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| Mohamed Imam, Shri J. | Ram Swarup, Shri | Sharma, Shri Yajna Datt |
| Mohammad Yusuf, Shri | Rana, Shri M. B. | Shastri, Shri Prakash Vir |
| Mohinder Kaur, Shrimati | Randhir Singh, Shri | Shastri, Shri Ramanand |
| Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda | Rane, Shri | Sheo Narain, Shri |
| Mukne, Shri Yeshwantrao | Ranga, Shri | Sheth, Shri T. M. |
| Muthusami, Shri C. | Ranjeet Singh, Shri | Shiv Chandika Prasad, Shri |
| Naghnor, Shri M. N. | Rao, Shri Jagannath | Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan |
| Naik, Shri G. C. | Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V. | Singh, Shri D. N. |
| Naik, Shri R. V. | Reddi, Shri G. S. | Singh, Shri D. V. |
| Nayar, Shri K. K. | Reddy, Shri M. N. | Singh, Shri J. B. |
| Nayar, Shrimati Shakuntala | Reddy, Shri R. D. | Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari |
| Oraon, Shri Kartik | Reddy, Shrimati Sudha V. | Solanki, Shri P. N. |
| Pahadia, Shri Jagannath | Sadhu Ram, Shri | Solanki, Shri S. M. |
| Pant, Shri K. C. | Saleem, Shri M. Yunus | Sonar, Dr. A. G. |
| Paokai Haokip, Shri | Salve, Shri N. K. P. | Sonavane, Shri |
| Partap Singh, Shri | Sambasivam, Shri | Sondhi, Shri M. L. |
| Parthasarathy, Shri | Sankata Prasad, Dr. | Supakar, Shri Sradhakar |
| Patel, Shri Manibhai J. | Sayeed, Shri P. M. | Suraj Bhan, Shri |
| Patil, Shri Anantrao | Sen, Shri Dwaipayan | Sursingh, Shri |
| Patil, Shri Deorao | Sen, Shri P. G. | Swaran Singh, Shri |
| Patil, Shri S. D. | Sethi, Shri P. C. | Tapuriah, Shri S. K. |
| Patil, Shri T. A. | Sethuraman, Shri N. | Tiwary, Shri K. N. |
| Patodia, Shri D. N. | Shah, Shrimati Jayaben | Tula Ram, Shri |
| Prasad, Shri Y. A. | Shah, Shri Manabendra | Tyagi, Shri Om Prakash |
| Raghu Ramaiah, Shri | Shah, Shri T. P. | Uikey, Shri M. G. |
| Raj Deo Singh, Shri | Shambhu Nath, Shri | Vajpayee Shri Atal Bihari |
| Rajani Devi, Shrimati | Shankaranand, Shri B. | Venkatswamy, Shri G. |
| Rajasekharan, Shri | Sharda Nand, Shri | Verma, Shri Prem Chand |
| Ram, Shri T. | Sharma, Shri Narain Swarup | Vidyarthi, Shri R. S. |
| Ram Subhag Singh, Dr. | Sharma, Shri Ram Avtar | Virbhadra Singh, Shri |

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The result* of the division is : Ayes—33, Noes—176.

The motion was negatived

17.09 hrs.

[SHRI PRAKASH VIR SHASTRI *in the Chair.*]

RESOLUTION RE : NATIONALISATION OF FOREIGN TRADE, GENERAL INSURANCE, etc.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh) : I beg to move :

“This House resolves that in order to achieve socialistic pattern of society which is the declared policy of the Government necessary steps such as : (a) nationalisation of foreign trade, general insurance and steel industry ; (b) taking over of all foreign investment in India ; (c) fixing

of ceiling on urban property ; and (d) eradication of black money through demonetisation of the currency be taken by the Government without any further delay.”

The resolution which I have moved is as a result of...

SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi) : I raise a constitutional objection.

Before she proceeds I would like to press my constitutional objection. It is the fashion to-day for the Congress to run faster than the Communist.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : What is the point of order ?

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : I have a right to object on constitutional grounds.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : There is no point of order.

