यह है कि हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति आज खराब होते हुए भी ११ करोड़ रुपया केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों को भ्रष्टाई भत्ते के रूप में उस ने देने का फैसला

किया है। उस के साथ साथ उन के झगड़ों को निपटाने का जो सवाल हमारे सामने था जिसका बार-बार हमारे विरोधी पार्टी के भाई शोषण किया करते थे, आन्दोलन के जरिये लोगों को बरगलाकर लड़ाई के और अशान्ति के रास्ते पर बराबर ले जाते थे और उसका शोषण करते थे, उस के लिए अभी हाल ही ही में हमारे गृह-मंत्री ने एक कम्प्लेसरी आर्बीट्रेशन और ज्वाइंट कन्सल्टेटिव मशीनरी का उद्घाटन किया है जिसके जरिये अब जितने भी हमारे औद्योगिक विवाद सरकारी क्षेत्रों में होंगे शांति के जरिये, समझौते के जरिये उन का निबटारा होगा और समझौता और बातचीत में कोई मतभेद रहेगा तो पंचायत के जरिये तय होगा। सरकार ने इस फैसले को करते हुए यह भी साफ साफ कहा, जो सरकार का अपना हक है कि सरकार इस बात का निर्णय करे कि किस झगड़े को हम आर्बीट्रेशन को भेजें किसे नहीं भेजें, यह सरकार का हक है लेकिन इसी सरकार ने अपने इस हक को भी मजदूरों के हित में छोड़ा और कहा कि यह चार सवाल जो हैं—सैलरी, एलाबंस आवर्स आफ वर्क और लीव, यह चार जो बड़े बड़े सवाल हैं मजदूरों के इन सवालों के ऊपर कम्प्लेसरी आर्बीट्रेशन होगा। जहां मतभेद होगा सरकार आर्बीट्रेशन मंजूर करेगी।

जिस समय श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती बोल रही थीं, उस समय मुझे एक कहानी याद आयी कि दो भाताओं के बीच में, एक नकली माता और एक असली भाता बीच में यह झगड़ा पैदा हो गया कि बच्चा किस का है ? दोनों ने मिल कर काजी जी के पास गईं और काजी से एक ने कहा यह मेरा बच्चा है, दूसरे ने कहा मेरा है।

श्री कपूर सिंह (लुधियाना) : काजी नहीं, वह सालोमन था।

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : आप को इस में कोई आबजेशन है ? . . . (व्यवधान)

तो काजी ने कहा कि मैं फंसला किये देता हूँ कहा कि बच्चे के दो टुकड़े में कर देता हूँ । एक तुम ले लो , एक दूसरी मां से कहा तुम ले लो । तो जो असली मां थी, उस ने कहा कि बच्चे का टुकड़ा मत करो, यह बच्चा उसी को दे दो , यह उसी का है ।

तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर यह जितने आन्दोलन होते हैं, जितनी गड़बड़ होती है, जितनी अशांति होती है, यह विरोधी पार्टी के लोग उस को कराते भी हैं और आखिर में उस से फायदा उठाने के लिए सारा दोष सरकार के माथे मढ़ देना चाहते हैं ।

एक और आश्चर्यजनक बात श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी ने कही कि चाहे देश में सुखा हो, चाहे देश में अकाल हो, चाहे सर्दी हो, यह तमाम बातों के लिए सरकार जिम्मेदार हैं । सरकार इस बात के लिए भी जिम्मेदार है कि जन संघ और कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी को एक साथ मिला दिया । इसके लिए भी सरकार जिम्मेदार है । तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ विरोधी भाइयों ने जो यह अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव रखा, जैसा मैं ने आरम्भ में कहा, मुझे उससे आश्चर्य नहीं हुआ, मुझे आश्चर्य तो तब मालूम होता जब अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव न आता । लेकिन उस के साथ साथ जब इन के बीच में आपस में गठबन्धन होता है, आपस में विरोध करते हुये भी उनका जो यह काम है, हालांकि उसमें भी वह सफल नहीं हो रहे हैं, हम लोग तो चाहते हैं कि यह सफल हो जायें, संगठित हो जायें, एक विरोधी दल बन जाय, लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश वह भी नहीं हो रहा है और जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ जो कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी है, उसके लेफ्टिस्ट और राइटिस्ट जो दो ग्रूप हैं,

इनके बीच में भी आपस में झगड़े चल रहे हैं, कोई सुलह नहीं हो रही है ।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बरवा (कोटा) : कांग्रेस की तो कहो ।

सभापति महोदय : आर्डर । यह गलत बात है इस तरह से बार बार बीच में बोलना

17 hrs.

