

Duplicate

2462

To serve as a Basic Copy

Contents

NO CONFIDENCE MOTION

N. G. RANGA	..	..	..	3
P. K. DEO	..	..	..	5

ECONOMICS & FINANCE

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

M. R. MASANI	..	..	..	6
N. DANDEKER	..	..	..	9

LEVY OF EXPORT DUTY

N. DANDEKER	..	..	..	11
K. SUNDARAM	..	..	..	12

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

KRISHNAPAL SINGH	..	..	..	13
------------------	----	----	----	----

APPROPRIATION BILL

S. S. MARISWAMY	..	..	..	14
-----------------	----	----	----	----

GOLD CONTROL

M. R. MASANI	..	..	..	15
DAHABHAI V. PATEL	..	..	..	16

PRICES

DAHABHAI V. PATEL	..	..	..	16
-------------------	----	----	----	----

DEVALUATION

DAHABHAI V. PATEL	..	..	..	17
K. SUNDARAM	..	..	..	18

BISCUIT FACTORY IN MADRAS

LOKNATH MISRA	..	..	..	20
---------------	----	----	----	----

CONSTITUTION

EDUCATION

N. G. RANGA	..	..	..	20
-------------	----	----	----	----



SWATANTRA IN PARLIAMENT

A record of Swatantra participation
in the proceedings of the Lok Sabha
and the Rajya Sabha

No. 8

July 25 — September 10, 1966

Issued by the Central Office of the
SWATANTRA PARTY
143 Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Fort, Bombay, 1 — Phone : 29687

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN PUNJAB		
BUTA SINGH	20	
PUNJAB REORGANISATION BILL, 1966		
KAPUR SINGH	21	
RAM SINGH	22	
FOREIGN AFFAIRS		
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS		
DAHAYABHAI V. PATEL	23	
M. RUTHNASWAMI	24	
DEFENCE		
CONCENTRATION OF PAKISTANI TROOPS		
KRISHNAPAL SINGH	25	
FOOD PROBLEM		
ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES (Amendment) BILL		
N. G. RANGA	25	
P. K. DEO	28	
DAHAYABHAI V. PATEL	29	
LAW AND ORDER		
ADVOCATES (Amendment) BILL		
N. DANDEKER	29	
HOUSE ARREST OF A. K. GOPALAN		
N. G. RANGA	30	
DELHI HIGH COURT BILL		
KAPUR SINGH	30	
PRIVILEGE MOTION: J. L. HATHI'S STATEMENT		
N. G. RANGA	30	
PRIVILEGE OF MEMBERS		
S. S. MARISWAMY	31	
CORRUPTION		
P. A. C. REPORT		
N. G. RANGA	32	
LOKNATH MISRA	32	
ELECTIONS		
RESIGNATION OF GOVERNMENT 3 MONTHS BEFORE ELECTIONS		
N. G. RANGA	34	
REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLE'S ACT (Amendment) BILL		
P. K. DEO	35	
M. RUTHNASWAMI	37	
LOKNATH MISRA	38	
PLANNING		
REORIENTATION OF PLANS		
N. G. RANGA	38	
EDUCATION		
UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION (Amendment) BILL 1966		
M. RUTHNASWAMI	39	
SOCIAL WELFARE		
LINGUISTIC MINORITIES' REPORT		
LOKNATH MISRA	39	
MATERNITY BENEFIT (Amendment) BILL, 1966		
LOKNATH MISRA	40	
GENERAL		
THE ELECTRICITY (Supply) AMENDMENT BILL		
N. DANDEKER	41	
N. G. RANGA	42	
RAILWAY ACCIDENTS		
P. N. SOLANKI	42	
JAYANTI SHIPPING (Taking over of the Management) BILL, 1966		
P. N. SOLANKI	43	
DAHAYABHAI V. PATEL	43	
INSECTICIDES BILL		
B. N. ANANTANI	44	
TELEGRAPH WIRES (unlawful possession) AMENDMENT BILL 1966		
DEVI SINGH	44	

NO CONFIDENCE MOTION*

N. G. Ranga

As long ago as 1959 December or 1960 January, the Swatantra Party gave notice to this Government and a warning to the people against the danger of inflation spiral. We organised an anti-inflation day over the whole of this country. The Government did not heed our advice, our warning. It has gone on splendidly.

Mr. Asoka Mehta, while he was in the Opposition, said that a certain amount of inflation is built into every planning. He was justified in saying that I took him to task even then for having said that as there was no need for that kind of inflation; yet, knowingly, consciously, this Government has indulged in this inflation, indulged in deficit planning and landed this country in the present plight in which we find ourselves.

The Government have admitted that there has been an eighty per cent increase in price and secondly, there should no longer be any more inflation. But there has been inflation, they say, and it is injurious and harmful to our social economy.

Is this a national Government? Has it got any right at all to continue to function in the name of the country? Years ago, for a few years soon after we became free, that Government could lay that claim to work for national interests but then very soon it got into troubled waters and corruption. In 1948, we raised a charge sheet in Madras but then Pandit Nehru did not want it to be discussed in Parliament. He got it discussed in the Working Committee and would not come to any proper conclusion. The late Mr. Prakasam had to arraign this Government in the Madras Legislature for a number of days and exposed how the canker of corruption was creeping into the ranks of the ministers and Congress legislators. The late Desapriya Venkata Pantulu complained to Mahatma Gandhi a few days before his death and Gandhiji had read out that letter and warned the Congress people against the corruption that was creeping in. We were remaining within the Congress and playing the same role in a much better and bolder manner than Mr. Hanumanthaiyaya and Mr. Mathur claim to be playing now. We were defeated at every step by Pandit Nehru. He came to that conclusion and forced it down the throat on the Congress Working Committee as well as this Parliament by saying that whatever complaints may be there against a minister should be decided upon by the chief

minister and any complaint against the minister here in the Union Government should be decided by the Prime Minister. That was the conclusion which he reached and it came as a recommendation made by the Santhanam committee. Only the other day the Vigilance Commissioner Rao said that Government could not implement it. Parliament cavilled at it and therefore, they cannot go forward with it. So much so we have been pressing this demand before Parliament. That is why we have been asking for an institution of Ombudsman.

The President of this Republic made a reference to it and held out hopes that his Government was going to give effect to it. Yet, we know, what has been happening throughout India. There were charges against the Mysore Chief Minister, against the Rajasthan Chief Minister, Bihar Chief Minister, Orissa Chief Minister and Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister. Of course, there was the man who died in the Punjab. There were charges here against some of the Central Ministers, too. Is it not a fact that what is happening over the whole of India is like carbuncles that are arising upon a diabetic Government, diabetic Ministry, diabetic leadership here? All these things culminated the other day in a bandh in U.P. It would not be a surprise to anybody if one of these days there were to be a bandh over this Government from among their own officers, pilots, engineers etc. and other people who are getting thousands every month. Even the INTUC has been obliged in several places to advise their workers to go on strike. INTUC itself has raised its voice against the manner in which the labour has been ill-treated in so many of these public undertakings and it has in fact expressed its fear against the expansion of these public enterprises and nationalisation. Nobody asked the Home Minister but he promised this country that he would resign from his position if within two years he could not succeed in putting down corruption. Has he succeeded? When that question was put to him he said: "I have placed my resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister and if she wants she can endorse it". He still sticks to his position. Nevertheless what is meant by integrity? A man should be able to stand by his word. Judged on that anvil, Mr. Nanda stands condemned. When ministers fail in this manner and give room to anybody and everybody to draw the conclusion that hanging on to their place is more dear, precious and sweeter to them than to stand by their word and discharge their duties, how can you expect the administration to rise to the occasion and to discharge their duties in an honest manner.

One of the reasons why the administration has become so much foul, is the existence of permits, licences and quotas and the party-oriented administration. We want their administration to be handed over to an

* A no-confidence motion in the Council of Ministers was also tabled by Mr. M. R. Masani on behalf of the Swatantra Party. His motion secured the second position in the ballot. Therefore, the Communist Member Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, whose motion had secured first position, moved the motion. The Swatantra Party, as per the directions of its Parliamentary Board, did not support the motion when it was put to the vote of the House for deciding its admissibility. However, at the conclusion of the debate the Swatantra Members voted for the no-confidence motion.

impartial, quasi-judicial commission to be presided over by a Supreme Court judge. The Home Minister was agreeable to that also; some of us were invited and also for inner discussions and yet, this Ministry was not willing to accept that suggestion. Only the other day, the Administrative Reforms Commission also said that some good effects could be achieved if only such a suggestion were implemented. But this Government is not the one which would implement that suggestion. This Commission is going to make its report in September next year. So, they can go to the country and say: "You come again and give once again your franchise; put us in power for another five years and we will do it. We have put half a dozen people, including one of the Opposition leaders also, on that body. Therefore, put faith in us." That is not the leadership that this country wants or can accept.

The Prime Minister repeatedly was saying that there is need for economy. We wanted a residence for the Prime Minister. We had one, and without any consultation or a sanction of Parliament, they converted it into a museum by spending a crore of rupees worth of national property in a jiffy and that decision also was taken arbitrarily. We were agreeable to it because we did not wish to upset any memories of one who was one of our good old friends. Then, the second Prime Minister wanted a residence; he wanted to be humble and he wanted to set an example for others who wanted or who were so very fond of palatial buildings. He went therefore into an ordinary house. And they spent more than a lakh of rupees, to recognise it, so that security arrangements, guests, reception and all other paraphernalia could be provided for the Prime Minister. Then, what about the new Prime Minister? She has no use for it; the rooms are all too small, the number of guests has grown suddenly, and therefore she sticks to her earlier one and she is not prepared to go into that building, and that has to be turned into another kind of office, and I am told that they have been casting their eyes on the Nizam's palace.

The Prime Minister went down to Andhra the other day, and what did the Ministers do. A building worth a lakh of rupees was refurbished by spending a lakh of rupees in order to make it fit for the Prime Minister of India.

The Prime Minister was asking the people to observe austerity in the light of this devaluation. I am neither in favour of devaluation nor am I opposed to it. But who is responsible for this devaluation? All that has happened has made devaluation absolutely inevitable. Who asked them to go round the world ignoring the laws of economic health, social health, and then bring about this cancer and tumour upon themselves, upon the whole society, which has made the surgeon's knife inevitable, to come down upon the nation as a whole? It was this Government itself which did it. For that we condemn it.

We have been pleading before the nation that the people should live within their means, that we should

cut down our unnecessary expenditure, that we should economise in governmental expenditure, that we should no longer indulge in huge, big, gigantic projects, which would not be able to yield any results in the near future and that we should give the highest priority to agricultural, and that we should not play with suicidal luxuries like Bokaro and the rest. It is not because America insisted on a devaluation that devaluation has come now. Devaluation was inevitable. Indeed, this is the second phase of devaluation. Who knows? There may be a third and fourth one also if this junta of Congress leaders were to manage themselves to be returned here once again in a massive majority, because they caused all these troubles. They wasted public funds; they wasted the national opportunities that were given to them. As a result of the failure of the Governments here as well as in the States to implement that sacred pledge that we had given to ourselves in the name of the Constitution to introduce compulsory and free elementary education, they have succeeded in keeping 75 per cent of our electorate illiterate even till today. The result is that these illiterate people have been enslaved to the symbol of bulls and with the help of the bulls they have been able to rule here.

The Prime Minister has gone round from one country to another. In Vietnam she said that there should be scope for talks and both parties should be willing for talks. But when she went to Soviet Russia, under the cupolas of those Churches she got inspiration and she said, there was some imperialistic power, under whose influence things are going on.

Is it not shameful that even today this Government is not prepared to say that it would take all possible measures to evacuate the Chinese from our territory occupied by them? All that the Government says is that it would pursue peaceful methods and only if those methods fail, they would think of other steps. It is that kind of doubtful sense of patriotism that has pervaded and is corrupting their minds and souls that we are opposed to. That is why we want this country to make a change.

Then what is to happen? Immediately thereafter we want them to go to the President and ask him to order general elections, only for the Parliament now and not for the legislative assemblies in the States. It is by joining these two elections that these people have been able to get all those people in the States who are not considered to be good enough for their Assemblies to be kicked up here into the Parliament in such a facile manner. Let them have a separate election for Parliament. Then we can see how many of these gentlemen would be able to come back. Then we would be able to show that there is a real swing of public opinion in this country. Then, soon after that, we want the State Ministers also to be dismissed by the President and elections to be held. After these elections are held, when the parties come back here, it would be time enough for all of us, to put our heads together and see whether

we cannot possibly have truly representative national government, a national leadership.

Lok Sabha — August 1, 1966

P. K. Deo

The Government has brought our nation to irreparable bankruptcy and has proclaimed it in a public confession by devaluation of the Rupee. Extravagance, insolvency, rising prices and their inability to rule and keep the house in order have crossed their previous boundaries.

Government have never cared to observe strict financial discipline. There have been reckless spending and wasting of the poor taxpayer's money and the foreign aid throwing to the winds all financial rules. There have been indiscriminate deficit financing, excessive taxation, adoption of impracticable giant plans and investment of non-existent resources in wrong priorities in favour of slow and low return-giving public sector.

If after devaluation we take to the road of financial discipline, as U.K., France or Yugoslavia have done, we may have an economic rebirth. But if we follow the path which is traversed by Indonesia and get enmeshed in the net of rising prices there will be further devaluation. The highest priority should be given to stabilising the prices.

The poor and the middle class people are hit hard by the rise in prices. The Government have not done anything for them. Unless prices are frozen there is absolutely no sense in talking of freezing the wages.

It is no use putting the blame on the traders or the manufacturers for the rise in prices. Even though the Government is saying that the prices have to be controlled, in the same breath it is raising the prices in Government undertakings.

To cope with the rising demands the main impediments in the way of increasing production have to be removed. The suffocating controls, permits and licences and quotas which have opened the floodgate of corruption and political patronage, must go. More incentives should be given to the people, for increased agricultural and industrial production. The mystic phrase of land reform embodied in the Seventeenth Amendment, which has robbed the peasant of his right over the land, should be repealed.

The Prime Minister, during her tour of the drought affected areas of Orissa, had given certain directives. Those who are supposed to implement her directives are doing just the opposite.

The Prime Minister had stated that the cultivators would get taccavi loans at the rate of Rs. 100 per acre up to a maximum of Rs. 800. But nothing has been done in this regard. The result is 25 per cent of the land is lying fallow in spite of a very good monsoon this year.

The Defence of India Act is being misused. Instead of booking the hoarders or profiteers it is being used to victimise the political opponents. Emergency powers have become a matter of administrative convenience. Even though the Government said that they wanted to restrict the scope and operation of the Act only to border areas, they want much more powers. The Unlawful Activities Prevention Bill is also another method to arm the Government with more powers on various pretexts so that they can clamp them down on political rivals.

Nothing has been done by the Government to wipe out the scar of humiliation and defeat at the hands of the Chinese. We have more or less acquiesced in the illegal possession of a part of our country by China.

We must follow a consistent and realistic foreign policy. We have to realise that China is posing a big threat to the freedom of South East Asia. Attack on military bases behind the battle front is a part of the game. For the sake of our country, we should support American bombing of military bases in North Viet Nam even though we may feel sorry for the loss of lives there. As Chairman of the International Control Commission we have rightly suggested the convening of a Geneva-type Conference and we should stick to it.

The Soviet Union has been flirting with Pakistan and the illusive relationship between the Soviet Union and Pakistan has been a matter of great concern to us. Something has been brewing and we should be clear as to what is going on behind the screen between Pakistan and Russia. Unless we play our cards properly we will be in the soup again.

Corruption has flourished under the Government's mantle of protection. There should be the institution of ombudsman.

The Government have all along been trying to throttle the Opposition, by corrupting voters, by exploiting their poverty and ignorance. The Opposition MLAs and MPs are being purchased to further boost the brute majority of the party in power. Opposition leaders are being lured away by offers of fishes and loaves, jobs and positions. Those things have to be stopped.

Lok Sabha — August 3, 1966

ECONOMICS & FINANCE

The Economic Situation

M. R. Masani

The unfortunate thing in this country at this stage is that there is no 'the' Opposition. There are several oppositions, which is undoubtedly a weakness in our Democracy, and some of us are trying to put it right.

We belong to a democratic opposition, an opposition that tries to create an alternative government which can take over power through the peaceful, constitutional means of the ballot box.

There was a moment of truth for this country on the midnight of 5th June that our money had depreciated, that our credit was impaired, and that we as a nation were bankrupt. These things had been true for several years, but the people had not sensed them, because those in authority had made it their job to hide these things from the people and throw dust in their eyes.

There were a few discerning people who had sensed what was happening. Among economists, there was Prof. Shenoy. For years he had warned us that our currency was going down and down and something should be done about it. My esteemed chief, Rajaji, had written week after week in *Swarajya*, showing how the country was drifting to bankruptcy. And there were smaller people like myself who had been warning the authorities in this very House, if only those in authority had cared to listen.

Since we are sometimes misrepresented by saying

* The following substitute motion to the Govt's motion was tabled by Mr. Masani, Mr. N. Dandekar, Mr. P. K. Deo, Sardar Kapur Singh and Mr. Tan Singh.

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the present economic situation in the country, is of opinion that the economic collapse, of which the recent devaluation of the national currency is an admission, is the cumulative result of ill-conceived economic policies pursued by the Union Government over the last decade.

In order that the sacrifices imposed by the process of devaluation may not be wasted the following measures have become necessary:—

- (a) A clear commitment by Government to eschew inflationary policies of every kind.
- (b) A drastic reduction in civil non-developmental expenditure of the Union & State Governments.
- (c) The restriction of foreign loans on government-to-government basis only to such legitimate purposes as fall within the proper duties of the State like building the infrastructure and, as an emergency measure, for the current needs of agriculture and industry.
- (d) Consolidation of what already been taken on hand before embarking on any new Plan.
- (e) A substantial reduction in both direct and indirect taxes.
- (f) The complete dismantling of the structure of permits, quotas, licences and controls including Gold Control."

that we welcome devaluation, let me read my own words in this House in my Budget speech last year, when Shri T. T. Krishnamachari was the Finance Minister. On the 22nd March, 1965, I said:

"...When foreign aid starts drying up —

and this has already happened —

"there will be only two alternatives left to this country. It can shamelessly go bankrupt as it has done —

"or it can put its house in order. If it is going to put its house in order, there are two ways of doing it again. One is to stop these inflationary policies and to scrap the Fourth Plan as it is at present devised, and create a stable measure of value in this country, an honest rupee. If you do not do it, I shall tell you what you will have to do, and what hon. Members would not like, and that is, to see the Finance Minister of their party doing in the next two years

and only 15 months have passed —

"and that is to devalue the rupee".

The then Finance Minister was kicked out of office, quite rightly, and his successor was asked to hold the baby. He is not here now to recall the stupid reply, that dishonest reply that he gave in this House. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, when faced with my statement, said that Mr. Masani was imagining things. Our rupee was still exactly what it always was. There was only one price for the rupee; 4.75 rupees make a dollar. There was no other price. In any other country, such a man would have been thrown out of office on the spot. But he survived for a few months and in ignominy had to go out, having done incalculable harm to this country.

The point is that economic laws do not follow the diktats of Planning Commissions or even fleeting parliamentary majorities. They have their supervening force, and so, at last, on the 5th June this year, even this Government had to accept reality.

The real issue is not whether devaluation is good or bad. The real issues are two: what has brought about the debacle and what are the causes of devaluation? Secondly, how do we see that the sacrifices imposed on the people by this act are not wasted? How do we see that there is not another devaluation within two or three years?

There are five causes which have brought about this bankruptcy and devaluation. The first and most basic cause was that we did not live within our means. We imported more than we exported. We spent more than we produced. When an individual does it, he goes bankrupt. The evil was to be found in the Second

and Third Plans. First of all, what was wrong with them was that they were based on deficit financing. Deficit finance is just created money to spend when you do not have it. You can do it through printing currency notes or through bank credits or in a variety of ways. Money thus created is something that is poison to the economy. Very consciously the old Governments here went in for deficit financing and the result was inflation. The amount of deficit financing that took place during the Third Plan was actually more than double what had been allowed or estimated.