*Shri Madhu Limay also recorded his vote for 'AYES' :

सभापति महोदय : कोई भी व्यवस्था का प्रश्न जो उपस्थित किया जाये तो व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उपस्थित करने वाले सदस्य को उसके सम्बन्ध में जो धारार्ये हैं उनका उल्लेख करना चाहिए। तभी वह अपनी बात उपस्थित कर सकता है। चूँकि माननीय सदस्य ने किसी धारा का उल्लेख नहीं किया है इसलिए यह कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है।

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : There is no point in overruling in a constitutional objection. I am going to quote the relevant articles which hit this Resolution.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Let him go to court.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : I am not going to take it lying down like this. This is opposed to articles 19, 14 and 31.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Does he think this is the Supreme Court ?

सभापति महोदय : लोबो प्रभु जी, जैसा मैंने आपसे निवेदन किया, कोई भी व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाने से पहले, किस धारा के अन्तर्गत आप उसको उठा रहे हैं, उसका उल्लेख करना चाहिए। उस धारा का उल्लेख करने के उपरान्त ही आप व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठा सकते हैं। पहले आप उस धारा का उल्लेख कीजिए।

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : I have written to you. I have a right to raise this point of constitutional objection. I am raising it under rule 376. Every proposal of the brave and fair lady is opposed to the Constitution.

SHRI BUTA SINGH (Ruper) : He can only oppose its admission ; he cannot go into the merits. He should not misbehave.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali) : What is the misbehaviour in this ?

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : Her first proposal is to nationalise foreign trade...

सभापति महोदय : यदि आप इसकी मेरिट्स पर जाना चाहते हैं तो जिस समय भाषण का अवसर आयेगा, उस समय आप इसकी मेरिट्स को डिस्कस कर सकते हैं। उसके लिए यह अवसर नहीं है। इसलिए मैं इसको रूल आउट करता हूँ। ...व्यवधान...

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : I am against the admission of this Resolution because it is unconstitutional.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara) : Obey the Constitution, obey the Chair.

सभापति महोदय : आज की जो कार्यसूची है उसमें यह प्रस्ताव है। कार्यसूची के लिए जो प्रस्ताव स्वीकार किये जाते हैं उनको माननीय उपाध्यक्ष तथा जो लोकसभा का सचिवालय है वह, वह प्रस्ताव संविधान के अनुकूल है या नहीं, उसका पहले से निरीक्षण कर लेते हैं। माननीय उपाध्यक्ष ने इसको जो स्वीकार किया है, यह संविधान के अन्तर्गत है इसीलिए स्वीकार किया है। यदि आपको इसका विरोध करना है तो भाषण के समय कर सकते हैं, इस समय इसका विरोध नहीं कर सकते।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा अपना भाषण जारी रखें।

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : I am grateful to you for giving the ruling that you have given. I have brought this resolution because my name came in the ballot...

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : ...and did not know what else to do.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : The hon. Member who is indulging in this kind of gimmicks is not going to enhance the prestige of himself or of his party.

We were being abused by Members to my right, many of them, that we were not implementing the promises that we had made. That is why I thought it fit, on my own behalf and on behalf of my party

to bring this resolution before the House as a step in the direction of fulfilling the aspirations of not only the Congress Party but also the people of this country.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tirucherappalli): Then you must stick to it and not withdraw ultimately.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: Every moment in history is a fleeting moment. You will remember that the All India Congress Committee of which I happen to be a member endorsed a ten point programme for the 1967 elections. We have made some clear cut commitments in that ten point programme and many of those points find a place in my resolution. Those ten points are: social control of banking institutions—we have gone beyond it nationalisation of general insurance, commoditywise, progressive state trading in exports and imports; state trading in food-grains; expansion of co-operatives; regulated removal of monopolies; provision of minimum needs to the community; regulate unearned increments in urban land values; rural works programme and land reforms; and the last point was about the privileges of ex-rulers which included privy purses.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर): अभी क्या किया आपने ?

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : अभी आपके दल ने क्या किया ? ...व्यवधान...

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: I did not want to mention the fate of the earlier resolution because impatience, in place of reason and wisdom, harms a good cause.