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : जहाँ तक लेफ्ट और राइट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टियों का सवाल है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन का आपस में चाहे जो भी मतभेद हो, लेकिन मेरे दिल में कोई शक नहीं है कि वह दोनों एक हैं । मैं ने इस सदन में बार बार कहा है कि जब कभी कोई गड़बड़ी लेफ्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी करती है तो राइट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी उस का समर्थन करती है । इस लिये उन के कामों को देखते हुये कोई भी बुद्धिमान मनुष्य वह समझ जायेगा कि मही मानां में उन में आपस में कोई मतभेद नहीं है । ये भिन्न भिन्न है इस को दिखाने के लिये उन का एक नाटक हुआ करता है आपस में लेकिन मैं नहीं जानता कि यह शब्द अनपार्लियामेन्ट्री होगा या नहीं अगर मैं वहूँ कि यह उसी तरह से है कि जैसे दो ठग आपस में झगड़ा करते हैं किसी तीसरे को ठगने के लिये ।

सभापति महोदय : ठगना लफ्ज इस्तेमाल करना उचित नहीं है ।

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : इसी वास्ते मैं ने कहा कि पता नहीं यह शब्द पार्लिया-मेन्ट्री है या नहीं बहरहाल अगर वह शब्द गलत है तो मैं इस को नहीं कहना चाहता । मैं यह कहता हूँ कि वह लोगों को धोखा देने के लिये आपस में झगड़ा करते हैं ।

मैं ने एक और बात सुनी है और वह यह कि जो जनसंघ पार्टी है, जिसके नेता श्री त्रिवेदी बोल चुके हैं, उस ने उन तमाम

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

बातों का समर्थन किया है जो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस देश में करना चाहती है। वह कोई कंट्रोल नहीं चाहती। वह चाहती है कि इस देश में जो ज्यादा पैसे वाले हैं वह और भी ज्यादा पैसे वाले बन जायें।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : यह गलत है।

श्री शौंकार लाल बेरवा : आप के गलत बातें कहने से क्या लाभ होगा।

सभापति महोदय : आप को मीका मिलेगा। आप की ओर से कोई बोलेंगा तब आप इस को कहें।

श्री शौंकार लाल बेरवा : तब क्या माननीय सदस्य झूठ बात कहेंगे।

सभापति महोदय : अगर किसी भाषण के बीच में कोई एक बार कुछ कह दे तो ठीक हो सकता है लेकिन बार बार बोलना ठीक नहीं है।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : मैं ने कोई भी गलत बात नहीं कही है। उन्होंने मुझे झूठा कहा है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : झूठ कह रहे हैं यह कहना अनपानियामेन्ट्री है।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : मैं कोई गलत बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर श्री बड़े को या श्री बेरवा को कोई ऐनराज है मेरे कहने पर तो वह अपने नेता का भाषण पढ़ लें कि उन्होंने क्या कहा है। जो कुछ स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस देश में करना चाहती है उन तमाम बातों का उन्होंने समर्थन किया है।

कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, स्वतंत्र पार्टी और और जन संघ के सदस्यों ने कांग्रेस के ऊपर प्रान्तीयता का दोषारोपण किया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ जन संघ से कि जब वह

इस प्रकार का आरोप कांग्रेस पर लगाते हैं तब क्या उन्होंने अपने सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ सोचा है वह स्वयं कैसे हैं। उन्होंने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में क्या सोचा है कि वह क्या करते हैं। ये विरोधी पार्टियाँ इन तमाम चीजों का समय समय पर शोषण करती हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस ही एक ऐसी पार्टी है जो तमाम धर्मों के लोगों की और तमाम विचारों के लोगों की पार्टी है। हम लोग किसी तरह की प्रान्तीयता या जातीयता की बातों पर विश्वास नहीं करते। अगर जनसंघ साम्प्रदायिक पार्टी न होती तो उस में सब धर्मों के लोग होते। लेकिन ऐसी बात नहीं है। यह इस बात को प्रमाणित करता है कि जो जनसंघ कांग्रेस के ऊपर प्रान्तीयता का दोषारोपण करता है वह स्वयं एक साम्प्रदायिक पार्टी है। **व्यवधान।**