The second thing wrong with the Plans was the obsession with heavy industry and steel and the neglect of agriculture and consumer goods. This again has an effect on inflation, because when you pump money into the economy in low-return and slow-return projects like steel, you create inflation, because goods in the market do not come in quickly to compensate for the extra money you have raised. As we know, inflation and rising prices are the cruellest tax on all, cruellest on the poor who cannot afford it.

The third thing wrong with the Plans was excessive dependence on foreign aid and foreign loans. This made foreign loans crutches on which the nation was asked to depend. Then, we had PL 480, getting food from abroad for which we did not pay at all, a thing which has now at last come to an end. The result is that we are unable to pay these loans unless we borrow more money again. We are insolvent unless somebody will lend us money to pay for our present obligations. We have mortgaged the future of our people in the pursuit of our foolish and idiotic Plans.

The fourth thing wrong with our Plans and policies was over-taxation. The phrase used was "let us mobilise resources". "Mobilising" resources meant taking away money from the pockets of the people and from the banks where it could be productively invested into the unproductive coffers of the Government. This has diverted such amounts from the pockets of the people to the pockets of Government that our production has fallen, both in agriculture and industry, and we have come to our present plight.

Finally there were excessive controls, controls killing enterprise, fostering corruption, creating profiteering and import licences.

These are the causes which brought bankruptcy to the nation. It is nothing but the legacy of the past decade, the legacy of the two previous Governments and the few months of this Government. I am amused to see that those responsible for these follies are now trying to deny their share of the responsibility. One of these guilty men was Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. Then there are the members of the Planning Commission — notorious communists like Prof. Mahalanobis who are still sitting there, guiding our Government, old-time fellow-travellers like Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao and a whole bunch of half-baked Marxists of various denominations who are still allowed to decide the policies of this Government.

We read Press reports that in party meetings, Mr. Malaviya and Mr. Krishna Menon are trying to pin the guilt on the present Government. I am no defender of the present Government. I want to see it out of office but if the idea is that everything in the Stalin-Nehru era was perfect, and now in the post Stalin-Nehru era everything has gone wrong, let me put it very clearly. As in Russia, the people have suffered from the economic follies and the economic planning of the Stalinist era, so in this country today the people are suffering from the follies and bad planning and Stalinist policies of the Nehru era. These are the most reactionary elements in our country. They want to take the country back to an era through which these two countries have passed. It is very interesting that two Ministers of the old Governments, who left those Governments in discredit, the old Stalinists of our own country, are now trying to exonerate themselves.

The first of my concrete proposals is a clear commitment by this Government that it will eschew all inflationary policies of every kind. Unfortunately, even after devaluation, this has not been practised. The Finance Minister announced at the Chief Minister's Conference on 18th July that the States have overdrawn during the last three weeks — before July 18th — no less than Rs. 20 crores from the Reserve Bank. Now, if this is an indication of the economic discipline that this Government is going to be able to enforce on the State Governments, then the answer is that our very first proposal, that from now on deficit financing and inflation should be avoided, is not going to happen.

The second thing is a drastic reduction in civil non-developmental expenditure of both the Union and State Governments. The amazing thing is that instead of stopping all recruitment to the civil services, the Government has done exactly the reverse. I was amazed when in the newspapers on 1st July I saw a fantastic announcement, I am quoting from the Press:

Government has removed the ban on the creation of new posts which was in operation for the last five years as a measure of economy.

The Finance Minister, I believe, has agreed that there should be a cut of 3 per cent on revenue expenditure and 5 per cent on capital expenditure which, the newspaper reports tell us, would yield a total saving of Rs. 50 crores. Is this really the best that the Finance Minister can do? Two or three years ago, Shri Krishnamachari said he could have saved Rs. 70 crores. He did not do so but he talked exactly like this.

Thirdly foreign loans should be restricted to essential purposes. Those essential purposes are two-fold. One is the emergency purpose of bringing in imports that can keep our agriculture and industry going to make up for the mess into which the Government has

landed us. The other long-term and permanent purpose of foreign aid, Government-to-Government loans, should be building the infrastructure — water, power, transport, communications, technical education, if you like, but nothing more. For the rest, we should rely on the savings of our own people and what foreign capital can come in on its own risk as equity capital.

Fourthly, we should consolidate the projects we have taken in hand before embarking on any new projects. Meanwhile we should stop any new Five Year Plan. Let us postpone any Fourth Five Year Plan until we have put our house in order and created something out of what we have invested.

The fifth thing is substantial reduction in both direct and indirect taxation to make a larger supply of rupee finance available so that people can invest in productive enterprises which alone can bring down prices. There is no other way to hold the price line than to increase production. There is no other way to increase production in this country unless you leave with the people more money so that they can invest in productive enterprises.

Finally, there should be complete dismantling of the structure of permits and licences, quotas and controls, including Gold Control, which has been such a burden on certain sections of our community. Import licensing must go.

I do believe, if these measures were followed, then whatever hardship devaluation may cast on our people, at least we will be justified in casting them, and we could ask them to take these hardships and shoulder them in the interest of the country.

Is this Government capable of carrying out these policies? Is it capable of making the radical changes that are required or is it too hidebound and too conservative to make these radical changes? I fear all the evidence is against the hope that this Government can ever save the country from the mess into which it has brought us. First of all, the very motive for devaluation is questionable.

Then what was the real motive that led this Government, which kept on saying "no devaluation", suddenly to devalue? In a note that the Finance Ministry is supposed to have prepared for Members of Parliament — I never got a copy of it, probably it was meant for Members belonging to the Congress Party only; I got only a summary of it from the Press — a note called "Devaluation — Some Questions Answered", this is the crucial sentence:

"The action could not be postponed as all further aid negotiations hinged on it."

Devaluation was accepted in order to get foreign aid, foreign loans. It was a bargain. Now, there is nothing wrong in a bargain. If it had been a good bargain from the national point of view, I think this House would sustain the Government in making that bargain. After all, economic policy consists of give and

take on the international plane. But is this a good bargain?

Was there no alternative? I venture to say that, even on the 5th of June, there was an alternative open to this Government. That alternative was: no devaluation, no aid and no Fourth Plan: or, if you like, no devaluation, a little aid and a slower and smaller Plan. That was a self-respecting and honourable alternative. Why was it not accepted? Why did we not go and say: "we do not want so much foreign aid, we will do without it if necessary, but we will put our house in order, become solvent again and, maybe, in a year or two the rest of the countries will respect us, the respect which we have lost now, and they may come along and say: "You have put your house in order, now we will give you aid." What came in the way of our acceptance of this policy which, I am sure, many people on the other side would have liked to consider? What came in the way was that this wretched Fourth Plan would not have been possible. And to save this wretched Fourth Plan we had to humiliate ourselves, we had to devalue our currency, we had to go down on our knees.

What is the Fourth Plan going to do? Where is the money that we are now going to get; if we get it, which I doubt, where is the money to go? The project aid is to go into the State sector, that most wasteful sector of our economy which eats up capital and gives nothing in return.

Our present Prime Minister said on the 11th of June something which is not correct. She said the Soviet Union is aiding our State sector, while the Western countries are aiding our private sector. The fact is that 70 per cent of the money from the United States and the West is also going into the State sector, along with the whole of Soviet aid.

Hon. Members will say: what is wrong with it: The State sector is wasteful, unproductive, it is not giving the country the kind of return which it is entitled to expect.

Here let me quote the hon. Prime Minister herself. I am quoting from the *Hindustan Times* of June 15. She made a very frank statement about what was wrong with the State sector. She regretted that, by and large, it had failed, and she answered the question why. Let me quote her words. What is wrong with the State sector is according to the Prime Minister: "Faulty planning...." Somebody asked me: "Don't you like planning?" I do not like faulty planning any more than the Prime Minister.

She said:

"Faulty planning with regard to concept, size, location, raw materials, design, choice of processes, equipment, personnel, contractual arrangements, supervision, coordination, time schedules, etc."

These, the Prime Minister says: "has resulted in cost escalation and delay." She went on to say: this is not

all, there is another set of problems. Then she gave another list of what is wrong. These are her words again:

"Over-capitalisation, over-staffing, incidentally adding to township-costs, inadequate work-study, lack of delegation, the application of secretariat codes and procedures to commercial undertakings, the system of financial control and audit and the lack of a well-thought-out personnel policy, constitute another set of problems."

Then she went to the third category of problems. She said that there were, again, other factors. Those "other factors" are as follows:

"Other factors which had to be gone into were the proper programming of orders, price policies, quality and cost control, research and design development and the structure of management."

If anything is left that is right when all this is wrong, I hope the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister will tell us when they reply to the debate:

There is a proposed outlay of Rs. 16,000 crores for the State sector, Rs. 16,000 crores for the Fourth Plan. That involves an increase of Rs. 1,500 crores over the investment envisaged for the public sector in the Plan memorandum. In other words, one year ago we were told that a certain amount of money would be poured into the gutter. Now we are told that Rs. 1,500 crores more are to be poured into the gutter.

The Planning Commission has suggested that the public sector investment envisaged by the Commission will entail mobilisation of additional resources to the tune of Rs. 1,800 crores, and this will be raised by taxation and other measures. So, in place of the cut in direct and indirect taxation that I have suggested as a correct solution, the Planning Commission is going to incite or bully the Finance Minister to come with Budget proposals for Rs. 1,800 crores of additional taxation.

Now, I forecast, if this Government remains in office next year and if they cling to this kind of Fourth Plan, the price of the Indian rupee, which is now 10 cent of the American dollar in the free market, will drop to 5 cents within two or three years.

On the 27th June, our newspapers reported that the Prime Minister was supposed to have told the correspondent of *Look*:

"If I feel that a departure from Nehru's policies is necessary, because India's future calls for it, I will not hesitate to suggest such changes."

I was delighted when I read it. But my hopes were dashed the very next day because, on 28th June, an official spokesman announced that she denied that she ever uttered those words.

What was there in the statement to deny? She had said what any Prime Minister of any country should be proud to say and should say every day, namely, that if the interests of the country demand something, he or she will not hesitate to propose it. A denial can mean only one thing. It can only mean that, even if the interests of this country demand, even if the future of this country cannot be saved otherwise, she will cling to her father's policies. If this is what she wants to believe, then indeed she is unfit to be the Prime Minister of this great country.

That is why I am sadly driven to the conclusion that there is no hope for this country unless this Government is thrown out of office. There is no hope for this country unless the monopoly of power that this disintegrating party has now enjoyed for fifteen years is ended.

My revered chief, Rajaji, gave some good advice as an elder Statesman to the Prime Minister. He suggested to her the formation of "a government of all the talents" from all parties and no parties, getting the best men in the country together, whether they were in Parliament or not, creating a kind of government where all the best brains of India could be put together. That advice was turned down. I was not surprised: I never expected it to be accepted.

I have always held the view, even before she turned it down, that there can be no "government of all the talents" in this country while this bogus parliamentary majority is still intact, which is based on 44 per cent of the popular vote, which is a minority of the votes polled. Therefore, I say, the only solution to this economic problem is unfortunately a political one. There is no economic solution while these men sit in office. They must go.

Lok Sabha - July 27, 1966

N. Dandekar*

The Supplement to the Economic Survey recently issued by the Finance Ministry admits for the first time over the last four or five years, the dreadful situation that has developed in almost every sector of the economy.

It is indeed odd, if over a period of 15 years after spending thousands and thousands of crores of rupees and bending over backwards and submitting our economy to the most unheard of strains, we have not made some progress. We find from the "Pocket Book of Economic Information", of the Government of India that India is the third last in the rate of growth; we were better only than Morocco, which achieved a 0.6 per cent rate of growth per annum, and Argentina, which achieved a 2 per cent rate of growth per annum. We, over the period 1952-63, achieved a rate

* Speech on the motion moved by the Minister of Finance on Economic Situation.

of progress of 2.5 per cent per annum. All other under-developed countries have done much better than what India could achieve.

The rate of progress in 1963-64 and 1964-65 in India was considerably better, but there was a complete setback, by something like *minus* 5 per cent rate of growth, in the year 1965-66.

Agriculture is in a state of terrible crisis. If you look at the figures of imports of foodgrains, which are a very good index of our rate of progress in agriculture, you have figures like this: in 1961, we had to import 3.3 million tonnes of foodgrains; in 1964 when there was no question of famine or drought, we had to import 6.3 million tonnes of foodgrains; in 1965, following a good monsoon we imported 7.5 million tonnes; and this year I suppose we should be importing 12 million tonnes.

For the first time this official Economic Survey admits that the public sector projects are yielding hardly any return at all and that the private sector industries were starving for essential raw materials and components. The rate of industrial progress, which is again the final measurement of all the talk that goes on about planning and achievements in the industrial sector, gives us figures something like these: the highest we reached was in 1962, namely, 9 per cent rate of growth; in 1963 it was 8 per cent; in 1964 it was 7 per cent; and in 1965 it was 4 per cent.

The infra structure again is a case of both inadequacy and poor equipment; whether it is power or Railways, Communications or Posts & Telegraphs, or in any other sphere.

The monetary expenditure is going beyond all bounds, financed by mounting savage taxation; because that is not enough, there are excessive borrowings, both internal and external; but even that is not enough and, therefore, we resort to deficit financing on a vast scale; even this is not enough and, so the States go in for deficit financing on their own by way of overdrafts. This vast field of deficit financing is of an extraordinary character; much of it is concealed by way of loans subscribed to by the Reserve Bank of India, by way of money borrowed from the PL 480 funds, and by way of various other direct credits by the Reserve Bank of India to the economy.

As for the capital market, it is dead. Savings and investment, this Supplementary Report admits, are at a record low ebb.

Overhanging the entire economy is this poisonous cloud of inflation which has now assumed alarming proportions.

Finally there was the deepening crisis of balance of payments, a crisis which descended upon us in spite of the massive apparatus of import controls, licences, permits, quotas etc. and in spite of the so-called rupee payments trade which at one time was

held out as an eldorado; in spite also of the massive apparatus of export promotion, tax credits, straight export subsidies and various things of that kind. Also, in the midst of all these schemes the export promotion assumed such ridiculous proportions that anticipatory imports were also allowed in the hope that people importing would also be exporting; and the resultant frauds were something like Rs. 60 to 80 crores worth of anticipatory imports for which there were no exports or there were a good deal of exports of which the foreign exchange never came here.

In the situation in which the country was placed, the problem was: What should the Government do in those circumstances? And on thinking this over, Government must have had ahead of them five possible difficult alternatives to choose from. The first alternative was 'Do nothing' or 'Business as usual'. The destination of that kind of approach would have been Indonesia. The second possible alternative was a 'Closed Economy', an economy that would shut out from the rest of the world, relying on more and more controls, more and more regimentation and more and more Statism. I am glad Government did not choose that alternative either, for the destination of that path would have been Russia. The third alternative possibility was that of "deflation", that is, lowering the internal price level by something like 50 per cent so that the external value of the rupee at the pegged (old) rate of exchange and the internal value of the rupee could again correspond. I am glad Government did not choose that one either, because the destination of that approach would have been economic paralysis in this country, for we would never possibly have hoped to cope with a deflation of that magnitude and yet make any kind of economic progress. A technical fourth alternative was what Professor Shenoy had called the "floating rupee", that is, a free market for the rupee which virtually allowed a free foreign exchange market to develop in this country except for certain specific transactions. I am glad Government did not adopt that either, because the destination on that path would have been "destination unknown".

Devaluation was therefore the only alternative left before the Government. It was the inevitable consequence of the ruinous economic policies adopted by the Congress Government over the past ten years. Hence, I 'approve' the decision to devalue the Rupee only in the sense in which I would approve a declaration of insolvency by an insolvent who was at last determined to mend his ways so as not to default again. And I warn the Government now that it is not enough merely to say that they are thinking about follow-up measures but those follow-up measures have got to have a very clear purposive end in view.

In the first place, there must be drastic economies in public expenditure, of the order of at least Rs. 500 crores in the aggregate in the 1966-67 budget of all the Governments in this country, which means approximately a saving of 10 per cent.* Unless there is this

* This has been the Swatantra's demand during the past three years.

across-the-board saving of ten per cent, there is no possibility of the economy recovering. The surpluses resulting from this kind of economy must be used in two directions; the first half these economies, of the order of Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 crores, must be utilised towards reducing the burdens and the incidence of taxation. Taxation has now reached monstrous proportions.

Secondly, the balance of the budgetary surpluses resulting from drastic economy should be utilised in repayment of the inflationary borrowings from the Reserve Bank.

Mere professions of stopping deficit financing will not get us anywhere. There must be concrete modes of approach to the problem which will result in the absence of the need for deficit financing. Deficit financing is a consequence of "planning" expenditure on a huge scale and over-enthusiastic approaches to the possibility of resources which do not materialise. More promises that we shall not resort to deficit financing are mere assertions and not practicable undertakings; practical approaches must consist in reducing expenditure, reducing taxation and borrowings, or utilising, in other words, the opportunity afforded by devaluation not for a budget that is planned for a deficit but a budget that is planned for a surplus.

The Governor of the Reserve Bank said the other day to a group of bankers:

"The size of the Plan has indeed to be judged not by what is desirable but rather by what is possible. A seemingly smaller Plan in terms of financial outlays but executed without experiencing a price inflation may, indeed, in terms of physical content, be no smaller than a larger financial Plan whose size contains a sizable element of price inflation traceable to significant credit creation.

A moderation of the pace of investment growth would along with an effective check to non-Plan expenditure, help to relieve the pressures on the economy. A control on the budgetary expenditure and avoidance of inflationary finance would itself help to augment the flow of genuine savings into investments both directly and via the capital market. A control of expenditure and the achievement of budgetary balance would also help us to view the problem of mobilisation of tax resources in a different perspective, as it would offer a respite from the constant pressure towards raising tax levels."

Therefore, the Fourth Five Year Plan and the annual budget etc. must be specifically geared to the realities of available resources. This continuing talk to Shri Asoka Mehta that he must make another drive for mobilising resources is simply going to mean expenditure beyond resources financed by deficit financing.

While I agree that devaluation was the only way out, I insist that it is the only way out if, and only if,

Government are determined to be an honest insolvent and to start again on a clean slate.

Lok Sabha — August 10, 1966

Levy of Export Duty

N. Dandekar

It is perfectly clear from the Commerce Ministry's Report of 1965-66 that the Ministry of Commerce, and the Minister of Commerce were completely convinced that there was no case for devaluation at all. When the debate took place on the Demands for Grants in the months of April and May that was one of the matters I dealt with, the various types of export incentive schemes that then existed with a view to stimulating non-traditional exports.

Over the years, and in particular since the year 1956 onwards, while on the one hand the price level and costs in India were rising the artificially pegged value of the rupee was gradually and steadily widening. When that sort of situation prevails over a period of time import-oriented industries gain premium, but export oriented industries get at a discount. The reasons being their internal costs and prices are rising, the cost of these goods to the foreigners is higher than that at which they could be produced and exported on a large scale. The long-term consequence is a continued incentive to deployment of resources in import-oriented industries and in domestic-market-oriented industries, but not in export-oriented industries. The effect of this will always be that there will be an awful drag on exports and a tremendous boost on imports, and that in turn will be reflected in adverse balance of trade, and subsequently in adverse balance of payments.

That this was realised is obvious from the fact that a number of measures, were taken with a view to encouraging the export trade in non-traditional items.

The follow-up action that was necessary was not to negative but to reinforce the boost provided as a result of devaluation to the deployment of resources in export-oriented industries; not just a temporary boost of current exports or the minimum dampening of current imports, but a positive impact on the total structure of deployment of resources, such as would shift them more and more in the immediate future towards export-oriented industries and less and less, comparatively, to domestic market industries and in so far as capital inputs were concerned, less and less to import oriented industrial structure.

But what the Commerce Ministry has done, by the set of import duties and export duties referred to in the Motion, is almost wholly negative the entire basic reasons for devaluation in their impact upon foreign trade. Last year, there were two sets of import duties imposed precisely as an anti-dote to devaluations.

Devaluation having come, it is not enough so to adjust those import duties that although the rates have

been lowered the quantum of their impact by way of import duties still remains the same as in 1965, and that is exactly what was done. Reduction in import duties has been, broadly, only of that magnitude by which the rupee amount impact on a whole range of commodities has been kept just the same as in 1965. As a result not only do we add to the value of goods by the depreciated value of the rupee, in terms of amount of money you have to give for a given amount of foreign currency, but the monstrous impact of import duty levied at a time when devaluation was not there *and enhanced as a specific alternative to devaluation*, that also remains. This will have quite an unforeseen heavy impact in terms of rupees cost of imported goods.