... (व्यवधान) ...

When Mr. Chavan announced that by December, 1969 the talks would be concluded, we know we have taken a decision and we shall stand by that decision. They should have withdrawn their resolution. If they did not do so and wanted to take political advantage for the good of their party alone not caring for the national opinion on these issues, I am sorry for them.

श्री रवि राय : इसी तरह की नेशनल ओपीनियन आप क्रिएट करते हैं

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना): आपकी क्या ओपीनियन है ?

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : आपकी ओपीनियन है या नहीं, मुझे पता नहीं। आप मास्को से पूछकर आइये। ये मास्को से पूछकर नहीं आये हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ...

They have not asked the opinion of Moscow. In the same spirit the Bangalore session of the AICC passed that resolution and it was accepted by Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, whatever may have happened to the methods. There can be difference of opinion on the methods.

But it does indicate that those very principles were reiterated in that note. Since then there is a definite change in the mood of the party and the country as a whole and I feel that this is not a temporary phenomenon. It has become a force in the country. I do not know whether we may be able to carry it with us or not. We shall set the destiny of the history that is being written today. This has created a definite change of mood in the country which is being reflected in the party as a whole. Each moment in history is fleeting, precious, unique. Some moments stand out as the moments of beginning. I do not consider it as the moment of the end. It is the moment of beginning in which I believe that the course of history will shape into a situation which will be the guideline for decades and possibly for centuries. This country has been put into a mood which the country cannot survive without socialism. This country, in order to progress and thrive, has to follow a faster pace of socialism.

Forces are now converging in history which make us aware of our obligations. If we are not aware of our obligations, we are all going to be destroyed in the process because the forces of history are trying to dominate us now. We have to catch that movement and if we can catch that movement, we go forward and if we are not able to catch that movement we are likely to be drowned.

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

Why do I say so? Even Dr. Gadgil has said that in spite of all the plans that we have formulated and implemented, and even before the inception of the first Plan, it has been shown that the gap between the rich and the poor has been growing. The gap between the rich and the poor has been growing for the last 15 years. The awareness of time and the placing and the environment do country and today, the awareness is an overpowering awareness.

I would like to quote what Dr. Mettle said in this country. I read his book on foundations of economy and Indian economy.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Wisdom dawned.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Yes; wisdom dawned. It will never dawn on you. Dr. Mettle said :

"Inequality relates to the power structure in Indian society. There is inequality; there is no doubt about it. The Plan has not shown how economic development should be guided in order to create greater equality. The hard core of the policy did not try to relate the objectives but to be the general goal of fiscal and economic action."

The hard core of the Plan never indicated that there should be the process of the Plan which should be reoriented towards greater equality. It was only a Plan of financial action and economic decision. That was the end of the means of the Plan. I can understand economic action and fiscal policies to be used as an end but the objective of social transformation was never given as a plank for these three Plans. These are not my words; these are the words of Dr. Mettle when he talked to Dr. Gadgil, and Dr. Mettle has gone through the Indian conditions and then given out these observations.

Therefore, I think that at this moment, we must discuss this. This is the forum and I have brought this resolution to create a climate for open debate. This is the House which is for open debate. (*Interruption*) They do not believe it, but this is the House for open debate.

AN HON. MEMBER : Withdraw it.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Whether I withdraw it or do not withdraw it, it is for open debate in the House. But they do not believe in it. But this is the only way we can preserve the democratic tradition in this country; they might be shying of the debate. I am not. If not today, but tomorrow or the day after, this debate will bring us nearer our objective and nearer our goal. But they do not believe it and they do not understand it. (*Interruption*) I know whose stooges they are and why they are interrupting. They should keep their mouths shut if they do not want to expose themselves further. As I said, forces are converging—

SHRI NAMBIAR : What is the secret ?