एक माननीय सदस्य : साम्प्रदायिकता और प्रान्तीयता सब जगह है कांग्रेस में।

सभापति महोदय : आप वाद में जवाब दीजिएगा।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : उन की पार्टी एक साम्प्रदायिक पार्टी है।

श्री बी० च० शर्मा (गुरुदासपुर) : क्या जनसंघ की तरफ से कोई मुसलमान मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट में है।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : मैं एक ही बात कह कर समाप्त करता हूँ कि जो मैंने कहा कि जन संघ एक साम्प्रदायिक पार्टी है उस को मैं प्रमाणित कर सकता हूँ उनके नेता के व्याख्यान से। उन्होंने कहा कि "कांग्रेस इज एन एन्टीहिन्दू पार्टी" उन्होंने यह कह कर कांग्रेस पर दोषारोपण किया साथ ही साथ उन्होंने कहा कि कांग्रेस

माइनारिटी को प्रोत्साहन देती है। अगर कांग्रेस माइनारिटी को प्रोत्साहन देती है और कांग्रेस हिन्दुओं के खिलाफ है ऐसा कहा जाता है तो क्या यह प्रमाणित नहीं होता कि जब वह माइनारिटीज के खिलाफ बात करते हैं और वह सम्प्रदायवाद का समर्थन करते हैं।

सभापति महोदय : आप का यही मतलब है न कि हिन्दुओं के भी उतने ही हुकुक होते हैं कांग्रेस में जितने मुसलमानों के। कांग्रेस सब की रखवाणी करती है।

श्री श्री प्र० शर्मा : मैं कह रहा था कि कांग्रेस ही एक ऐसी पार्टी है जो तमाम जातियों के लोगों का, तमाम धर्मों के लोगों को एक साथ रख हुए हैं और देश की अखंडता को कायम रख सकती है और इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र को भी कायम रख सकती है।

श्री त्रिवेदी ने डिक्टेटरशिप की बात कही। उन्होंने कहा कि कांग्रेस जम्हूरियत को बरबाद कर रही है, डिमाक्रेसी को नष्ट कर रही है और इस देश के अन्दर डिक्टेटरशिप कायम करना चाहती है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप एक तरफ कांग्रेस के सदस्यों के काम करने के तरीके को देखिये और दूसरी तरफ आप उन को देखिये जो कि डिक्टेटरशिप की और रेजिमेंटिड सरकार का समर्थन करने वाले लोग हैं। जो कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग हैं, जो जन संघ जैसी पार्टी के लोग हैं वह डिक्टेटरशिप की बातें करते हैं, इस लिये कि वह सिद्धान्ततः डिक्टेटरशिप में विश्वास करते हैं। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कही जिम से वज्र प्रमाणित कर सकें कि कांग्रेस किस तरह से डिक्टेटरशिप की तरफ जा रही है। दूसरी तरफ मैं दावे से कह सकता हूँ कि कांग्रेस ही ऐसी पार्टी है इस देश में जो डिमाक्रेसी की रक्षा कर सकती है और गरीबों की रक्षा कर सकती है। मजदूरों के हकों की रक्षा कर सकती है। इस देश

के लिये वह बुरा दिन होगा जब कि विरोधी दलों जैसी प्रतिक्रियावादी पार्टियों की जड़ मजबूत होगी। अगर उन की जड़ मजबूत होगी तो इस देश के लिए दुर्भाग्य की बात होगी। लेकिन मेरे जैसे आदमी इस बात की आशा रखते हैं कि वह दिन उन पार्टियों के जीवन में आने वाला नहीं है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव को मैं सिर्फ आगे आने वाले चुनाव के लिये प्रचार का साधन मानता हूँ विरोधी पार्टियों की तरफ से और इसकी तरफ उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखता हूँ। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि कि सचन इन्हें को अस्वीकार करेगा।

सभापति महोदय : मैं अदब में प्रार्थना करूँगा सब सदस्यों से कि यह बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण सवाल हमारे सामने आया है। यह बहुत सीरियस बान है। इस को सब लांग मेहरबानी कर के सुनें और सुनने के बाद चाहे तो अपनी बात सुना सकते हैं। बार बार बीच में बोलना ठीक नहीं है। मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा सब सदस्यों से कि वह पहले दूसरों की बातों को सुनें और जब उन को सुनाना हो तब वह सुनायें।

17.00 hrs.

**BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
FIFTIETH REPORT**

The Minister of State in the Departments of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Jaganatha Rao): I beg to present the Fiftieth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.