The situation is even more serious on the export duty side. In the first place, the whole argument proceeds on a complete fallacy that there would be, if no export duties were imposed, a fall in the rupee value of the goods exported and, consequently, a fall in the foreign exchange value of the goods exported and, consequently, perhaps a fall in the amount of foreign exchange earned. The proof that argument is wrong is immediately furnished by the second reason which the Government has advanced for the imposition of export duties, namely, that windfall profits ought not to be allowed to be made. In other words, the prices of those commodities in rupee terms, but not in terms of foreign exchange, would go up so that the foreign exchange of these things would remain the same, in which case it is true that considerable profits would be made in export industries. But, if that is so, the argument that you would be earning less foreign exchange would become meaningless. If, on the other hand, you would be earning less foreign exchange because rupee prices would drop, then the fear of rising prices and unforeseen profits become meaningless.

Even in traditional industries, there should be larger and larger deployment of resources. In the deployment of resources over the last ten years, the traditionally export-oriented industries have received the least. The tea industry, for instance, has been suffering from dearth of capital resources over a number of years.

The 20 per cent of the non-traditional foreign trade are being spoon-fed by a number of export promotion schemes. In this scheme there were all kinds of assumed calculations of the extent of need for export incentives and export promotion schemes of one kind or another for different industries. These export promotion schemes were really temporary, being subject to such decisions as Government may take from time to time, with the result that all these schemes, while providing tremendous incentive for trading profits to be made, did not provide incentives for deployment of resources of a long-term character.

It is now assumed that most non-traditional export industries will now be adequately enthused to go in for exports in a big way and to go in for a further deployment of resources in those industries by the mere

stimulus of devaluation. Actually a good deal of export trade in non-traditional items has come to a standstill.

It looks to me that the statutory resolution before the House is calculated — to negative the benefits that are otherwise likely to accrue from devaluation in terms of relatives deployment of long-term resources. Therefore they ought not to impose these monstrous export duties, on the contrary, they ought to make these industries, even the traditional export industries, reactivated and stimulated by devaluation, so that they may attract more and more resources. Only in that way can we really get our export industries established on a firm, solid foundation, and not a flimsy foundation of all sorts of schemes of export promotion and import entitlement, tax concession, straight subsidy and so on. For this reason, I do oppose this motion.

Lok Sabha — August 8, 1966

K. Sundaram

Our Government have been doing so much propaganda about increasing our exports on account devaluation. It is wrong to think that for the same quantity of goods India would be getting the dollars that it has been getting so far. The Government said that the surplus has to be mopped up, a phrase borrowed from the Finance Department. Mopping up means completely wiping out. The Government would not mop up only the extra profit, it would wipe out the entire profit.

India has the highest tax structure and a very efficient tax-collecting machinery and these profits are all readily assessable accounts. Nobody can escape it. The exporters must be allowed to retain 15 or 20 per cent, if the Government want the exports to be increased.

The Minister said that the Government wanted to get the maximum foreign exchange for the same quantity of goods exported. At the same time the Government have been doing such wide propaganda that our exports will be cheaper and we will be able to earn more foreign exchange. These two statements are contradictory to each other.

The Minister wanted the people to restrain home consumption or reduce consumption. But that would not help us very much to increase our exports.

The cost of production of all these commodities is going up every day. Even within the last two months quite a lot of changes have taken place.

There is no Government machinery to correlate the increased internal costs, and the fluctuations in the overseas markets, so that the mopping up of this export duty can be adjusted from time to time automatically and in time. The Government depends only on its embassies and Trade Commissioners to do this job. But in all our foreign embassies there is very little co-ordination between the commercial section and the political section. The Commercial Attaches are not the

people trained for the job; they know nothing about trade.

India cannot export unlimited quantities of any item. Either there is scarcity or there are no buyers. At best, there may be some scarcity created in the internal market if the Government allows free export. The Government wants to restrain internal consumption in order to increase export. But how is the Government going to spend this money that it is going to collect from this export duty? These funds are not going to be used for any promotional purposes.

The West European countries get our goods at a much cheaper rate from the East European countries than from our own country. Thereby the East European countries get their foreign exchange and we get their rupees and in the bargain we lose our market also.

In these foreign countries our showrooms are junk shops or super-sample shops.

The Minister should reconsider removing these export duties altogether and allow these tea, coffee, tanning, coir and other industries to be well established so that at least in future there may be proper export earnings.

Rajya Sabha — August 11, 1966

Supplementary demands for Grants

Krishnapal Singh

It is an irony of fate that in these Supplementary Demands we should have a governmental demand for Rs. 80 lakhs for the Navy, that is, for the Defence Services, and Rs. 2.47 crores for external affairs.

We all know that our defences have been neglected for a long time. The sum of Rs. 80 lakhs is a paltry amount for improving the Navy. Our ships are of an obsolete nature. We have practically no submarines and our weapons are not modern. Therefore, if we realise that the primary duty of a government is to protect the country from external aggression than we ought to be serious about it. If we think that the Armed Forces are not so important and the other things are more important, then it will be proper to disband our Armed Forces and to enrol 'Satyagrahi' volunteers and put them in the charges of some specialist in that line.

Our navy needs a lot more money; it needs more ships, better ships. If we are serious about improving the condition of our country, we should concentrate on defence and agriculture.

My greatest grievance against the Finance Ministry is that they do not stop extravagance by Government. Every year we find that a new Bhavan is constructed in Delhi, a huge Bhavan. Government already have acquired all the houses belonging to the Indian States in the capital and they are using them for their offices. And now, after these Bhavans has come the Super

Market. We are spending a huge sum on the External Affairs Ministry. We still stand completely isolated. Pakistan, which is an aligned nation, can get armaments from the eastern as well as western nations. But we who claim to be non-aligned have not got a single friend who can come to our aid in time of real need. This is in spite of our huge diplomatic establishment. We have 73 (seventythree) Embassies in different parts of the world, 21 High Commissions, 14 Commissions, 4 Legations, 16 Consulates-General, 17 Consulates, 3 Vice-Consulates, one Deputy High Commission, one Assistant High Commission, Trade Commissions and all the rest. Then we have the roving delegations. Are we justified in sanctioning more money for this Ministry which is responsible for such a colossal waste?

The other point about this Ministry is concerning the system of promotions and appointments. Shri Dhameja, Chief of Protocol, has put up a note before the Pillai Committee in which he says, as reported:

"In Mr. Dhameja's view, nepotisms, laxity in maintaining standards and want of uniformity of justice has sapped efficiency and demoralised and corrupted the services. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the ills of our country are attributable to mal-administration, the blame for which we as civil servants should accept in sorrow and humility."

Again:

"Mr. Dhameja regrets that justice has now become so rare that one has to beg for it and is forced to use inconceivable means and methods, a process most humiliating for the giver and the receiver."

Then he has given a catalogue of the irregularities in promotions and appointments in this particular Ministry.

Therefore, unless we can cut down expenditure in this Ministry and other Ministries responsible for colossal waste of our revenues, we shall never be able to put our finances right and probably we shall be faced with another devaluation.

We have co-operative societies and we have the system of short-term, medium-term and other loans. Mostly it is short and medium-term loans. So it is so difficult for the agriculturist to obtain money that he has to spend. That is almost a tyranny on him. If we are to put our agricultural financing on proper lines, we should have the same approach towards it as we have for industries. That is to say, we should value each farm. After all, land is not the only valuable asset of the farmer. He has got cattle, machines, implements and buildings, etc. We must value his assets and then on that value advance a certain percentage to him.

There are certain neglected areas both in the north and in the south, so far as irrigation is concerned. We should develop those areas, tap water resources, especially the underground water resources. There are vast drought areas in U.P.; they affect the whole of

Rajasthan; in the south, in Andhra Pradesh, Rayalseema and certain other parts, there is dearth of water both for irrigation and drinking in the rural areas. I hope that our Ministry responsible for the development of agriculture will take this matter up seriously and at least provide sufficient water for irrigation and drinking.

Lok Sabha — August 8, 1966

Appropriation Bill

S. S. Mariswamy

I am doubtful whether the Food Ministry deserves this additional expenditure. When the country was taken by surprise on the 5th June, by the announcement of 57 per cent devaluation of our rupee, we were under the impression that at least now the Government would be careful and realistic in spending the public money. However, from this Appropriation Bill, it is clear that the Government has not learnt any lesson. First of all we must ask, why should we have devaluation? Is it not because of our overspending? Even now our Government has not put an end to its spending spree. The three Five Year Plans have not brought in any change that is good to the common man. Whereas, all other sister nations which attained independence even after us have prospered much better than us without these plans. We have unashamedly sent our Ministers abroad with begging bowls to get money and even food from outside and this has resulted in the fact that we are indebted to the entire world to the tune of Rs. 3,500 crores; and after devaluation, these debts would go up by another 50 per cent, that is to say, every individual Indian is carrying on his head a debt of nearly Rs. 200. What are the benefits that the common man has derived out of these plans and indebtedness? Even the simple food, a minimum basic necessity, is not assured to him. The other day I read in the papers in Madras that one Congress Minister of U.P. had asked the people to eat rat meat, and another Bengal Minister had asked the people to eat banana skin. This statement to eat rat-meat is a slander and insult hurled on hungry people who cry for food.

Tanjore district in Madras State is known as the granary of the South and rice-bowl of Tamilnad. The spectacle that we see there is heart-rending. Agriculturists, both big and small, are standing in queue to buy adulterated, stinking and uneatable things sold as 'rice'. This is the case with a surplus district.

The next is our industrial sector. Today many factories and industries are idle for want of raw material. The installed capacity is not fully utilised. If an industry could have three shifts, it actually runs either one or two shifts for want of raw material. The industrial policy of the Government is another factor that does not encourage more industries to come up. Devaluation was brought with a view to boosting our

exports. But export cannot also increase because of your licensing policy and other export duties which have been imposed on several items following devaluation. To prevent the prices rising further they have opened a Super Market in Delhi for which also a demand has been made.

The country is passing through crisis after crisis every day. Hardly any week passes without riots, lathi-charges, police firings, strikes, students' demonstrations and breaking-up of the heads of Professors, Principals, etc., and the railway accidents. Yet you say, if we go out of office, the whole country would be plunged into chaos and disturbance, we are the God incarnation to bring about stability in the country.

They say that they would cling to the Fourth Five Year Plan as they did to the first three Five Year Plans, which hardly brought any succour to the common people. By your Fourth Plan, you are going to bring more misery and helplessness to the common people. You are going to reduce this country to beggary. I am telling you that you are going to pledge this country to your creditor countries. You look at the history of those countries which have received aid on government-to-government basis. These countries have been reduced to puppet States.

We are opposed to American aid given to this Government, this Government which has failed to keep law and order, which has failed to feed the people. We welcome American aid if that American aid is given to private entrepreneurs where good dividends can be expected. Look at this Government which is ruling this country for an unbroken period of 18 years. How many thousands and thousands of crores of rupees they have put into the drain by saying that they are growing more food and all that? Yet, after 18 years, they come forward and tell us, eat rat meat. If I ask them why, they say that the monsoon has failed as if the monsoon has never failed in this country during the British time. Monsoon is failing every alternate year; and there have been famines in this country. But a Minister worth his name had never told the people to eat rat-meat because the monsoon had failed.

If this Government is allowed to continue, the common people will be asked to eat rat-meat for their breakfast, bandicoot meat for their lunch and like the Chinese, snakes and serpents will be served at tea tables and God only knows what is going to be given to us for dinner. I will not be surprised if they make us cannibals and make us eat even our neighbours. (Shri M. Ruthnaswamy: It will reduce the population and solve all the population problem.)

This undying nation will resist any attempt of this Government through American money to corrupt it. Ambassador Chester Bowles donning the Congress cap has been standing at the gates of many Congress Leaders asking them to do this and that. But I tell you that the American Ambassador is not raising the prestige of America here nor is he doing any service to his country by this; on the other hand, it will lower

its prestige here. If American aid is to come, let it come through private enterprise to start industries but not to the Government to waste and squander and corrupt the people. Let us gird up our loins and work for the real economic emancipation of this country.

Rajya Sabha — August 29, 1966

Gold Control

M. R. Masani

Of all the perverse pieces of legislation introduced in this House during the last fifteen years, legislation that runs contrary to the laws of economics and human nature and has caused great harm and distress to lakhs of small people throughout the country, this Gold Control Act shines as of the first magnitude. It has done such incalculable harm and caused so much of distress out of all proportion even to the professed objectives of this measure. The force of public opinion has made this Government retreat at least partially from this misguided path.

The entire credit for this reversal goes to the goldsmiths of India. I would like to pay my tribute to this body of men, small men, men without those resources which big business commands, who have shown courage, a readiness to stand up for themselves and a capacity for sacrifice which, to its shame, big business in this country, in its timidity, has not shown all this time.

At the sametime the concession that has been made by the Government is a very inadequate one. It is an election dodge, meant to throw dust in the eyes of those who are victims of this measure. Nothing but the complete repeal of this Act and its removal from the Statute Book will do justice to those concerned, whether they are peasants or they are goldsmiths.

In case the goldsmiths throughout the country are misled by this, I am very glad that in any event, in my constituency, the goldsmiths seem to be more aware. This morning my Party received a telegram from the Secretary of the Rajkot Sonachandi Karigar Mandal. It says:

"Success often comes to those who dare and act. It seldom goes to the timid. Do or die. No compromise. Adamant demand for complete withdrawal of Gold Control Act immediately."

That is the demand which we put before the House. So long as the Act is on the Statute Book, we shall not be satisfied, we shall continue to agitate alongside of our goldsmith friends.

When the Act was introduced here, it was claimed that it would have three results: one was to lessen the so-called lure of gold; the second was to bring down the price of gold; and the third was to stop

smuggling of gold. Let us see what results have been achieved.

Has the lure of gold diminished? No!

Has the price gone down? The Finance Minister made an amazing claim. He had the audacity to say:

"As a result of the Gold Control Order, the value of the rupee in terms of gold had stabilised."

I am amazed at this because the official figures tell an entirely different story.

On 31st March, 1964, before the Act was put on the Statute Book, the price of primary gold per tola was Rs. 130.61. On 31st March, 1965, i.e., three months after the Act was put on the Statute Book, the price had risen to Rs. 142.69. On 31st March, 1966, the rupee price was Rs. 161.23. In five months of this year, i.e., from 31st March, 1966, to 1st September, the price has gone up to Rs. 167.90. In other words, in one year, the price went up by 9.25 in the second year by 12.99 and in the last four or five months by 4.14 per cent. This is a reply to the Finance Minister who has tried to mislead us. There is a close coordination between the fall in the value of the rupee and the rise in the price of gold. The plain fact is that, so long as the value of the rupee goes down, all prices rise and the price of gold also rises.

The third claim was about smuggling. We know that smuggling goes on and, so long as there is a wide margin between the Indian price of gold and the international price of gold, smuggling will go on.

So all the three objectives of the Gold Control Act have miserably failed. They have failed because, as I said, it is an utterly misconceived measure, going against the laws of human nature and of economics. The traditional demand for gold in this country was based on the peasants' requirements of gold as a form of secure saving. That traditional incentive has been aggravated by the inflationary policies of this Government which have made the rupee worthless.

Therefore, there is no gold problem in India. There is only a rupee problem. The need is not for gold control; there is need for rupee control. Now belatedly, this Government comes forward and tries to buy us off with illusory concessions. What we require is a complete repeal of this measure which has failed. It has to be taken off the statute book, and if you keep it on the statute book, it will become even more of a dead letter than it has during the last two years.

These present concessions have been justified and repeal of the Act has not been accepted because they want to keep control on bullion. Two claims have been made. The Finance Minister has said that "State trading in bullion will help to keep down the price gold." Have we ever learnt that State trading in anything keeps down the price of that commodity? Can any one item of material be shown where State trading or monopoly has kept the price down? I read the Times of India of the 28th August, 1966, that a survey conduct

by the National Consumer Service in Delhi shows that the Superbazar prices are higher by 2 to 20 per cent than in the free market.

Similarly, it is claimed that the control on bullion will prevent smuggling. I have already shown that, so long as the value of the rupee goes down and so long as the gold price in India is much higher than the price of gold abroad, smuggling will go on, because there are people with an adventurous spirit, people who will break the laws for a margin of profit and who are prepared to take risks for that purpose.

In this process, incalculable harm or damage has been done to millions of people in this country. As many as 20 lakhs of people have been rendered unemployed. I would like to plead that the ameliorative measures and relief measures should not stop on the ground that these petty concessions have been made; otherwise, a new injustice will be done on top of all that has been done before.

Thousands of people have been crucified on the cross of gold, thanks to the policy of this Government. We want to tell these people that we are with them, that our solidarity with them will continue as it has done from the very start, and that our Party will not rest until this Gold Control Act is blotted out from the Statute book of India.*

Lok Sabha — September 3, 1966

Dahyabhai V. Patel

The Government have at last begun retracing its wrong steps. Fantastic ideas were advanced by the Government before and after the Select Committee

* It was not for the first time that the Swatantra Party opposed the Gold Control measure. When it was brought before the country three years back, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Mr. N. Dandekar and Dahyabhai Patel opposed it tooth and nail. Mr. Masani in his *Minute of Dissent*, appended to the Report of the Joint Select Committee had foretold what would happen. He had said:

"The present Bill is an exercise in futility. Worse, it seeks of hypocrisy, since even its proponents must know at the back of their minds that every one of its provisions will be violated.

"Tempted by the huge profit to be obtained from buying gold abroad and selling it here the smuggler will continue his activity with an added margins of profits balancing the added risk of punishment. Dealers and goldsmiths will continue to make 22-carat ornaments on the sly instead of making them openly and honourably so long as the women of India prefer the real article to the 14-carat variety enjoined by this Law. All that this measure will succeed in doing is to tempt honest people to be dishonest. It will lessen respect for the law, it will help to create opportunities for further bureaucratic harassment and corruption."

The Swatantra Party opposed the measure at every stage in both the Houses. The House was divided at all stages of the progress of the Bill by the Swatantra Group to register its protest.

† Moved by Mr. Dharia (Congress).

stage when the original Bill was passed. All those ideas have been frustrated.

Some time in 1934 or 1936, the Congress Working Committee appointed a committee consisting of late Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, a Member of this House, and Prof. K. T. Shah and this Committee was asked to report to the Congress Working Committee about the position of gold in the country. They passed a strong resolution about the drain of gold from this country which was being taken away by the British for their own purposes. That was the importance that the Congress attached to gold. It was only after the Congress Party's thinking became dominated by socialist ideas and communist ideas that this new thinking started and they tried their hands on all sorts of things. They forgot that prices could not be controlled merely by laws, particularly in a democracy. Here, the normal law of supply and demand would operate. The Government took the advice of many officers when they introduced gold control. Mr. Pande, the then Gold Controller, misquoted Mahatma Gandhi in the Select Committee and I had to correct him in the Select Committee itself. The gold control measure has proved a dismal failure. It seems that the Congress Government does not care to listen to anything, except when there is an agitation outside Parliament House. In this country, traditionally, in the olden days, in times of crisis, the people of this country not only came forward to give their lives, to give their youngmen, but also to give their wealth and gold, when the country needed it.

Basically, rich or poor, the people of this country, are patriotic and patriotism is stimulated by trust, not by distrust. If the Government go on breaking open the hearths and homes of the people, respect for the Government would diminish. The Government would be well-advised not to rush into policies of this type.

Rajya Sabha — September 6, 1966

Prices†

Dahyabhai V. Patel

The rise in prices of commodities is abnormal. But let us recognise the fact that all these are the result of the wrong policies adopted by the Government during the last 18 years. You cannot ignore the rules of ordinary economics, the rules of common sense. Prices will go down only where there is higher production. Unless your production per acre goes up, the prices of agricultural commodities will not come down, because they must be in larger supply. If it is the factory, how is it that in this country, we produce the least per man hour? Then, we have 50 per cent idle capacity in our factories. Unless you run the factories to full capacity, you cannot bring the prices down. If every man in his place gives his full day's work and if

there is no slowing down or stoppage of work as for instance you find in the Air Lines Corporation and everywhere, only then can you get efficiency and only when you get efficiency, you can get reduction in prices.