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : No secret; it is an open talk. This mood of the country represents India's deepest aspirations and a realisation that they can be realised an awareness has been felt in this country. Today we see it. We see it today very much. We cannot remain but to be infected by it. A spiralling pace of change has taken place in this country for 20 years, and a new generation has come. Therefore, it allows us, persons like you and persons like all of us, to contemplate, to realise, to assess and reassess that this is the period when we can make an advance which would otherwise take years. I have brought this debate in order to shorten the years and not to lengthen the years. The hon. Members realise that time has become the most impatient factor in the Indian climate today. It is a fact that time is running against us and we have to catch up with time. Probably, Sir, in the earlier years we were running and time was running behind us. Now the difference is that time is running against us and we have to run with the time. That is why we have to widen the horizon for socialist forces and not totalitarian forces. We have to rediscover ourselves, and there is no shame in me when I say that even if at this age of my life or anybody else's life if a person or an institution rediscovers that is a matter of strength and not weakness to this organisation.

I would like to remind hon. Members that this party passed a resolution. It is not a revolutionary step that they have taken. We had taken those steps before. We had

promised this country, not today but in 1931 in the Karachi Congress, when we took the pledge for independence, and with total independence we declared before this country in 1931 that we would like it to go on record that we favoured a fixed ceiling on individual income to be lowered by stages to twenty times the nation's minimum. We also declared that the State should control key industries and services. We reiterated those desires again in 1948 and 1956. I would certainly say and admit that the dichotomy of pretensions and accomplishments has been our greatest weakness. I do not deny it. I accept as a member of the party that we have promised the people, people took us by faith, people have given us immense love and affection, but the dichotomy, that we created has been to a certain extent our undoing. Therefore, with the policy that we ordained, that we decided upon to act, we did not act. Certainly, therefore a name was given to us—not a very palatable name—and we were described as a Janus-like character who really says much but does nothing. That is why I say if this kind of awareness has been indicated in the Prime Minister's note and in this resolution why should I be ashamed about it. The realisation comes to human beings (*Interruption*). Sir, they might be super human beings, I do not claim parity with them, or they may be devils and I do not claim parity with them. This institution being an institution of human beings I would certainly say that we have realised that despite our resolutions we have the inspiration to live and contribute for the fight for a life worth living for and to fight against the enemies of human happiness. We have not united ourselves and our goals are still distant.

That is why I have come back with this resolution to bring all of us nearer to the goal. I think this is the time because for the first time—it might be an accident, deliberate or otherwise—it cannot be denied that today we are standing on the crossroads and from there we have to create a new image shaping the destiny of this country. That is why we are standing today. If we succeed, and I am sure we will succeed, we can take ourselves away from the personality. They have really bedevilled the political life of this country.

सभापति महोदय : क्या सदस्या महोदय दो तीन मिनट में समाप्त कर सकेंगी ?

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : मैं अगली बार बोलूंगी। दो तीन मिनट में समाप्त नहीं कर सकूंगी।

सभापति महोदय : तब आप अगली बार बोलें। अब हम आधे घंटे की चर्चा लेते हैं। एक बात का ध्यान रखा जाए। यहां सदन में शान्ति बनाये रखने के लिए मैं आर्डर के स्थान पर आदर शब्द का प्रयोग करता हूँ तो केवल इसलिए कि आदर करें आप संविधान का, आदर करें अपना, आदर करें इस सदन का और आदर करें उन लोगों का जिनका प्रतिनिधित्व आप यहां पर करते हैं। इससे सदन की शान्ति बनी रहेगी।

17-30 hrs.

HALF AN HOUR DISCUSSION INDUSTRIAL LICENSING POLICY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this half an hour discussion arises out of the answer given by the Minister of Industrial Development, Internal Trade and Company Affairs to a certain question raised by Shri Ram Avtar Sharma and others regarding the reports of the Enquiry Committee appointed to go into the industrial licensing policy. They have made a very voluminous document, after going extensively into the entire problem in its various facets connected with industrial licensing. I have tried to go through the pages of this voluminous book and the impression that I gather is that this apparatus which we have set up, the apparatus of industrial licensing, seems to have achieved nothing except all that it was supposed to avoid. One wonders whether our objectives could have been well-achieved, objectives which the industrial licensing was supposed to achieve could have been better achieved by our non-operating the industrial licensing machinery.

The main drawbacks in the industrial development of our country, if one was to make an objective assessment, can be broadly be found to be four. These four maladies