I was trying to glance through the Economic Survey supplied by the Government of India. As I read it carefully, I was wondering whether it was supplied by the Government of India or whether it was a publication of the Swatantra Party. Basically, the facts that we have been advocating, the principles that we have been saying have been brought out by facts and figures without saying the very words.

One of the most eminent economists of our times, Prof. Shenoy, has been pointing out and Shri Rajagopalachari has been for the last five years pointing out to the Government that what is wrong with their planning. In the same period during which the prices have been going up, let me point out how the prices have been behaving in the two little countries near us, Israel and Taiwan. How is it that they are able to give ample food at low prices? It is because they produce more. And it was very wrong of our Government not to have taken the advice and help that both these countries had offered in a most friendly manner. I am no great enthusiast on family planning. I am more a believer in what Gandhiji taught us. Self-restraint is much better than artificial control. But I am not against people, who do not feel like that, from adopting such methods. The problem basically is of increasing production. How do we increase the production of food per acre? That is the problem before us.

I am pointing out the atmosphere that has been created by the 18 years of Congress regime. You have taken the country absolutely on the wrong way and to ruin. It is not only the devaluation of the currency, as he very rightly said, we have devalued man, we have devalued human character and that is why we find ourselves in this state. Blackmarketing or the motive of profit is not a crime only when a small little trader does it. It is equally a crime and more reprehensible when a Congress Minister does it. You have still Mr. Biju Patnaik managing your elections in Orissa. It is a shame for any party to have such a man in its executive. There are several others against whom very serious charges have been made. If the Congress wants their Augean stable under which they are sitting to be cleaned, they should appoint a person like Shri Setalvad or somebody else, take his advice and let everyone of them be screened and cleaned. Until you do that, all the talk of austerity and greater production is nonsense.

Talking of zones, in Saurashtra there is plenty of groundnut. It is needed by everybody. But there is a ban. So it cannot be sold. There is a glut there. So what is to be exported or given to other States cannot be given. It has to be stored there. How long will it be stored? We are going about the whole situation in a very very wrong way. We make mess one after the

other. Your Planning Commission is a Messing Commission because it is full of unpractical people. I wish to draw the attention of the House to the letters exchanged between one of the eminent members of the Planning Commission, Mr. V. K. R. V. Rao, and Mr. Masani of the other House. I think those two letters clinch the issue which the Members on the opposite side should study dispassionately and I am sure they will also come to the conclusion that the present evils, high prices that we are suffering from, are all because of the misdeeds of the Congress Party.

One of the greatest frauds that this Government has been perpetrating on this country is the rupee payment fraud. We are told that this is rupee payment but nobody has told us that all the rupee payment agreements have a clause about the rupee of so much gold content. So by the non-alignment or whatever you call it, we gave respectability to Communism. By the fraud of the rupee payment, we gave the wherewithal for the Communism countries, particularly to the satellite countries to build up their trade by paying 40 per cent more to them for all the imports we got, for the credit we got. We pay them 1.1/2 times of what we have contracted to pay them. With that 40 per cent they were able to buy the hard currency which if we had bought in a straightforward manner, our economy would have progressed in a straightforward manner. We are trying to do something underhand, something deceitful. That deceit has recoiled on us, on the poor people of this country.

Rajya Sabha — July 29, 1966

Devaluation

Dahyabhai V. Patel

For the last fifteen years there has been confusion in the Congress Party. It is but natural. From the Gandhian path to the Communist path is a contradiction in terms and during the last fifteen years of Nehru we have had the indoctrination from the Gandhian Congress to what is emerging before us as the completely Communist State. Devaluation is the heavy price that the people of this country are forced to pay because of the fiscal indiscipline of the Congress Government.

I do not know whether it could have been possible for the Government to take the people into confidence. Perhaps it was not exactly possible. But it was not necessary to mislead the people by reaffirming again and again that they were not going to devalue the rupee.

On the day devaluation took place the prices had risen considerably by as much as 16 per cent over those of the previous year. There can be laws for preventing profiteering. But the normal laws of economics must apply and no laws of economics can be subjected

to the fiat of the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister or any dictator.

You have sunk crores and crores of the well-earned money of the country, of the people of this country, whom you have squeezed dry, with public sector projects. They were supposed to earn for you interest. If they had done it, then you would have deserved and you would have earned the gratitude of the people. But instead, we are not earning from them even one per cent as interest. On the contrary, we are paying interest at rates varying from 4 per cent and 5 per cent and 6 per cent on that amount. Even then there are people in this country who do not believe in free trade, and believe only in public enterprise.

These may suit certain conditions. But is this doing any good to the country? Have we got in this country people who will take to Government service and take Government employment and run these public sector projects? Have we got a management cadre in this country? We have none. And therefore, all these difficulties come before us. We have been listening to this talk about controlling the prices all these years. Of course, the driving force behind all this is the Communist theory and the Communist nations. To please them we have entered into the fraud of the rupee-payment agreements. In every one of those agreements you will find a clause to say that the value of the rupee should have so much gold content. This makes it higher even than the dollar and much more difficult for us than in the case of the dollar. But to please these Communist countries, we have been giving them our exports. They buy them at a cheaper price and they sell their stuff to us at a higher price. It is this policy of this Government of helping the satellite Communist countries that has resulted in the tremendous loss to this country and great financial benefits to those satellite countries.

This normal *de facto* position of the falling rupee was before us. Anyone who has gone abroad knows what the fate of the rupee was, how it was dwindling for the last few years. There was a time immediately after we attained our independence when the rupee was welcome currency abroad, while the pound was not so welcome. But because of the very efficient management of the Congress Government the position is reversed today. Now there are countries which have made good even after devaluation like France and Yugoslavia.

They have made good after devaluation and this country can very well do so provided the Congress Government corrects the wrong notions that still persist in the brains of their leaders. We can improve the situation if proper discipline is introduced in the affairs of the Government. Wasteful expenditure should be cut down straightaway. In spite of all talks of economy there is so much of wasteful expenditure even now going on.

The way in which you are going today, is the way that Indonesia is going. Unless proper brakes are put

and financial stability is introduced, instead of a free government, and free country, we will have a closed economy, a dictatorship and another devaluation will be very necessary because we would be insolvent again. The avoidance of deficit financing is one of the first few things which the Finance Minister should look into and also the overdrafts of the State Governments to which there seems to be no end. Every State Government wants to spend more but how they spend it is not subject to scrutiny. No one who can't spend money judiciously should be allowed to spend.

Then the non-planned expenditure continues in spite of criticism because a good bit of it is ultimately propaganda machinery for the Congress. I charge the Social Welfare Boards and family planning programmes. The Finance Minister has come into a very bad legacy of his two predecessors who ran amuck completely and put our country into this financial mess. We have now to pay for the sins of these policies and that is why devaluation has come. I appeal to the present Finance Minister to examine whether this devaluation is going to work and whether he means to apply the financial discipline necessary to make this devaluation a success otherwise we will have to have another devaluation in a few years.

Rajya Sabha — August 18, 1966

K. Sundaram

The Deputy Finance Minister has mistaken the Swatantra Party in the matter of public sector undertakings. He has not studied the policy of the Party properly. I wish he had heard them properly and read their writings properly and he should not mislead the House by giving some figures and saying that the various industrially-advanced foreign countries are spending so much percentage of their national income on public sector undertakings. The Swatantra Party wants this Government to run their Postal and Telegraph Departments in the public sector. We do not mind if you even double your expenditure provided you stop telegrams being despatched by air mail. And in the matter of your telephones, if the telephone calls can only mature within ten minutes of the bookings, we do not mind your spending that money. I wish the Finance Minister at least will correct himself about our policy.

It is not that devaluation has taken place on June 5, 1966. It had taken place long ago, many many years ago. Devaluation had set in already the moment you started subsidising exports, and it was only on June 5, 1966, that the failure of this Government's past policies had been acknowledged and the official seal affixed to that failure. By doing so the Government has brought down the prestige of this country among the international countries. It is our Indian tradition that the son pays the debt of his father, and it is the tradition of Tamilians that if that son is not

able to repay the debt even after trying his utmost, he would serve as a slave for the rest of his life. I wonder whether this country will ever be able to repay the debts that have been borrowed over these several years. Hence, the people probably may be asked to work as slaves at least to this Government if not to the creditors. The bluff of the progress has been called. The people are demoralised today. The Government has lost complete grip and control over economy and administration which we have been witnessing during the last three months. Their Gold Control Order has failed to stop smuggling, they have failed to unearth the black money and they have failed to stop corruption. Production has stopped. Imports have increased. Exports have dropped, and they are not able to hold the price-line. They are not able to control even their own States; the amounts of overdrafts that the States have been drawing, they were unable to control. When the Prime Minister has to depend on the Chief Ministers for her own election, you cannot expect her to control the Chief Ministers. This is evidenced by the large-scale open violation and defiance of the law. Food Minister after Food Minister is blaming the monsoons for all their failures. But the monsoons have failed them already, not once but twice, last year and this year also. The Food and Agriculture Minister in his Circular has said that 125 out of the 330 districts in the country have been affected; more than half. The Third Five Year Plan envisaged taxation only at Rs. 1,710 crores. But they had collected Rs. 3,880 crores. The Centre alone had collected Rs. 2,270 crores in place of Rs. 1,100 crores and all the States put together, in place of Rs. 610 crores, they just doubled it; added another Rs. 610 crores. This is the welfare State which has done it very best, when two out of the five years were famine-stricken ones. They say that this is a welfare State that we are having now. And what is the type of tax that they have levied? The land tax in Madras and Andhra Pradesh was stayed by the respective High Courts saying that those States had no jurisdiction to collect such land taxes. They did not stop bleeding the country white. Even after devaluation they have not stopped this process. Very recently they have raised Rs. 216 crores by way of loans. Scientists say that for every 100 rupees collected by way of taxes, Rs. 21 are taken away from the savings of the people. The national income today is Rs. 15,000 crores. But they never say what is consumed out of this. All this time when the monsoon has been consistently failing they have collected these extra taxes. It is not the Swatantra Party which wants wealth to be in a few hands, but it is that the entire wealth of the country has gone into the Government hands.

They did not stop with that. They started deficit financing. They promised to keep it to the extent of Rs. 550 crores. Actually it went upto Rs. 1,150 crores. Out of these Rs. 1,150 crores, Rs. 400 crores were spent in 1965 alone.

The wholesale price index was 100 based on 1939, today it is 759. In between, in 1950 they changed the indices. If you keep the same index continuously, people will be constantly aware of it. On that original basis today it should be 759. In January, 1960, it was 169. On the day of devaluation it was 184. On July 30, 1966, it was 190. Hour by hour it is increasing and the result of it is people of fixed income group are now agitating for increased salaries. And to satisfy and to fool you, once again, super markets are coming up — co-operatives, buffer stocks, informal rationing, confusion and chaos all over the country. Wherever there is procurement, there is informal rationing. I would like to remind them that the time has come when you cannot fool them any longer. Devaluation, they say, will not change the value of internal rupee. But devaluation and deficit financing have reduced the value both internally and externally.

Now this is the master plan of all the three plans. Reducing the whole wealth of the country, the rupee value of the country, this is really their master plan. The public has lost confidence completely. They are borrowing anything from 50 to 300 per cent of the capital. No capital is forthcoming. These financial institutions have disbursed as much as Rs. 50 crores during the last year alone to the Industrial undertakings at nine per cent. Nine per cent is the rate of interest that the State Financial Institutions are charging. When it was 6 per cent, the people were called money-lenders and they were stopped from lending money at that rate by a Special Act.

I am very sorry that we are equating India for devaluation to U.K., Japan, Italy, France and Czechoslovakia. It is all erroneous. They are not identical. The conditions were different. The people are different. Their economic structure is different. Therefore, the remedies also will be different. It is absolutely erroneous to say that since these countries did it we are doing it. Any country not producing enough, not cheaper enough, not saving enough, borrowing more and spending more in relation to other countries, will meet with the same fate. Planning is not merely borrowing and spending. We are planning for more troubles only.

The Government does not allow free forces to play so that the people can put forth their best efforts. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry note the other day to the Informal Consultative Committee says that "weaknesses in our plans and policies and institutional arrangements also had their share and responsibility in the price line." It is an admission of their guilt. Unless a radical change in the policy of the Government is made, there is no salvation. First and foremost is payment by result in industrial, agricultural, private, public, government and other fields. This alone can achieve the goal.

Then industrial development should not be impeded by controls. Industry must have adequate rupee finance. At least if you cannot provide with your money, do not stop them from getting it. Provide enough in-

centive for exports wherever it is found absolutely necessary. And last of all reduce your expenditure drastically whether it is private or public sector but never attempt deficit financing either openly or secretly. The strength of the currency ultimately depends upon the level and growth of production. Economic policies should be made liberal, planning realistic and administration efficient.

Rajya Sabha — August 23, 1966

Biscuit Factory in Madras

Loknath Misra

The way the debate has developed in this House, it may give rise to a misconception outside that there is a combat between the North and the South. I want to

dispel it from the beginning. I belong to the North. All the same, I am in favour of the collaboration.

It is a first venture in the South so far as biscuit manufacturing is concerned. This would be in Indian hands, even with forty per cent collaboration. Collaboration in this particular case has become essential. One may have objection so far as collaboration is concerned, but since Madras has remained a backward area so far as industries are concerned and it is having its first venture, why should there be any objection?

Therefore, the Minister should not budge an inch from the decision that he has taken. It will be in the interests of the entire country if he does not do it. If he does it, the idea in the country would be that if some people combine in Parliament, to whatever regions they may belong, then orders already passed are likely to be set aside against a particular State.

Rajya Sabha — September 7, 1966

CONSTITUTION

Education

N. G. Ranga

I have been wondering for some time why it was that since this new Education Minister has come, he has begun to toy with this idea. He was good enough to admit frankly in one of his public meetings that most of the States do not agree with him and he did not wish to force their hands. It would be very dangerous indeed if we get into this habit of changing the Constitution so very frequently. It is very unfortunate that so many of our colleagues go on thinking in terms of amending the Constitution only and not amending so many other laws from which so many evils have arisen.

Many things can be said against this proposition, but I would be content with saying that if we do not want the language problem to be turned into a devil, an agency for disintegration of this nation, if we do not want our educational curricula to be so developed as to become a brain-washing machine from the top, if we do not want our educational services to become once again as in the past a kind of spiritual and intellectual dictator, the present system is the best and we should not tamper with it. There are the legislatures and cabinets in the States. They have had an opportunity of considering this matter even after the Constitution has been passed. As the Minister himself has said, they are unwilling to accept this suggestion from the Centre. Therefore, even the Education Commission did not dare to suggest that it should be made a concurrent subject in spite of the attitude of the States.

Under these circumstances, I would advise the Government not to rush in where angels fear to tread.

Lok Sabha — August 12, 1966

President's Rule in Punjab

Buta Singh

It has been proved that the party in power has not been able to give a clean administration and a good Government to the country. On this very account, all opposition parties in Punjab are supporting this Resolution.

The acceptance of Punjabi Suba demand is based on the unique sacrifices by the supporters of the Punjabi-speaking State. During the last 18 years, in order to achieve the Punjabi Suba under the leadership of Shiromani Akali Dal, its workers with the co-operation of the Punjabi people have put up a great struggle. The number of people who have courted arrest is so large that its parallel cannot be found even in the freedom struggle of our country. Dozens of citizens died, and there was irreparable loss of property to the supporters of the Punjabi Suba. However, no damage was caused to Government property. No post office was burnt; no Railway Station was pulled down. No policeman was hurt. No offence was caused to anyone. So peaceful was the demonstration of the will of the people and their determination to achieve the Punjabi Suba.

You must have read and seen yourself, how the Punjab Ministers, even the full Cabinet used to visit Delhi constantly for six days in a week, when evidently

there was no reason for their visiting Delhi. But they used to come to wait upon the pleasure of their masters in Delhi. They used to bring petty factional problems and this affected the democratic life in Punjab. There was no democracy in Punjab. There is a complete Congress Party Raj.

The Government had the experience of using Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon against a particular group and they had decided to repeat the same thing by appointing Sardar Ujjal Singh, a Sikh as the Governor, to meet the challenge. It was to control such a situation that Sardar Ujjal Singh was appointed Governor of Punjab. When he was transferred suddenly, a Press report said: "Asked whether he had been earlier appointed Governor of Punjab till the next General Elections, Sardar Ujjal Singh replied in the affirmative, but said that his new orders of appointment had not come. It was for Delhi to settle these matters." It was natural that in the Sikh and the Shiromani Akali Dal circles, discussion started, that when Government was in trouble, they appointed a Sikh as the Governor and when the trouble was over, when the assets and liabilities of the State were to be divided, the services were to be allocated and a new shape was to be given to the Punjab that particular Governor had to go because his presence was objected to by the head of the State during his time. The fears that the minorities have, are bound to be confirmed by such actions of the Government. Master Tara Singh criticised this action of the Government. There should not be an occasion for such type of criticisms. Government must see to it that actions based on such considerations should cease immediately.

Why do we support the President's Rule in Punjab? Shri Dharma Vira, the Governor of Punjab observed recently that the brave Punjabis get diesel oil mixed with ghee and kerosene oil with water, cement mixed with sand and black earth and vanaspati mixed with grease. These are all the gifts of Congress Government. The most important thing, therefore, is the improvement of Administration in Punjab. We should try to create confidence in the Administration.

The Government has humiliated the Punjab Vidhan Sabha, there is no doubt about it. The members are given salaries. What should we call it — salary, honorarium, bakshis or what? Members cannot function as legislators. In this manner, this White Elephant should not be allowed to be fed at the cost of the people of Punjab. When it has lost its functions, it should be allowed to go completely. There is no democracy in Punjab. There is complete Congress Party rule and the Assembly is made to exist to suit the politics of Punjab Congress. The Assembly is alive when they want and it is dead when they do not want it. And more over, there is no specific mention of time upto which the President's rule is sought to be kept in Punjab.

I was expecting that the Members of Punjab Vidhan Sabha are so self-respecting that they would them-

selves demand a dissolution of this Assembly. But the present struggle for capturing power is so intense that they cannot think on these lines and the spirit of self-respect cannot come to them. That is why the present Assembly, if it is not legislative and whose members are kept only to muster support for the Government, should be dissolved.

Lok Sabha — August 29, 1966

Punjab Reorganisation Bill, 1966

Kapur Singh

I oppose this Bill, on behalf of my constituents and I reject it on behalf of Shiromani Akali Dal. I do so for three reasons, firstly, it is conceived in sin; secondly, it has been delivered by an incompetent and untrained midwife and thirdly, it is opposed to the best interests of the nation as it will almost certainly lead to a weakening of national integration and loss of faith in the integrity of those who exercise political power in the country.

It is conceived in sin, because it constitutes the latest act of betrayal of solemn promises — given to the Sikh people by the spokesmen of the ruling party.

In 1929 Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, assured the Sikhs that no Constitution shall be framed by the majority community unless it is freely acceptable to the Sikhs. This promise was then reduced into a formal Policy Resolution of the All India Congress Committee.

Afterwards, this Policy Resolution was repeatedly reiterated, officially and demi-officially, throughout the period upto August 1947, and it was not officially repudiated till 1950 when the present Constitution was framed.

When in 1950, the present Constitution Act of India was enacted, the Shiromani Akali Dal declared vehemently and unambiguously in the Constituent Assembly that "the Sikhs do not accept this Constitution Act; the Sikhs reject this Constitution Act." Our spokesmen declined to append their signatures to the Constitution Act as a token of this clear and irrevocable rejection.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru coolly replied, "The circumstances have now changed." If there is one thing that the Sikhs know too well, it is that now the circumstances have changed.

It was on 21st March, 1966 that the Minister of Home Affairs set up a Commission presided over by a Supreme Court Judge, requiring the Commission, firstly, to examine existing boundaries of Hindi and Punjabi regions of Punjab to set up Punjab and Haryana States; secondly, by applying linguistic principles as they have resulted in the 1961 census figures;

and thirdly, to determine boundaries that do not involve breaking up of tehsils. All these three guidelines given to the Commission by the Government of India are heavily loaded against the Punjab State, and have the effect of reducing Sikhs to even more political ineffectiveness than at present. Nor has the Shah Commission failed to take full advantage of the instruments of discrimination thus placed in their hands by the Government of India. They have, firstly, arbitrarily truncated and reduced, as much as they could, the existing Punjabi region, and secondly, applied all principles of demarcation with a left-handed justice. For instance, Dalhousie has been taken out of Punjab and given to Himachal because it is hilly, while Morni which is of a higher altitude than Dalhousie has been taken away to be bestowed on Haryana, because its residents are Hindus, which is the same thing as saying that they are Hindi-speaking.

Thus, this story goes on and every conceivable stratagem has been adopted, through truncating its areas, through divesting it of its utility undertakings in public sector, and through neutralising its limbs of governmental apparatus and by robbing it of its capital city, and by forging the so-called common links to reduce the Punjab State into a glorified Zila Parishad, and to achieve these sordid and unedifying objectives, the judiciary has been made use of.

On behalf of the Sikh people represented by the Shiromani Akali Dal, I reject the entire scheme of this Bill, and oppose it. I call upon the Government to take necessary legislative measures to solve the problems of the Punjab in the light of the resolution of the Shiromani Akali Dal.*

Lok Sabha — September 6, 1966

Ram Singh

I wish the reorganisation of the Punjab had been brought at least six years before, so that we could have saved so many lives and we could have avoided the loss of so much of property. The Reorganisation Commission Report in 1956 accepted in principle, the re-

organisation of the entire country on a linguistic basis. Once that principle was accepted the Government should not have taken ten long years to bring forward this Bill. The Government concedes popular public demands only after there has been a lot of agitation and bloodshed. The creation of Andhra Pradesh and the reorganisation of the bilingual State of Bombay into the linguistic States of Maharashtra and Gujarat were brought about only after numerous lives were sacrificed and properties worth crores destroyed. Most of the opponents of the Punjabi Suba are still of the view that this demand is purely communal. Those who so argue forget that Punjabi is a language quite distinct from Hindi and the popular demand was for creating two separate States on the linguistic basis, one for the Punjabi-speaking and the other for the Hindi-speaking people, so as to help the two languages to develop. Therefore, in the interest of the people of the Punjab, the reorganisation on the linguistic basis is a right step.

The Punjabi Suba that they have given is truncated and it does not fulfil the aspirations of the Punjabi-speaking people. There is no justification for Chandigarh being made a Union Territory. This is a part of the Punjabi-speaking area and should have rightly been included in the new State of Punjab. I may warn this House and through this House the country, that if the Government even at this late stage does not come forward to concede the right and reasonable demand of the Punjabi-speaking people to include Chandigarh in the Punjabi Suba and allow the same to be used as its capital, the consequences would be far-reaching and unhappy for the entire country as well as for the people of Punjab. Similarly I am not in favour of the joint administrative control of the Punjab University and of the various hydel projects. Similarly the joint High Court would lead to several adverse repercussions. There would be problems of the representation on the Bench, about the staff and such other things. Some may even start questioning the merits and the demerits of the various judgements delivered by the High Court. Therefore, it is in the national interest that a separate High Court is constituted for Haryana and another for the Punjabi Suba.

There were complaints in several quarters that Sikhs were being discriminated in the services. Being a Sikh myself, I know fully well, that these allegations are not well-founded. They are devoid of facts and are started by those who want to perpetuate their artificial leadership over illiterate masses. People in our country are essentially emotional and religious-minded. When such a one-sided propaganda is made, they are, unfortunately, convinced of its veracity and they go astray. Such leaders do incalculable harm not only to the Sikhs but also to the national interests. They harm the cause for which they are supposed to be working.

Rajya Sabha — September 9, 1966

* Several amendments were tabled by Sardar Kapur Singh, Buta Singh and Dhanna Singh Gulshan. The main burden of these amendments was, firstly that Chandigarh should be included in Punjab; secondly that areas of Gurdaspur district including Dalhousie, Ambala, Pinjore, Kalka, Una Tehsil the areas of Nalagarh, the Sirsa Tehsil, the Sub-Ratia Block, Districts Hissar, Shahabad block of District Karnal and Ganganagar District of Rajasthan should be included in Punjab; thirdly the common links between the new States in the High Court University, hydel projects etc. should be done away with.

An amendment moved by Shri Buta Singh to change the name of Nangal to Nanak Sahib was accepted by the Home Minister. The amendment had the support of Prof. N. G. Ranga.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

International Affairs

Dahyabhai V. Patel

We are told that there is a fabulous arms build-up by Pakistan. Fabulous arms aid has been given to Pakistan. What have we been doing about it? Even during the late Prime Minister Nehru's time, this House and the other House had been drawing his attention to the way in which the Chinese were building roads on our borders. The Government ignored it until the Chinese aggression came and now that very act of aggression is used as a justification for the policies of the Government which have been utterly miscalculated, misguided and a failure. Since Mr. Krishna Menon became the guiding figure of the foreign policy of this country, we have gone astray.

To-day this country is not in the situation to be able to face two great enemies, China and Pakistan, together. It is because of the Government's faulty policies that we are weak and isolated. Under the circumstances we should make up with Pakistan. Pakistan was part of us. Many people in this country have relations in Pakistan. Many people in Pakistan have relations with us. When Ayub Khan became the President of Pakistan, he offered common defence. His hand of friendship was spurned. That is why we are having all this trouble.

The Government of India have failed to look at friends wherever they are. There is Taiwan in Asia but that country is too small for our Government. But we are running after the Arab countries, whose friendship was put to test when the Pakistani aggression came. Our Prime Minister and representatives of this Government went to the meeting of the Arab countries. With what result? We did not even receive a decent welcome. On the contrary at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Asian countries in Seoul, South Korea, we were invited more than once. We did not show the courtesy of even sending a reply. We all know that the countries right from Korea to Vietnam are suffering from the name threat of Chinese communist aggression as India. They would therefore be the best friends to make. Yet our Government ignores them.

I was sorry to read the remarks of the Prime Minister about the German State. I do not know whether the present Prime Minister has changed, or whether the present Government has changed, the views that the late Prime Minister Nehru expressed in this House and in the other House also about two States of Germany.

But this Government does not seem to have accepted that position.

At present you may say that there are two Chinas one the Republic of free China which is a permanent member of the Security Council and which is recognised by the majority of the members of the United

Nations, and then there is the Communist regime China which we have recognised, and we are now paying for that recognition. Actually our conflict is with Communist China and not with Free China. It is the communist ideology of Peking's rulers which is threatening our frontiers.

When the Minister from Taiwan came here, seeing our difficulties he offered to present us with 100 tonnes of Taiwan rice of the quick-growing and high-yielding variety which we lack very much here. Had we taken that advice, perhaps we would not have had to go in for so much of this PL 480 aid that we are now taking. When the Rockefeller Foundation offered to station their Rice Research Station here, this country spurned that offer saying that we had so much rice in this country, that we did not want it here. And now we are taking seeds from that very station which is now in the Philippines.

We have the same wrong policy in our dealings with Israel. Israel is a free democratic country of Asia. It has become a modern State by hard work and they have converted a desert into blooming fertile fields, while those who are so jealous of them are lagging behind. We refuse to learn from them. When tourists from Israel want to come here they have difficulties. When they want to buy things from here then also they have difficulties. I do not know what we have gained by not recognising Israel. This act of recognising Israel is of course likely to offend the Arab League. I cannot understand it, whether it is a real Arab League or only a sort of handmaid which President Nasser has planted. Its representative in India, Dr. Maqsood said that this country went to the help of Egypt during the Suez Canal crisis out of motives of self-interest. Was a greater lie, a more blatant lie ever said? I am surprised that the External Affairs Minister had not asked him to pack up and go home.

Did Prime Minister Nehru support Egypt in the Suez crisis out of any motive of self-interest? Do we not know that the country suffered a lot of loss because of the increase in freights? Ships had to come round the Cape and we had to pay higher freight. Our shipments were delayed and yet the Foreign Minister says that he is a distinguished Minister and I should not say anything.

Therefore, I would say that the policy of this Foreign Minister has been a total failure. They are suffering from confused thinking. They do not have a clear mind. They do not know who are their friends and who are their enemies. We are running after the wrong persons and the wrong countries. Therefore I say this foreign policy is not a proper policy and the present Foreign Minister has been a total failure and this policy needs to be revised completely.

Rajya Sabha — August 8, 1966

M. Ruthnaswami

The Foreign Minister said that we are on friendly relations with Burma, that it has sent us rice, not as a gift, I suppose; we have to pay for it. But what about the thousands of refugees who had to come away from Burma and whose property was confiscated and who had very little compensation and who were driven from Burma almost at a moments notices? Many of them can be found in the streets of Madras and on the pavements, selling nicknacks in order to eke out a living. Questions have been put in the House about what action our representatives in Burma have taken and we have been told that they have been taking continuous action. But the results are nowhere to be seen.

We have allowed Nepal which was almost economically dependent upon India, to fall into the friendly arms of China. Nepal has allowed a great road on the borders with Tibet from Kathmandu to be built by China, whereas the first great road in Nepal was built by Indian engineers.

Ceylon is the one bright spot in our relations with our neighbours. And that bright spot is due to the fact that there has been a welcome change in the Government in Ceylon. But there was not a word of praise for the present Government of Ceylon and for the treatment of the Indian settlers in Ceylon of Tamil origin, as contrasted with the treatment given to them by the late lamentable Government.

And then with regard to Indonesia, here again there has been a great contrast between the present Government and the attitude towards India and that of the late Government.

As for Vietnam, the Government of India in the usual sermonising attitude about the evil deeds of other countries, has been denouncing the bombing. I can understand the Government denouncing the war in Vietnam. But once the war has been accepted, we must allow the countries to use all the usual methods of conducting a war.

Why do we go out of our way to condemn the actions of other powers? And do we use the same strong language with regard to the actions of North Vietnam? Do we publicly denounce their uncooperative attitude in regard to bringing about negotiations? And is the only condition of bringing about peace in Vietnam the withdrawal of American forces? Has the Government suggested any alternative in order to bring peace in Vietnam, in order that peaceful methods may be resorted to and applied? Have we suggested the sending of a U.N. force instead of the American forces there in order to preserve peace while the negotiations go on between North Vietnam and South Vietnam?

Then the Minister congratulated himself on friendly relations with Philippiness, Japan and a number of other countries. Is it due to our diplomacy that those countries are friendly? We had no bones of contention with Philippines, Japan, Malaysia and others. So

what is the point in congratulating ourselves on peaceful relations with these countries?

Then we come to Russia. In the Moscow Declaration the Prime Minister referred to the two countries. We have always — even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru — stood for the unity of countries. Is it because we allowed our country to be divided, to be partitioned, that we look with complacency upon the forceful division of Germany into two parts? East Germany exists with the force of the Russian armies. Take them away and hold peaceful elections and you will see the whole of Germany will become united. It was after centuries that German unification was brought about and it is this German unification which the Prime Minister allowed to be treated in such a cavalier manner in that joint Declaration. It looks as if the politeness of the civilised guest has scored over the caution of a seasoned politician. And now that we have come into the Russian sphere of influence why do we not exploit it? Why do we not influence Russia to make a diversion upon her borders with China so that the military impact of China upon India may be eased?

In regard to Pakistan, the way she has observed the Tashkent agreement has come in for a certain amount of criticism. With regard to the military conditions of the Tashkent agreement I think they have been scrupulously observed by the two armies. But the conduct of Pakistan is said to be not in the spirit of Tashkent because it is building up its forces. But India is not the only frontier of Pakistan. It has another frontier and Pakistan is ruled by a dictator. And dictators are very fond of building up their military forces because they have not only external forces to against but have also internal forces. The only self-respecting reply of India would be to build a military force of its own, a defence force which would act as a counterpoise to the defence forces that Pakistan is building up. If it is necessary to cut down the Plans in order to meet this extra defence outlay we must hurt ourselves to that extent because after all we must live and then only think of living well.

Then we come to the greatest enemy of us all, namely, China. Against the results of the past aggression of China the Government of India has no remedy. 40,000 square miles of Indian territory are in the hands of China and we seem to have reconciled ourselves to the loss. What action are we taking against future aggression? It is not only the defence of the border States of Sikkim and Bhutan that are important things. China might be diverting our attention purposely to the defence of Sikkim and Bhutan in order to make us concentrate our forces on the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan. And with that salient between Sikkim and Bhutan in the premises of China our armies are in a perilous condition. But more insidious than the concentration of armies on the borders of Ladhak are the measures towards infiltration, penetration that the

Chinese are organising all along the border and may be within our own borders also. Therefore, it is not mere open warfare that we must be prepared against but also against this insidious method of penetration

and subversion which may be going on for all we know at the present moment in Sikkim and Bhutan and in the border areas.

Rajya Sabha — August 9, 1966

DEFENCE

Concentration of Pakistani Troops

Krishnapal Singh

Defence is a costly business. At the present moment, weapons and machines which are employed in defence cost a good lot of money. The first thing we have to think of is how to find sufficient money for our defence. We have to think of winding up our planning business in order to find sufficient money. So long as this planning organisation lasts, they will always find some kind of work in order to justify their very existence. Therefore, we must cut down our expenditure, cut down our Plans, shelve them for a little while and devote large amounts of money to be spent on defence and agriculture.

We know that the entire method of constructing ships has been completely changed and revolutionised. A complete metamorphosis is taking place. We hear that submarines are being planned which will crawl on the bottom of the sea. There are other kinds of ships which are specially built to act as defence against air raids. There are aircraft carriers worked by nuclear power, there are other types of ships which have nuclear power. When we think of all these sophisticated machines, we find that we have not got a single ship which can be compared with these vessels.

Then we come to the army. Missiles have come to the forefront in the scheme of the defence of every modern country at present. There are ground to air missiles, air to air missiles, all kinds of missiles. There are missiles, of range, 8000 miles, 2000 miles range missiles, medium range missiles, long range missiles and all the rest of it. So far as rifles and other weapons are concerned, countries like America are thinking of

having automatic rifles which can fire about 7000 rounds per minute. Although we recently developed an automatic rifle of our own, we have not yet been able to have a weapon for our army which will be anywhere near what the American weapon at present is or the American army is aiming at to have. In order to possess these weapons, self-sufficiency is very good but if we cannot be self-sufficient for the time being, we must, by some hook or crook, try to acquire modern weapons for our armed forces from anywhere we can get them.

Intelligence is the system by which we acquire information of defence value about the enemy's armed forces. Security deals with the denial of that information to the enemy. Our security, unfortunately, has been very bad from here for the last few years. One reason is that we have permitted people from every country to wander in India freely. They have been able to know where our defence installations are, what type of weapons our armed forces possess and what their training is. Therefore, we should tighten our security a lot. The other day, we found that an official of the All India Congress Committee was involved in helping Pakistani spies. Then there is a member on the staff of the Trombay Organisation who has some very good and close contacts in Pakistan. Now, that sort of thing should be noted very carefully and we should weed out all such people and, naturally, we should do it in time.

We should try to be self-sufficient. But so long as we are not self-sufficient, just as Pakistan is able to get weapons and is able to have a dependable ally, we should also try to get one. For this we shall have to make a certain amount of sacrifice in our idealism. We must make an effort to secure really reliable friends on whom we can depend in times of need.

Lok Sabha — August 26, 1966

FOOD PROBLEM

The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill

N. G. Ranga

I am opposed to this Bill and its mother Act also, because I am opposed to the system of controls that this

Government has brought into this country. It is because of this system coupled with the corrupt administration that we are faced with the present food situation.

Again and again, Government have promised that they would enable the country to achieve self-sufficiency in food. They had also promised that once we were somewhere within sight of self-sufficiency, all

the controls would go. During all these seventeen years, they have failed in this.

Mahatma Gandhi had mobilised public opinion in this country against this system of controls and compulsory procurement and fixation of prices and confiscation of foodgrains. He was opposed to all these evils when he was alive, and when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not prepared to accept either his advice or the advice of those in this House who were interested in the agriculturists, Gandhiji was obliged to threaten him that he would go on a hunger strike. It was only then that Pandit Nehru was willing to let Rajen Babu, the then Food Minister, give up controls.

Then again they brought back controls. Some of us had to fight against it. Rajaji, who was then Chief Minister had the moral and political courage also to see that these controls were removed.

I appeal to the conscience of the Congress members; out of 370, easily 200 hail from rural areas and of them more than 100 ought to be genuinely interested in the welfare of peasants. They know only too well that zonal restrictions have failed miserably and have worsened the food situation. They have queered the pitch so far as a solution of the very serious problem of food supply is concerned.

Have they stopped at the State level, restriction between one State and another? Movement of foodgrains is being restricted even from one district to another. The Food Minister wants to clothe the Collectors with the power to confiscate foodgrains and other edible commodities like oils and oilseeds; also

At the introduction stage itself the Swatantra Party registered its opposition to the Bill. Mr. Masani, speaking on behalf of the Party, called the Bill as "an undemocratic and unprincipled measure". Continuing he said that the Bill was "another milestone along the slippery slope of totalitarian legislation to which this Government is accustoming the country, so that the path to dictatorship may be smoothened for it".

According to Mr. Masani: "The President of the ruling Party has recently shown himself to be an unadulterated admirer of Communist tyranny in the countries he recently visited. This kind of legislation prepares the ground for communist tyranny. The rule of law is ignored. The rights of the judiciary in this Bill are brushed aside. The right of appeal to a court of law is replaced by a right of appeal to the Government. Of all atrocities, the worst thing this Bill does is to say that foodgrains, edible oil, etc. and the vehicle in which they are being carried can be confiscated by the order of a low official of the Government even if no charge is prepared against the farmer or the trader concerned."

"According to the Bill, everyone is guilty if the District Magistrate says he is guilty, unless he goes to a court of law and asserts his innocence."

Mr. Masani said that in Rajkot: "a loss of crores of rupees has been caused to small farmers who produce groundnut. There is a ban on the export of groundnut from Gujarat outside the States. Till now this ban was held valid under the Defence of India Rules. At last we were told that the Defence of India Rules would not be misused, as they were misused for purely economic purposes. The moment the Defence of India Rules went, the Ordinance came, followed now with a Bill which is going to regularise the illegality."

to confiscate the means of conveyance, that is, the lorries and various other means of transport.

So there is no end to the mischief that can be set in train by these controls and no limit to their authority. They want to give the Collector the power to confiscate foodgrains, wherever they are found and not kept according to their dictates, according to their own rules or decisions; not only that, they can confiscate the conveyance including bullock-carts, even the donkeys or mules on which they are carried and also the camels in the desert. I do not know if they will spare the head-loaders because they happen to be human beings.

The aspect of confiscation has a peculiar odour about it. Even today, they have got that power. But have they confiscated any lorries? No. Why? Because rich people enjoying the goodwill of certain sections of the ruling party have become partners with these people who are running these foodgrains from one State to another, from one district to another, from one taluk to another. They have become partners with these lorry loaders, lorry conveyors and all that.

They are not in a position to enforce any of these powers in a proper manner against some of those people in whom they are interested politically or financially. So on the count that this is unconscionable, on the count that it cannot be enforced and on the count that when it is enforced, they are too cruel and enforce it only against the smaller fry and helpless people.

Then again, they want to give the appellate authority to State Governments. We know how State Governments have been functioning. Therefore, we want the courts to be brought in. Quite a large number of the Congress Members are of the same view.

The Food Minister said there were hoarders. Let him be very clear as to whom he is going to consider as hoarders. These friends of the Communist Party would like him to consider even the ordinary peasants themselves to be hoarders. It would be a sacrilege to consider peasants to be hoarders, because he has got the sense and the capacity of keeping as much of his surplus as possible in anticipation of a reasonable price. If the Food Minister is really sincere, he should see that proper incentives are provided to our peasants to have staying capacity to enable them to earn enough through their agriculture.

Procurement at harvest time my hon. friend wants to achieve now. I have no objection provided he satisfies certain conditions. The price that he is going to fix should be a reasonable one.

Let the Agricultural Prices Commission fix the principles. Is it going to be in relation to the general price structure in this country, the inflationary spiral that is going up here, the dearness allowances that are being granted to various sections of the people including Government employees? Whatever price Government is going to fix, let it be in harmony with all these factors.

Even at that price, the Government should not claim all the foodgrains that the producers would be raising from their fields. It must be out of the disposable surplus. And the disposable surplus has got to be fixed only after making allowance for whatever foodgrains would be needed for the maintenance of the peasants' family and also whatever grain he has got to give out to agricultural labour when he employs them during the agricultural seasons.

How are they going to estimate the surplus? They are going to fix it by crop cutting experiments. Our experience with these crop cutting experiments has not been very satisfactory. Let the Food Minister say that a proper deduction will be made from out of the calculations given to them by crop cutting experiments, and also in the light of the earlier estimates made by the Food Ministry themselves at the State and the Union levels and in between let them always whenever they have got to make any choice at all make the choice more in favour of the peasant than in favour of themselves.

After having reached the disposable surplus, let them say that they do not claim more than half of it for the Government's share. The peasants should be free to sell the rest of it in the open market. The Food-grains Corporation can come forward in the open market with sufficient funds in order to take charge of the foodgrains from the peasants.

The procurement policy of the Government, their zonal restrictions policy and the actual implementation of this zonal restriction degenerating itself into restrictions between taluka and taluka and district and district, have become the main causes for the real troubles that our people are suffering from in regard to food not only in the scarcity-hidden areas, but also over the whole of this country. In belt areas people are suffering, foodgrains are not being allowed to go in or come out, and they are condemned into a kind of mass arrest within those zones. The relief should be given to these people.

So far as the peasants are concerned, these are certain powers that the State has got to assume and exercise in order to protect the peasants from those who are in a position to exploit them. So, to that extent, I have always been pleading for State protection, State regulation and State activity. But that does not mean that the Govt. should go to the extent that they have been going till now.

Whenever the head-loaders see the police, they get so much frightened that they simply leave their bags and run away. The police do not give them any receipt. They take possession of the foodgrains thus left by those poor people and make it their own. We were told that the head-loaders were not going to be harassed, but they continue to be harassed. Secondly, there are so many peasants who are obliged to bring their foodgrains from one taluka to another. They own lands in one area and live in another area. They are also prevented from taking the foodgrains. The police

go over to them and take possession of the foodgrains, their bullock-carts and also the bullocks. With very great difficulty they are able to get their bullock-carts and bullocks released after bribing the police officers and having gone through so much trouble of bringing so many other people for standing surety. The food-grains are kept by the policemen at the police station. In many cases receipts are not given and no accounts are kept. If someone asks, they say these are being confiscated. I shall not be surprised if in many cases they become the private property of policemen. That is one of the reasons why we do not want this power of confiscation to be on the statute-book at all. If it must be kept, then I have offered to make a concession saying that not more than one-eighth should at any time come to be confiscated. If by any chance anyone is proved to have done wrong willfully and knowingly, don't you think that confiscating anything more than that would be unconscionable. Confiscation itself is wrong. Those who own less than 20 acres of land, on which they raise these foodgrains or edible oils, should not be troubled by all these provisions and the rigours of this Act.

Then there is the other question whether it should be oral or it should be in writing. It should be in writing, otherwise, it will lead to a lot of mischief. (Shri C. Subramaniam: There is an amendment to that effect which I am accepting.) To whom is the appeal to be made? Not to the Government. Then political influences will come. Those who have got some political pull would be able to get away, but those who are innocent, incompetent and powerless, ignorant of the advantages of political power, they would have to suffer. Therefore, it is best that it should be left to the court.

The Food Minister was saying that if there is delay in paying the price for it after having disposed of the foodgrains, the interest should be paid. It is a small point. What is most essential is, in many cases they take charge of the foodgrains, they do not pay much attention to the inclemencies of the weather and do not store the grains properly with the result that the grains get spoiled and it is not going to be of any use to the peasant when it is returned to him. So, there should be sufficient facilities for looking after the grains properly, or alternatively they should allow the peasant himself to keep it in his own godown, under lock and key, so that the peasant will look after the grains properly. If and when the case is settled, if it goes to the Government, it should be taken charge by them. If, on the other hand, Government need not take it over, it should be handed over to the peasant. Coming to the price to be paid, it should be the market price. Whether it is to be the date on which the case is filed or the date on which the case is disposed of, we may leave it to the courts, but the price should certainly be the market price; otherwise, the peasant would suffer.

Let it be understood quite clearly that I am no apologist either for the middlemen, or for the factory owner, or for the very big people who want to make money, at the cost of the society as a whole. I am second to none in my anxiety to see that foodgrains prices are such that they would be within the capacity of the general public in our country. But, yet, there are certain sections which are known as vulnerable sections, too poor people. So far as these people are concerned, till now the peasants have been exploited in order to see that the foodgrains prices are kept within the level at which the very poor people can purchase. The result has been that all the others above that level, their food consumption has been subsidised at the cost of the peasants. I want to put a stop to that. It is the duty of the Government to subsidise the food of the vulnerable section, and Government have accepted it as a principle as a result of the agitations that we have carried on for such a long time, by opening fair price shops. That policy must be pursued in future and the whole of society has to pay the price or the subsidy for keeping the price within the level of the vulnerable sections. It is not enough for the Minister to pay lip sympathy of remunerative price.

It has been a wishful assurance on the part of the Government. Unfortunately, it has not yet become a fact.*

Lok Sabha — August 29, 1966

P. K. Deo

The Bill has been admitted by all the Members as anti-Kisan and a black Bill.

Uptil now the Defence of India Act has been in vogue and the rules were still there, but we know very well that the entire distribution system was faulty, and now the same plea is given that if the life of this Act is prolonged and the emergency powers are conferred on them, they will make the distribution system foolproof.

* Several amendments were moved by Prof. Ranga on behalf of the Party. The confiscation clause we opposed emphatically. Ultimately, the Food Minister was prevailed upon to drop the confiscation provision in regard to the producers. Then he had to say that there would be no discrimination between one producer and another. The Communist Party wanted to differentiate between a small producer and a big producer. At this stage there was a duel between Prof. Ranga and Mr. Renu Chakravarty (Communist). Prof. Ranga said there was no such thing as big producers left in our country after the land ceiling laws had been passed by the State Governments. As a result, no producer was in a position to earn more than Rs. 500/- p.m. from his land. With that optimum income, no sane person could call a producer a big producer.

The Food Minister was in agreement with Prof. Ranga and said no distinction would be made in the Bill between a small producer and a big producer.

There were significant changes brought about in the Bill at Swatantra's initiative.

Under the present distribution system hundreds of people have died of starvation in my own constituency during the last Orissa famine. If there is any impediment in the proper distribution, it is the suffocating controls and licences. Unless these things are removed, whatever power you may give to the Government, they are not going to make the distribution system equitable for everybody.

The second reason given is that following devaluation, the holding of the price line has become imperative on the part of the Government. Devaluation or no devaluation, whichever be the Government, it is its primary duty to see that the price line is held. We know very well that it is the Government's wrong policy which is responsible for the soaring prices. Devaluation came on 6th June, 1966 and on 7th June the Asoka Hotel, which is a State enterprise, increased its tariff by 15 to 20 per cent. It is no use blaming the middlemen or the traders saying that they are the hoarders. In fact the biggest hoarder is the Government.

This Bill further envisages giving more powers to collectors. The House is unanimous in this regard that the collectors as they are today do not deserve more powers to be given to them. This power is liable to be misused for victimisation, blackmailing, and for political vendetta. We know what happened the other day as a result of the levy system in Bastar. In a predominantly tribal area this levy was rigorously imposed. Even though there was no paddy, there was drought, cultivators were compelled to part with their crop. Then there was firing and tragedy. Do you want the repetition of all these by these collectors?

I am at one with all those who have supported a remunerative price to the cultivators.

Proper distribution would be possible only if there is an all-India common market. All the barriers of the zones have to go. I come from a constituency which is bordering Madhya Pradesh, it is bordering the eastern and western zones. Madhya Pradesh is western zone and Orissa is eastern zone. During the famine when American wheat was being given at Khariar Road at Rs. 55 per quintal, at Baghbara only 10 miles from there, it was being sold at Rs. 80 per quintal. The big guns who are the main supporters of the Congress Party and advance money to the Congress election fund were carrying truckloads of wheat from Khariar Road to Baghbara and were making a profit of Rs. 1,000 per truck. There was similar traffic from the other side also so far as *chana ki dal* was concerned; it is being sold at Rs. 80 at Raipur while on the other side at Rs. 125. Every day wagons are being sent from Mahasamund to Khariar Road without any booking and Rs. 50 is paid to the station master per wagon. That is how the artificial barrier is being used to fill the coffers of the blackmarketeers who are the main pillars of support to the Government.

Lok Sabha — August 29, 1966

Dahyabhai V. Patel

The past experience of the use of powers by officials, particularly at the district level, is far from happy. The control over cotton, particularly in the State of Gujarat, has been used for the benefit of the mill-owners. When the crop is ready, the ceiling price of cotton is enhanced. Therefore, the producer is not encouraged. This is where the Government have gone wrong. When sweeping powers are ultimately to be used by too small people, abuses are bound to come in.

Soon after Mr. Subramaniam assumed charge of the Food Ministry, he had admitted at a conference

of party leaders that the zonal restrictions were the root cause of all this trouble. He has however not been able to rise above all this to scrap the zonal restrictions.

It has been the experience of the country during the last eighteen years that whenever anything is brought under control, its prices go up. The only way to bring down the prices is to increase production. If half the energy and money that are being spent to administer controls is used to increase production, we will be out of the mess.

Rajya Sabha — September 3, 1966

LAW AND ORDER

Advocates (Amendment) Bill

N. Dandekar

The purposes, the reasons and the circumstances which led to this Bill are really such an astonishing state of affairs that the best description of the situation, which is attempted to be remedied by this Bill, is that these legal gentlemen from all over India are probably the greatest experts in making confusion worse confounded. Section 8 of the Advocates Act, 1961 says quite simply:

"The term of office of the elected members of a State Bar Council shall be six years, but as nearly as possible one-third of the members first elected to each such Council (reconstituted on the...) shall retire on the expiration of every second year in the prescribed manner, and the vacancies so caused shall be filled by the election of new members in the prescribed manner."

Then, among the powers to make rules there is a clause that the Central Government or the Bar Council may prescribe the manner in which the order of retirement by rotation of members of the State Bar Council shall be determined.

Until I read the Objects and Reasons of this Bill I had considerable respect for the legal fraternity and I could not imagine that they could not give effect to a simple thing like this, that the elections shall be once in six years, that one-third of members shall retire once in two years and there will be fresh elections once in two years to replace these gentlemen who are supposed to retire. What seems to have happened is that some gentlemen did not retire, others who did retire apparently thought that they ought not or should not have retired, and there was complete confusion all over the place, which confusion was sought to be corrected by all kinds of attempted amendments including, finally, an utterly illegal order by the

Government called "The Advocates (Removal of difficulties) Order, which should really have been called "Advocates (Removal of) Order". These are the gentlemen who are supposed to be not merely attempting to interpret the law but to advise the ordinary persons as to the manner of carrying out the legal provisions of the various Acts. They are the fraternity from among whom the so-called gentlemen qualified to become Judges of the High Court eventually become Judges of the High Court and later on, in due course, Judges of the Supreme Court. The Law Council, the Bar Council and the All-India Bar Council are supposed to be enrolling advocates, laying down, after a young man has acquired the Law Degree, the kind of training that is necessary and the period of training that is necessary, it is they who are to decide the kind of persons qualified to train a young advocate and so on. The Minister has by implication given an answer that they are utterly incompetent. The Minister should therefore consider a thorough overhaul of this organisation. It is high time that the members of the legal profession and the Ministry of Law should come to the conclusion that these gentlemen are really incompetent, in so many numerous bodies, to run their own affairs and that it is, perhaps, time to constitute one All-India Bar Council with zonal councils from out of that kind of a body.

I think the Law Ministry has to consider the whole thing over again in terms of competence and in terms of the Act to put down uniform standards of professional competence, professional ethics, training and matters of disciplinary action so that there may be one professional body regulating the whole thing. Otherwise, this kind of thing will continue and will, in fact, bring the legal profession into contempt and a laughing stock in the eyes of the people.

Therefore, while I suppose this sort of thing has to be done in order to save these gentlemen who have retired from having retired, those who have been elected from being diselected, of course, *force majeure*

this Bill has to through, I suppose the Minister has to give a thorough look and have complete overhaul of the whole thing.

Lok Sabha — August 5, 1966

House Arrest of A. K. Gopalan

N. G. Ranga

It is very difficult for people like me to intervene in this question. As every knows, I am opposed to the Communist Party and Communism. We have asked that if the Government had any courage at all, if they were opposed to the Communist Party's activities here and if they really had information with them to prove that they are not patriotic and are traitors, let them ban them and take action. They do not do any of these things. In regard to Kerala they said so many things against our friends, but the people said, "Nothing doing" and they got them elected again. So, here is Shri Gopalan—whether we like it or not — who is the head of a party here in this House.

It is not right for Ministers to make statements naming him and saying that he is not patriotic but, at the same time, not be prepared to come before the Privileges Committee to prove what they have got; otherwise, what would happen is that today it is their turn, tomorrow it will be my turn — everybody's turn. Therefore, parliamentary privileges, immunities and decencies should be observed by all political parties whether we are opposed to each other or not.*

Lok Sabha — August 29, 1966

Delhi High Court Bill

Kapur Singh

The Bill is infected with three gross and glaring blemishes. The first blemish with which the Bill is infected is that its constitutionality and its vires is not free from grave doubts.

Its second defect is that it is misconceived. The

* The Short Notice Question regarding the house arrest and shadowing of the Left Communist Member, Shri A. K. Gopalan, was tabled by several Members. Their contention was that such an action on the part of the Government violated their privileges and interfered in the Parliamentary work of the Members.

Prof. Ranga strongly supported this plea. His main burden of argument was that if it was the Communists' turn today, it would be the Swatantra's the next day and so on. It was a planned move to liquidate the Opposition. Such an act could be witnessed and tolerated only in a dictatorial or completely regimented society. Such actions on the part of the Government would only mar the name of our democratic set up.

pendency of a large number of appeals at Delhi is certainly not an argument for establishing a separate Delhi High Court. At best, it is an argument for expanding the strength of the Punjab High Court and for location of a circuit bench here, more or less on a permanent basis.

Thirdly, the Bill is ulteriorly motivated. When the reorganisation of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh is before Parliament, where is the unholy hurry about proceeding with the Bill?

Lok Sabha — September 1, 1966

Privilege Motion: J. L. Hathi's Statement†

N. G. Ranga

I wish to support this plea for raising a point of privilege. We got to have an assurance that the security of the country is entirely safe in the hands of the Government of the day. All that has happened make people wonder whether the security of the country is safe in the hands of this Government at all. Mr. Hathi is generally a very careful man, but he had been let down very badly. The House has got to be assured whether this is the manner in which the Government comes to its conclusions, formulates its own statements and comes before this House. They make their statements based not upon the information supplied to them by responsible Ministers at the State level, but only by some responsible officer who has been sent by that Ministry. Afterwards, they come here and confess that they are not responsible but it is the officer who is responsible and they have been misled by that officer. Is this the way our security is to be safe-guarded?

Between the 4th of last month and the 17th, they had 14 days' notice of this motion. In spite of all these things, it was not possible for them to discover the mistake that was made and the false information that was given to them. Against whom are we to move this privilege motion? Ordinarily we should be able to

† When allegations were made in the Lok Sabha that espionage case of Shri Sunil Dass, A.I.C.C. employee and Mohit Choudhary and others, has been transferred from the SPE to the Detective Branch, West Bengal Police, under political pressure, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri Hathi denied this charge. He said the case continued to be investigated by the S.P.E. Subsequently, when a privilege motion was moved against Shri Hathi by S. S. P. Member Shri Madhu Limaye for making an incorrect statement and thus misleading the House, Shri Hathi had to admit that the information given by him to the House was wrong as the case had actually been transferred to the Detective Branch of the West Bengal Police. He had based his statement on the information he had received from the West Bengal Government through one of their Senior Officers.

make it against the Minister concerned. But here is a Minister who says, "I am helpless. What can I do? I depended upon that officer who has given me this information". It is the Minister who ought to take the responsibility for this. What is the good of his saying that he was misled? Government has got to say that they made a mistake and for that they must be prepared to take the consequences.

So many allegations and accusations have been made by several members in regard to the political influences that were being brought to bear in this particular matter. So many members had suggested that this question should be investigated by the C.B.I. and not by the West Bengal Government. In the first instance, this Government was wrong in having allowed the West Bengal Government to seize possession of this particular matter. Then there are the extraneous political interests that were being brought to bear on it. The statement of Shri Atulya Ghosh bore witness to the fact that there were some influences which were there, rightly or wrongly, directly or indirectly.

In the light of all these things, you have to call upon them to do things — firstly, to ask them what disciplinary action they are taking against that officer who has given them blatantly wrong information. Secondly, why did they allow it to be tackled by the local Government? Why is it that even now they are not prepared to take over this entirely on their own responsibility? What is it they are going to do in order to clear the reputation of themselves and their associates in regard to this very essential matter of national security? They should order a judicial inquiry into the whole matter as to how they made such a mess about this strategic question of security. Mr. Nanda and the Prime Minister want us to believe that some political parties are unpatriotic. They want us to believe that some politicians are unpatriotic. They want the country to take them seriously, not only castigate them as unpatriotic but also to take them into jail and put them under D.I.R.* Nobody would believe the credentials of this Government unless they appoint an impartial, independent, judicial inquiry into the manner

* These observations of Prof. Ranga were applauded by all sections of the House. Since the privilege motion was not allowed by the Dy. Speaker against the Minister of State, Shri Hathi, as he had expressed regrets for giving wrong information to the House, Prof. Ranga and several other Members moved a privilege motion against the Home Minister of the West Bengal Government who had sent the Police Officer to brief Mr. Hathi.

While moving his privilege motion, Prof. Ranga elucidated his earlier arguments as regards the national security. Govt. had talked of spying activities on the northern borders during the Chinese aggression being ignorant all the time that there were spies operating in the Capital in the very office of the A.I.C.C. Such happenings had created doubts whether this Govt. could be entrusted with the defence of the country. (The privilege motion, though had the support of all sections of the Opposition, was disallowed by the Dy. Speaker in his wisdom.

in which the whole of this affair till now has been mismanaged.

Lok Sabha — September 8, 1966

Privilege of Members

S. S. Mariswamy

I support the bill.† It is a fact that blanket power given to the Government is more misused than used properly. For various political reasons, they arrest people belonging to Opposition parties. Some of the Members of this august House would have known a great personality, the late U. Muthuramalinga Thevar hailing from Madras State when he was a Member of the Lok Sabha. And before that he was a member of the Madras Legislative Assembly. He was the leader of the Forward Bloc. He was giving defeat after defeat to the Congress. In three successive elections, he fought against the Congress big guns and defeated them in such a manner that they could not go into that constituency for some time. In 1957 he gave a crushing defeat to the Congress boss, Mr. Kamaraj. Now that angered the Madras Congress. The moment they formed the Congress Government, they sent agent provocateurs into that area to start communal trouble. A murder was committed and he was arrested and put under detention. He was there in prison without trial for more than seven to eight months. That broke his heart. After a great agitation in Madras, he was produced before a court. The judgement was in his favour and the presiding Judge said that it was a pity that the State Government had indulged in this prosecution which was baseless.

During the anti-Hindi agitation, the deputy leader of the D.M.K., one Mr. Karunanidhi, and a sitting member of the Madras Legislative Assembly, was arrested. He was taken away from Madras city to the southernmost central jail called the Palayamcottah central jail where he was kept in prison without trial for a few months. During the time when he was in prison there was a by-election. There were so many developments in regard to his party but his presence was not available to his party, his services were not available for candidates who stood in the name of his Party. And again, after a few months, when there was an agitation for his release, they let him off.

So it is that these blanket powers that they have in the name of the D.I.R. and in the name of the emergency are used mainly to cripple the Opposition and do all damage to the Opposition parties. So in that respect, I give my full support to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's Bill.

Rajya Sabha — September 2, 1966

† Moved by Shri Bhupesh Gupta (Communist).

CORRUPTION

P.A.C. Report

N. G. Ranga

When Shri C. Subramaniam differed so strongly from his own secretary and he refused to accept his advice to limit the punishment for only two years, why is it that he never thought of bringing the matter to the notice of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Secretariat? One is surprised how it is that at no stage, the Cabinet was brought into the picture. One can also ask what was the Cabinet doing and why was it sleeping all along.

It can be asked why Shri Subramaniam did not take to task the Iron and Steel Controller, why should he have taken all those things for granted, why Jit Paul had met him just about the time when the papers also reached him. It is perhaps because he felt that it was not improper. In fact, the whole system of the Government, especially in regard to permits, controls and licences, is so full of improprieties and irregularities that it did not strike Shri Subramaniam as anything objectionable or unholy.

No one can say that Shri Subramaniam is amenable to money. But he is amenable to political influence and that is where he showed weakness.

To find out how influential this firm is one need not have to go into all the details. Was it not enough that over seven years, the Cabinet and the rest of the Ministers were kept ignorant or indifferent and only the Ministers who had to deal with them were carrying on their own merry-go-round-show with the firm. It is, therefore, for that one is not prepared to exonerate Shri Subramaniam.

The point is whether Shri C. Subramaniam alone is responsible or is he being made a scapegoat? Is he being made use of by other Ministers here as well as in the States? But merely because somebody has become a scapegoat, are we to excuse him and the full Cabinet? The Ministers are guilty of dereliction of their duty.

This is not the only firm; there are so many others also who are having their dealings with the Iron & Steel Controller and various other Controllers, who have got to deal with all these favours that are being distributed through these permits, licences and quotas. Is this Government competent to keep a watch on them, when they are dependent upon them for its finance at the time of elections? That is why he is not prepared to agree with the suggestion made that whenever we have any complaint to make against any minister, we should first go to the Prime Minister.

There is no other remedy in the present case except the resignation of the Cabinet. If they really mean to maintain a high sense of integrity, they should resign. It is not enough that they resign; they should give up the system of controls. To the extent that they must

have some controls and some licences, they should place it in charge of a quasi-judicial, completely non-political and independent Commission.

The Ministers think they are powerful but the fact is that in their anxiety to hang on to their position, they do not do their duty. It is only because of this that these Secretaries and Controllers scuttle all proposals put forward by them.

There is what is known as the national conscience and on the anvil of that national conscience, it is not only Shri Subramaniam—he is only a scapegoat even if he had shown weakness and incompetence—it is the whole of the Cabinet that stand condemned.

Lok Sabha — August 27, 1966

Loknath Misra*

I doubt very much whether it would have been possible even for the Public Accounts Committee to find out the truth if Mr. C. Subramaniam had continued to be Minister till today in the same Ministry. I am happy that he is not there and this is how things could be unearthed.

The first point to be looked into is whether any irregularity has been committed or not. Now the parties concerned are Messrs. Amin Chand Pyarelal and Surendra (Overseas). The Minister concerned is Shri C. Subramaniam and Sardar Swaran Singh is his predecessor.

These firms in question were blacklisted previously even under a favourable regime and the hon. Minister who succeeded his predecessor must have looked into the file. Naturally before disposing of this particular file, he must have gone into the history of them and in having gone through the history of the file, he must also have found out that in the previous regime these particular businessmen and business houses had definite advantages obtained, but subsequently blacklisted. One of the reasons given for issuing customs clearance permit was to avoid demurrage. His predecessor was very much obsessed about demurrage that the party had to pay. Therefore, in spite of:

“Restriction on Import of certain goods—(i) save as otherwise provided in this order, no person shall import any goods of the description specified in Schedule I except under, and in accordance with, a licence or a customs clearance permit granted by

* Following motion was moved by Shri Loknath Misra on behalf of the Party:

“That the 55th Report of the Public Accounts Committee with reference to the observations of the Committee contained in para 4.128 of the 50th Report of the P.A.C. be taken into consideration.

the Central Government or by any officer specified in Schedule II."

With this background the Minister was pleased somehow to pass an order on the 16th November, 1962. Of course, there was another immediate cause for it. The immediate cause was, it was stated by the Ministry:

"It was stated by the Ministry of Iron & Steel that they issued an order on 16th November, 1962 that all business dealings with M/s. Amin Chand Pyarelal group of firms should be suspended by H.S.L. and Iron & Steel Controller until the dispute leading to accumulation of semis at the ports was finally settled. As the dispute between these parties and the Government has not yet (July, 1966) been settled the suspension order is still in force."

This was the first order issued. I consider even this order to be a very lenient one because previously these very Firms were blacklisted, as I said, in a very favourable regime. Therefore, after having passed this order there was no occasion for the Minister to tone down the rigour of the order. The second order was passed for irregular disposal of 700 tons of imported rounds by M/s. Surrendra Overseas. For this the Secretary submitted a note as is evident from the proceedings of the 55th Report of the P.A.C. It says on page 3:

"Suspension of business dealings with the Firm (and its allied and associated Concerns) by the Iron & Steel Controller for a period of two years will, I think, meet the requirements of the case."

The Minister having known the background of these Firms did not naturally depend upon the Secretary's advice even though the Secretary had his own reason to be lenient about the Firm. In paragraph 1.13, it further says:

"The Minister did not agree with the Secretary and passed the following order in the same day:
"It should be a general order so that other Govt. Depts and Institutions also do not deal with these Firms."

I am trying to explain to the House how there has been absolutely no distinction between the first order and the third order so far as the business party is concerned though his second order was more comprehensive, which was subsequently turned down at Secretary's recommendation. But an imaginary distinction has been made by the Minister.

The Minister has shifted ground from place to place and time to time. On the first occasion, in the Lok Sabha, he said that it was because of the assessment by the Transport Ministry that he toned down the rigour of his order. Subsequently, in the Public Accounts Committee he said that it was because of the letter of apology submitted by one of the Directors of

these Firms. Because the truth was not being told the Minister could not make out for himself as to what would be the objective impressions of his statements on different occasions. There were cases of smuggling against these Firms. They were importers, and defaulting importers. There was a Special Police Establishment case pending against this particular Firm. In spite of this, I cannot really imagine how a Minister of his intelligence and competence could ask one of the Deputy Secretaries to talk on the telephone to the Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Transport to find out the assessment of their Ministry and depend upon them in finally passing an order in this particular file. There is something else behind it.

Subsequently during the evidence before the P.A.C. the Minister said that the apology weighed heavily on his mind that he got emotional and therefore he thought that everybody had a future and he guaranteed a future to this Firm, Messrs. Surrendra Overseas, at the expense of the country. Then the Minister went out of his way in assuring this defaulting firm to help in their Industries. There was no occasion for it, there was no need for it. What was the occasion for the Minister to go out of his way to assure him: "you have been found guilty by the Government so far as your commercial dealings or trade dealings with the Government are concerned but we shall definitely consider your honesty in your industrial undertakings."

"While we fully appreciate the advice you very kindly gave us that we should concentrate our activities more on Industry than on trade, we wish to inform...."

Was he their Industrial adviser? He had absolutely no business unless there was some other consideration for it. Firstly, the time was unusual for the meeting. Secondly, he went out of his way in his advice. I do not know if their own industrial adviser would have advised them this way because they could depend on the Govt.'s future attitude in the background of their past conduct but here was a Minister who definitely assured them: "I would support you in your Industries." Somebody who could not be trusted in the matter of trade and commerce, how could an intelligent person consider him trustworthy in the case of industry particularly when he would have to deal with commodities which are obtainable on permit or quota?

Now the Government feels satisfied that they have done their job by announcing a committee to go into these matters. What I would suggest is that if a Committee goes into the matter, it must go also into matters connected with Mr. Subramaniam. The Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee himself has said that the party is extremely influential. The names of the personnel of the Committee, therefore, should be announced. Such a Committee must inspire the confidence of the people.

Rajya Sabha — August 27, 1966

ELECTIONS

Resignation of Government 3 months before Elections

N. G. Ranga

It is in spite of all the efforts that our friends have made from the ruling party that a few of us have come to be returned to this House. It is not because of any generosity or impartiality or real spirit of sportsmanship displayed by the ruling party that this small opposition has come into existence in this House.

They have kept more than 70 per cent of our electorate completely illiterate and ignorant. On the top of it they have utilised the symbol of two bulls. As if those advantages were not enough they had a third advantage. When we started our career as independent India, we had only one party. So far as the democratic forces were concerned, we were all united. It was only from out of that that some splinters tried to go out and it was easy to smother or silence them and put them out. They tried their worst and in spite of that, the splinter slowly took fire and began to take some shape. That is what we see here today, after three general elections and after all this trouble we have gone through.

In my own bye-election, as many as 22 Ministers including the Union Finance Minister went in a procession in Chittoor town. Just think of the influence, the fear, the pressure, they brought to bear on the people. When Ministers go about electioneering, their officers are also there not very far away, within their call and reach. Even today in the various bye-elections, orders were signed by these people and decisions were being taken by the Ministers in order to spirit away Government properties and *porombokes*. Is it also not a fact that for lakhs and lakhs of rupees that were due to sarpanches and small contractors for works that had been done, for works that were half-finished, for works which were not even done at all, orders were passed immediately, check measurements were made, orders passed and money disbursed to all these people in order to satisfy them and make sure that their votes went to them? Is it also not a fact that elementary schools were turned overnight into middle schools,

middle schools were overnight turned into high schools and in one or two places, in my own constituency, they were turned into miniature colleges.

All these were being done under the aegis of the ruling party. As if they were not satisfied with all these things, they utilised even their Governors, and one Governor came down there without any sense of shame into my constituency and carried on canvassing. I wrote to him a letter saying that he should not do it. He quietly went back and did not care even to give a reply to my letter. These are some of the unholy means that are being used by the Government.

They might say that a demand for the resignation of the Government prior to the elections had never been made in England. In England there was never a democracy based upon 70 per cent of the voters being illiterate and ignorant. In England we never come across a large number of ministers going about in the shameless manner in which they are going about here in order to carry on their own canvassing by prostituting Governmental authorities for the sake of gaining votes.

In the face of such happenings, the Representation of the People Act is a nagatory piece of legislation. It is a dead-letter. They use the jeeps. Only the other day they have admitted that at long last they are going to be sanshis and they are not going to use the jeeps. Jeeps, vans, lorries and all of them are being exploited by them. When we go to the petrol bunks even petrol is not being made available. In one place all bicycles were monopolised, at another place all jatkas were monopolised. The Congress President was seen in the Madras Corporation Election going about in his car and distributing money without any sense of shame. This is the level to which they have brought down India's democracy. That is why India's democracy is something unique, unique in the sense that it is no democracy at all. It is a "name-sake democracy" which is being utilised for dictatorial purposes by this totalitarian party. The Indian press is so much overawed by the ruling party that it has begun to report the speeches made by the Congressmen in the executive of the party, in the general body, in the A.I.C.C. Working Committee. All the speeches made in these meetings are reported. Why? Because the press has also come to realise the *fait accompli* that the only party that counts is the Congress Party and no other party counts. Therefore, they provide the widest publicity to their meetings. They criticise each other in the party meeting and then the same gentlemen come here and support this Government. They are much worse than actors in a theatre. The same man plays the role of Harischandra and then the other the role of the villain of the piece, a third role of the adulterer and the fourth the role of Lord Ram. They are playing so much of mischief at the polls in every election. Let these troubles be removed, let these

* The Resolution was moved by Mr. S. N. Dwivedy.

Rajaji first initiated the idea of calling upon the Government to resign and allow the President to take over three months before the elections. Such a step was necessary to ensure free and impartial elections, in the absence of which the foundation of our democratic system is shaking. Since then, the Party spokesmen have been pleading in favour of such a gesture on the part of the Ruling Party. It is going home with the people. In the Parliament this has got the support from all the Opposition Groups.

people be removed from position of power, let there be President's rule at the Centre and Governors' rule at the States and let there be equal chance and opportunities for all the political parties to go to the people and place their view points before the public. Then we will know what will happen. Instead of these 370 members of the Congress Party, after the next elections there will not be even 200 Members of the Congress in the Lok Sabha, if there is President's raj during the elections. Similarly, if there is Governor's Raj in the States, I am sure that in a majority of States, the Congress Party will find itself in a minority. If they really want democracy and if the Congress Party members are prepared to display one-tenth of the moral courage that we have displayed by fighting and opposing the Congress in the elections, then I can assure them that I would be prepared to applaud them for being real, genuine democrats; but not so long as they continue to enjoy the unearned profits and gains that they have been getting from unscrupulous exploitation of our electoral system.

Lok Sabha — August 19, 1966

Representation of People's Act (Amendment) Bill

P. K. Deo

(Government has given shape to some of the recommendations of the Election Commission, but some of the more important recommendations have not been given effect to and some new provisions have sprung up all of a sudden. It is our misfortune. It is because of these defective election laws that in all the three elections this country has only got a minority government. The Congress which has secured less than 50 per cent of the votes has been guiding the destinies of this country against popular will.

You must have seen that in every State it was the multiplicity of the parties, the multiplicity of the candidates, that helped the Congress to be returned to power. It is a misfortune that so many parties are functioning in this country. The polarisation of parties on the basis of political ideologies has not yet taken place and it is however in the process of evolution. I hope that in course of time there would be proper polarisation because the ideal will be a two-party system or at best a three-party system. And rightly the Election Commission has made that recommendation. At page 124 of the report, the Election Commission has said in para (i) that:

"If a clear verdict is to be obtained from the electorate grouped in single-member constituencies, it is essential that the contest should be limited to a few worthy candidates, and light-hearted participation

by individuals who do not have any substantial electoral support must be checked."

In para (iii) the Commission has stated that:

"In regard to the unduly large number of independent candidates, it is common knowledge that many of them only stand with a view to striking a bargain with one or the other of the serious candidates and then withdrawing from the contest for a consideration or with a view to splitting the votes of a small section of the people on caste or communal grounds. These are tendencies which militate against fair democratic elections and should be eliminated."

I am sorry to state that this part of the recommendation has not been accepted by Government and they are not going to give effect to it in this Bill. Because the more the multiplicity of candidates and the multiplicity of parties, the more secure is their seat. If the will of the people is to be properly reflected in the composition of this House then they should make laws providing for proportional representation for which purpose a radical change has to be made in the entire system.)

Regarding electoral officers, the Election Commission has recommended that the chief electoral officer and the deputy chief electoral officer should be full-time men. But our experience is that at the State level, they are part-time officers. They should be independent and they should be properly insulated against all sorts of official or governmental pressure. They should be responsible directly to the Election Commission. These officers should be sent on deputation from the judiciary or if possible they should be recruited from the neighbouring States, for we all know the calibre of the officers at the State level who are entrusted with this election work in spite of the fact that we say that we want free and fair elections.

The Election Commission has further recommended that there should be district election officers. Government have accepted this. We know very well the position regarding the district magistrates in the various districts, who act as returning officers for the parliamentary constituencies. To give them more power or to have district election officers from amongst them is a very dangerous proposition. I would like to draw the attention of the House to the decision of the learned tribunal in the case of Dandekar vs. R. R. Gupta. The learned tribunal had remarked in that case as follows:

"Mr. C. M. Nigam, district magistrate of Gonda, who acted as returning officer was instrumental in bringing about the success of Mr. Ram Ratan Gupta by corrupt connivance, and the *quid pro quo* was his promotion as Commissioner of Faizabad Division in November, 1962, after the election."

Therefore only those officers, who do not depend for

their promotions or for any favour, on the executive government should be entrusted with this kind of job.

It is a good thing that henceforward we shall have representatives here from Jammu and Kashmir who will be duly elected, and the procedure of nomination will be put an end to. But at the same time I do not appreciate the argument why there should be two sets of electoral rolls for assembly and Parliament elections for Jammu and Kashmir and not for the rest of the country. They say that the election to the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly is being conducted under the Representation of the People Act of Jammu and Kashmir, in which provision has been made for preparation of electoral rolls in that State on the basis of the test of permanent residence. So, the test of permanent residence is a qualification for a voter in Jammu and Kashmir whereas in the rest of India the criterion is only that of citizenship. I do not know why there should be different criteria for the voters in Jammu and Kashmir and those in the rest of India.

The revision of the electoral rolls should be done every year, because when a person attains the age of 25 he should have every right to be enrolled as a voter in the electoral rolls.

The penalty for carrying voters by conveyance should be more rigorous and should be made cognizable. However, the biggest culprit in this regard is Government. The late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri had promised that all the Block jeeps would be withdrawn. But this has not been done. We know that at the time of the elections, all the Block jeeps are being used to provide conveyance to the party in power and to carry the voters to the booth. A firm assurance should be given in this House that all the jeeps of the various Blocks and the Administration would be immobilised at least three months prior to elections. In this connection, I would like to point out a very damaging provision that is going to be made in the amending Bill, and that is regarding Government contractors. I would invite your attention to section 7(d) of the original Act which says that if there subsists a contract entered into in the course of a trade or business by him with the appropriate Government for supply of goods to, or for the execution of any work undertaken by, that Government, it will amount to a disqualification.

We want that it should be made more rigorous and this should be extended to those fields of public sector undertakings which are being taken under the appropriate governments, so that those contractors who supply goods to public sector undertakings should also be barred from contesting elections. But instead of making it more rigorous, the provision is being slackened and watered down. In this amending Bill, they want to provide that if a contractor has fulfilled his part of the job, even though final payment has not been made and his bill is still pending, he becomes qualified to contest election. This is a shame. They want to keep these contractors in their own hands by withholding part of the payment, so that even if a contractor stands

for election and comes through, Government will have a string with which to control him and they can make him dance in any way they like.

The canker of corruption originates from the panchayati raj. In the panchayati raj, we have seen that the sarpanches act as contractors and the panchayat samiti chairman share profits with the contractors. Probably Government want that the same pattern should be extended here so that the House will be composed of contractors having contracts with Government.

Coming to removal of disqualification from standing in the elections what was in the original section 144 has been reproduced as a carbon copy though in a separate clause and the wordings have been rearranged.

After the tribunal gives its findings—henceforth, the High Court will constitute the tribunal—the Election Commission should not sit in judgment on it. It would make the position very ridiculous. No self-respecting High Court will ever take up these election cases if that be the position.

Ballot papers should be printed in the Nasik Security Press. Otherwise there is very chance of fake ballot papers being made use of at the time of elections.

An important recommendation of the Election Commission that the entire election to parliamentary constituencies should be concluded in one day is not accepted. Identity cards should be supplied to voters at the cost of the Government and the polling agents should be supplied with a copy of the voters' list to check impersonation and things of that kind.

Clause 59 envisages that if a government officer acts as an election agent or polling agent, he will be fined Rs. 500. But there is no penalty for canvassing. All government officials should be debarred from canvassing for any particular candidate.

The Government should resign three months prior to the election and President should take over the Administration.

If Government are not prepared to accept this proposition and they are not going to resign, as a minimum they should not pass orders for promotion, allotment of lands, recognition of schools, sale of private property, withdrawal of pending cases and use of their discretionary grants etc. These things should be stopped for three months prior to elections. Any executive order in these matters during that period should be treated as illegal.

Government officials should not accompany Ministers in their election campaigns. The district officers should not dance attendance at the camp of the Ministers and try to distribute favours. In my constituency, few days prior to polling at midnight there was a foundation-laying ceremony of a school conducted by the District Magistrate under the auspices of Shri Biju Patnaik.

My experience in Orissa is that when MLAs are elected, immediately they are 'purchased' by distributing loaves and fishes. These favours are used as an instrument to snatch them away. There should be

provision made to put a stop to this nefarious practice. There should be a provision to the effect that if an MLA elected on a certain ticket crosses the floor or changes his affiliation, he will lose his seat.

Lok Sabha — September 2, 1966

(M. Ruthnaswami)

This amending Bill should be welcomed because it seeks to improve the system and method of elections in our country. Our elections have been praised both inside and outside the country as being peaceful and orderly, especially as they are elections to the largest democracy in the world. But the orderliness of the elections may be the orderliness of the graveyard, because the vast mass of our electors are illiterate and poverty-stricken and they have a tradition of peaceful passivity with regard to public affairs. And then a more unfortunate aspect of our elections is the vast and growing influence of the Government in the conduct and in the influencing of the elections.

The first question is whether those election officers should be officials of the State Governments. I remember in the last Lok Sabha election which I contested unsuccessfully in Tinnevely District I happened to visit a polling booth and the Polling Officer was a woman. When certain women voters came, she addressed them in Tamil:

"Indangamma, Neengallellam Congress-Thane? Vottu Podunga"

That is "you are all Congress; are not you? Here is the ballot paper, you put your votes". When I reported the matter to the Presiding Officer, he just shrugged his shoulders and said: "I do not know; I shall instruct them as to how they should behave." There is always in the background the influence of the Government of the day. The police officers, the low-paid district officials, all of them think that they must be on the side of the Government, that the Government of the day is a permanent Government. The thought has not sunk into them that the Government of the day is a party Government and is liable to be turned out. So in view of this mentality that prevails among the low-income Government officials every one of those election officers be called upon to take a solemn oath of impartiality before the Chief Election Officer of the District.

An account of the ballot papers which are rejected, used or unused, should be given to the agents of the candidates duly authenticated by the Polling Officers because in disputed elections the number of the ballot papers used in various ways is a crucial matter. Also a copy of the Report sent to the Returning Officer by each Polling Officer should be given to the agents of the candidates.

The final nomination papers be made liable to be challenged before the election tribunal within 20 days

of the finalisation of the nomination papers. In out of the way areas, rural areas, especially and in hilly areas, mobile vans should be provided by the Government because the voters in such areas find it very difficult to travel miles in order to go to a polling station. And political sense is not so developed in our country among the rural people that they would go to the Polling Stations by themselves.

With regard to election Offences bribery and corruption cases should be made cognisable but when I think of the attitude of our police officers I feel some hesitation in making this suggestion because as things are, the police officers are liable to be biased in favour of the Congress candidates.

In regard to disqualification of candidates, I think clause 20 of the Bill is rather drastic. It seems even inconsistent with the Constitution because it says that a person convicted of any offence and who gets a punishment of not less than two years of imprisonment should be disqualified. Now in political elections it is very easy to be guilty of or charged with defamation and libel and sent to prison for such an offence. Defamation or libel is possible in the case of political criticism.

The substitution of High Courts for election tribunals is a departure to be welcomed but if the full procedure of the civil suits is to be observed I am afraid that election suits in the High Courts will also take a long time. It is gratifying to note that a limit of six months has been fixed for the conclusion of the trial but for the institution of the trial also a time limit should be imposed. The words "as soon as possible after the election" will not serve the purpose. Here also a time limit of four weeks or so should be imposed so that the suits may be filed as early as possible.

These amendments that have been introduced in the Bill are satisfactory as far as they go but they do not go far enough; especially in regard to election expenses. There are legal limits but only in a very few instances are the legal limits observed.

A (With regard to multiplicity of parties also the Law Minister has not been able to accept the recommendation of the Election Commission. Although it is not possible to reduce the number of political parties in the country, may I suggest that the number of independents be reduced as much as possible.

When you have a number of independents, five or six independents, trying to stand for election, in so many constituencies, it becomes impossible for real election to be held, especially as some Parties are financing the independents to stand in order to break-up the voting strength of their opponents. Now this great tolerance given to independents should be modified, if not completely abolished.

Rajya Sabha — September 7, 1966

Loknath Misra

The Government should try to bring forward a more comprehensive law to regulate these elections. After all in the face of experience that the Government have gained, nothing should stand in the way of their making a fool-proof election law.

The law should have been made more specific that no election petition should be pending before a tribunal for more than six months and if there is a delay beyond six months, the justifications should be appended along with the judgement of the tribunal.

At present, the contractors are debarred from getting into the House in view of the fact that once they get into these Chambers their main job will be to boost up their business by being closer to the Ministers. By allowing contractors to contest elections, the Government will be opening the floodgates of corruption. Has this provision been made under any pressure and, if so, what is the source of pressure? The Minister should withdraw this particular provision in the Bill. It will affect democracy very adversely.

The Government should consider incorporating a clause that would debar a Member from continuing his membership if he crosses the floor. He must go back to his electorate for a fresh mandate with the new ticket. This crossing of the floor immediately after the elections, somehow, is repugnant to the idea of democratic institutions.

Clause 13A envisages the appointment of District Election Officers. There have been some cases of great indiscretion on the part of these District Magistrates as Returning Officers. They would be functioning under the Election Commission temporarily as District Election Officers. They would be having more powers. Therefore, I am opposed to this. If the Government wants to give so much of power to the District Election Officers, why not appoint officers from the judiciary rather than from the executive? If they are to be only from the executive, then a provision must be made that a panel consisting at least three times the number to be appointed should be submitted, out of which the Election Commission must choose.

Rajya Sabha — September 6, 1966

PLANNING

Reorientation of Plans

N. G. Ranga

I wish to associate myself and my party with the objective of this resolution,* namely that Government's outlook on Plans be changed and reoriented and they should also give top priority to the rural sector for irrigation, electrification and water supply.

While supporting it, let me warn my friends here and the country that though this is the general sentiment felt by almost everybody in the country, in actual practice, if Government really were serious in implementing the main purposes of this Plan, the object of this resolution is not going to be realised. On the other hand, they are going to raise the tax burden on our rural people. They have themselves stated here that the water rates are likely to be raised; the land revenue has got to be raised and hundreds of more crores of rupees have to be collected from the agriculturists.

In almost all places our peasants and agricultural workers are obliged to spend their own money, individually as well as collectively, in order to provide themselves with a modicum of water supply. In large tracts of our country for weeks, sometimes for months, there is no water at all anywhere nearby; for miles and

miles they are obliged to trek, and they are also obliged to purchase water almost by tumblerful. In Rayalaseema, it is happening even today. In Rajasthan it has happened. In certain parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa also, it has happened. This is the miserable fact of our rural existence.

The whole of this Plan is centrally-oriented. Instead of placing more funds at the disposal of the peasants, they want to take away their resources by way of higher taxes. Instead of leaving more money to be devoted for their expenditure by the States for these things, they want to place more money at their own disposal at the Centre. The Centre is now going to be a grand leviathan stifling the so-called provincial autonomy and local self-reliance of our State Governments.

At the Centre, they wanted to spend Rs. 4,200 odd crores in the Third Plan and Rs. 4,300 crores in the States. Now in the Fourth Plan the respective figures are Rs. 8,500 crores and Rs. 7,400 crores.

The tax burdens are going to be higher and more crushing. From existing taxes alone, they want to raise Rs. 3,000 odd crores out of Rs. 13,270 crores they are hoping to mobilise in India and abroad. Out of these, Rs. 700 crores are to come from State projects and undertakings. How would they raise it except by raising the tax burdens of our kisans? They want to raise irrigation charges or special levies or surcharges on commercial crops.

* Prof. Ranga was speaking on a resolution moved by Mr. H. C. Mathur regarding reorientation of plans.

Though they want this fourth plan to be accepted by the people as their election manifesto, I can assure them that this fourth plan does not hold out any hopes at all for our rural people who form 70 per cent of the people. Whatever provision they have made for electricity is going to be spent, more than three-fourths, on towns alone.

We suggested that there should be year-by-year plans, they have come to that. We wanted the plan to be phased instead of five years to seven years, in

actual practice they will be coming to that. Therefore, the result will be that this document is a grand document of hopes which would be unrealised, but hopes by which they want to gain votes. They will not be able to gain these votes because people who are already frustrated are likely to be much more disappointed and therefore I hope they will not be able to succeed in deceiving these people whom they want to deceive and misdirect.

Lok Sabha — September 2, 1966

EDUCATION

The University Grants Commission (Amendment) Bill, 1966

M. Ruthnaswami

This is an important amending Bill, because it corrects one old mistake and introduces a couple of new ones. The old mistake was to allow serving Vice-Chancellors to be members of the University Grants Commission.

The Chairman of the University Grants Commission is a wholetime highly paid officer. There is, therefore, no need of a whole-time Vice-Chairman. This is a very dangerous provision which would not allow the permanent or whole-time Chairman of the Commission to give his whole-time, energy and attention to the work of the Chairmanship of the Commission.

Provision has been made for the delegation of the Commission's powers to the Chairman or the Vice-

Chairman or to any other officer of the Commission. But from this range of delegation the members of the Commission are excluded. This is rather unfair to the members of the Commission.

The portfolio system should be introduced into the working of the University Grants Commission, namely, that each member be allotted a special subject. Especially, the hostels should definitely be inspected every year at least, and for that there must be a man specially selected from among the members of the University Grants Commission. The conditions prevailing in the hostels of various Universities and colleges are deplorable.

The University Grants Commission was set up with hopes that it will help to raise the standards of our Universities. But unfortunately, on the contrary, the standards in Universities have gone down and down. I hope that this amendment will help the Universities to reach higher standards of education.

Rajya Sabha — August 2, 1966

SOCIAL WELFARE

Linguistic Minorities' Report

Loknath Misra

Under the Constitution the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has absolutely no executive functions. His role is purely a recommendatory one. Therefore the powers given to him are very inadequate. The Commissioner himself has mentioned this in the Seventh Report at page 89;

"Some State Governments, however, have not viewed this recommendation of the Commissioner favourably."

In another paragraph 407 he says:

"Instances of delay in furnishing information re-

garding the implementation of safeguards have been mentioned in the foregoing chapters. Enquiries into complaints in these matters have generally been delayed."

Therefore, either the powers of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities should be enhanced, or the entire thing turns out to be a farce. There have been certain recommendations which have also been repeated year after year without any heed being paid to these recommendations either by the Union Home Minister or by the State Chief Ministers, who are now dealing with the cases as reported to us by the mover of the motion. The second obstacle is that in certain cases even people are prevented from meeting the Commissioner when he is on tour.

The Chief Ministers' Conference passed a Resolution

that said that no facility previously available should be reduced and, wherever possible, further facilities should be given. That was in percept again. When it comes to implementation, the Report says:

"A complaint of Oriya Speakers was mentioned in para 57 of the Sixth Report alleging that there had been heavy fall in the number of Oriya primary schools in Singhbhum during 1961-62. The State Government have now reported that the number of Oriya schools indicated against 1960-61 included both 'pure Oriya' and 'mixed Oriya' schools, whereas during 1961-62 only 'pure Oriya' schools were included in the statistics. Although the State Government mentioned that there were 57 such 'mixed schools' in 1960-61, the increase in the number of Oriya sections during 1961-62 was reported to be only 11."

And then it continues to say:

"The State Government have not also explained the circumstances under which the number of Oriya medium pupils was reduced by more than 10,000 during the course of one year. The Commissioner feels that more detailed investigation in the matter should be made by the State Government at an early date."

The point is from 17,000 students in the previous year, the number of students came down to as low as 7,000 in the course of just one year only. That shows how sincere our Chief Ministers are when it comes to implementation. There are also complaints about inadequate number of teachers. There is a provision in the Constitution that where the State Government does not abide by the general principles about safeguards for the linguistic minorities and their interests, then the President can give directives. He should give such directives expeditiously and not wait for the State Governments to get the students, now speaking the minority language, to take to the majority language by forcing them into it.

There had been certain complaints, about the publications in the majority language of voters' list and court documents. These have also been substantiated afterwards by the Commissioner. If this is the state of things, then you are doing the greatest injustice to democracy itself because the voter in a particular area cannot find out if his name is there in the voters' list. He cannot register his name and he will not be in a position to correct his name if it is in an incorrect form. You will be preventing him from taking part in the elections. Therefore, from that point of view at least you should give directions to the State authorities asking them to see that these records and documents are published in the minority language also wherever it is necessary.

There has been certain complaints, about the

languages in which applications should be submitted in the courts. He is denied justice because he is guilty of not knowing the language of the majority.

I was told and somehow I had gathered the impression that the question of a domicile no more exists in this country, because we are all Indians. The question of domicile was only taken up during the British regime because they found that that helped them. But a case has been mentioned in this Report which says that certain States in the country require the production of domicile certificate for appointments. This question of domicile should immediately go. The Union Home Minister should immediately issue directions to every State Government that they should do away with this certificate of domicile.

The Union Government have to depend purely upon the State Agency for implementation of the Commissioner's recommendations, even for information regarding implementation. That puts them into some sort of an embarrassing position because they are not kept informed. They do not even come to know whether what they have asked the States to do is being implemented or not. Therefore I would suggest that you should have one officer for every State who would be directly responsible to your Commissioner.

So those would be the persons who could give you dispassionate objective information about the affairs in the States regarding the implementation of safeguards to the linguistic minorities. And if they need anybody's help there for implementation, there must be some sort of a link between them and the Governor direct.

Rajya Sabha — July 28, 1966

The Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Bill, 1966

Loknath Misra

This is a simple amendment but necessary. I fail to understand how a legislative lacuna can creep in to debar certain workers in the country from the benefits that are due to them. The Minister should take action against those people who are responsible for it. On the one hand, the Government of India is spending Rs. 100 crores on publicity on population control; on the other hand, this is a Bill whereby the Government have become an abettor in population growth. There should be a limit to it. The Government must allow maternity benefit up to a maximum of three or four children.

The Minister should bring forward a legislation that will enable the workers largely to be taken care of by the employers. If they beget two or three children, they can be cared for much better than they are being cared for now.

Rajya Sabha — July 26, 1966

GENERAL

Electricity (Supply) Amendment Bill

N. Dandekar

Section (5) of the principal Act is a very healthy provision because it precludes, in so far as it is possible, political patronage becoming rampant. It says:

"A person shall be disqualified from being appointed or being a member of the Board if he is, or within the twelve months last preceding was, a member of Parliament or of any State Legislature or any local authority."

It is very necessary and salutary rule and I am astonished that in view of all that has been said over the last several years and in particular over the last three years about growing corruption all over the country, it is proposed to remove this disqualification from the appointment of ex-Members of Parliament or ex-Members of local legislatures. The reason given is that they will have to wait for 12 months. The Government of India is getting very concerned that these gentlemen have to wait for 12 months before they can be given cushy berths. Coming as it does, a few months before the next general elections and knowing as we all do that some gentlemen from this House and some gentlemen from various State Legislatures are going to be deadwood and not going to stand for elections again and many more, far more than the party in power imagines, are going to be routed at the elections, I find that they are all to be provided this solace of being appointed as members of State Electricity Board. Therefore, the proposed amendment is thoroughly bad on grounds of public policy.

The second is the proposal that schemes involving capital expenditure of less than Rs. 25 lakhs need not be published at all and that schemes involving capital expenditure of less than Rs. 1 crore need only be published once. It is a curious proposition. Everyone of these schemes involves a tremendous interference with public and private rights of various sections of persons, of farmers, of existing licencees and various people of that kind. Also they involve publication of the intentions and plans of a scheme, the object being that peoples suggestions, comments and criticisms may be invited, may be considered and a final decision taken, which takes into account all those facts and circumstances. Why should it be necessary to do so only when the scheme is over Rs. 25 lakhs, and then to do it once, and when the scheme is over Rs. 1 crore, then to do it twice, whereas if the scheme costs below Rs. 25 lakhs nobody's comments apparently are

necessary at all. I am unable to comprehend this on any ground whatsoever. I have one particular case in mind, because I was personally concerned with having to comment upon a scheme which was dropped. It was a small scheme costing Rs. 5 lakhs or so. I do not agree that the publication of the scheme in draft form and in its final form and the comments is one a waste of time and one not worth the money, worth the paper to publish these schemes and to invite those comments because none of us is so wonderful and the State Electricity Board is so wonderful that any scheme of its cannot be improved upon. The third objection is on grounds of public policy and that is concerned with the Sixth Schedule, sought to be amended by clause 21, sub-clause (9) and sub-sub-clause (iv), the definition of "standard return on capital employed". Quite rightly in a public utility, such as the generation of electricity and the distribution and supply of electricity, the public utility involves a monopoly in a given area and it is an accepted doctrine all over the world that where because of the public utility situation conferring a monopoly to a particular licensee is involved it is but right that the State should limit the return on capital employed and the limit of that profit. That is fair enough and that is what this particular sub-paragraph 10 of the paragraph of Sixth Schedule does. And the rate of return could be prescribed as this, that it shall be no more than 2 per cent over the bank rate. Today the bank rate is 6 per cent and the public utility in the field of electricity should not expect to get more than 8 per cent. After that, there is a certain limit up to which some flexibility is allowed; beyond that they must get down to reducing their prices so that the public may get the benefit. That is the structure.

There is a most extraordinary proposal here in the clause. Every electricity company will now have to divide its capital at charge as invested up to such and such date and invested thereafter. The capital already at charge should get a return of less than 7 per cent and the new capital a return of 8 per cent. They intend to reduce that return to 7 per cent and the capital at charge that comes in after a particular 'D' date will get a return as before, 6 plus 2 that is 8 per cent.

Is the Minister in charge of this subject living completely divorced from economic circumstances? The Economic Survey, the Finance Minister's speech on devaluation and the Supplement to the Economic Survey make abundantly clear that for the last two or three years the capital market has been so dull that even at 6 per cent, 7 per cent, 8 per cent and 10 per cent for preference capital, it is difficult to get capital coming in. And the Minister wants to go completely against the policy of the Government of India and the

basic reason for devaluation by reducing the return on capital already invested to 7 per cent.

Lok Sabha — July 28, 1966

N. G. Ranga

The depressions in the drought-affected areas can be removed by the development of power supply in those areas. In those areas, underground water supply alone can be depended upon to a greater extent than tanks or other irrigation sources are for purposes of agriculture and drinking. Steps taken by the Government to alleviate the sufferings of the people of the areas affected by shortage of water cannot be satisfactory unless they give priority to the question of supply of electric power to those areas in order to tap underground resources.

The Government should give first priority to the needs of the drought-affected areas and the next priority to the needs of all the rural areas.

Lok Sabha — July 29, 1966

Railway Accidents*

P. N. Solanki

It was, unfortunate that these accidents took place. While these accidents took place, I had occasion to go round the country and in many places there was great dissatisfaction among the railway workers because the minute this news started coming out there were blames from all sides on railwaymen that because of their faults and negligence these things happened. It is rather embarrassing for them because while they were passing resolutions in sympathy of those who died in these accidents, they were expressing exasperation that they were the persons who were responsible for running the railways and they are blamed directly or indirectly for those unfortunate things.

There may be a human factor in these accidents, but at the same time we cannot overlook the technical aspect of the whole thing. There are possibilities even today that if a proper and thorough investigation takes place, we might find out that there was less of the human factor and more of the technical faults and other things which were involved in these accidents.

There are still several investigation left out of those accidents. I refer to starred question the answer to which was given on 5th August, 1966 where it was stated that out of 1,229 accidents of 1966-66 causes in respect of 43 cases still remained to be finalised. Similarly, causes of 104 accidents pertaining to the period April to June 1966 have also not been finalised.

They should go into these matters and bring out the causes as soon possible because even now there are vague remarks and accusations from all sides and still people at large are not knowing what are the actual causes. I for one feel that a proper judicial inquiry should be held into these accidents because usually there is a tendency, when you appoint railway officers to inquire into these matters, to shift the blame from the spot to the other. When a higher official is asked as to whether he was responsible for a particular thing, he will blame his department and his department will blame the fellow lower than him and it will come to the poor man who may be a signalman or an ordinary person in the Railway Department and he will get the whole blame, without anyone going into proper causes.

There are several instances even now where goods trains are running without brake-vans. In January 1966, on the Central Railway, in 113 cases, there were no brake-vans; in March there were 129 cases; in May, 1966 there were 163 cases, in February 1966 there were 97 cases; in April 1966, there were 157 cases and in June 1966 there were 167 cases. These are the cases where trains were found running without brake-vans. Therefore, this matter should be looked into.

It is generally believed that these automatic signals are quite safe and that they prevent accidents. But in many cases, accidents have taken place due to the failure of the automatic signals and wherever there was human factor there was less possibility of an accident. Therefore, one should not entirely blame the human factor and give credit to the automatic signal system.

One more reason for the accidents is the dissatisfaction among the railway staff. In the present economic situation when the price of everything is going up, housing and other things, there are many complaints from the railway staff which pertain to their very existence. When a railwayman goes to office or to the railway station to work, he is thinking the whole day about his ration, about the education of his children, about accommodation and all that. The Railways of this country have no excuse because this is the biggest money earning industry we have in this country and if that industry cannot do anything for its own staff, who else is going to look after them? Therefore the staff grievances should stop now because you have your own resources and, on the contrary you are helping the economy of this country.

Then, these mass transfers are taking place and in many cases. They are shifted from one place to another without any accommodation and without any previous intimation. They are assured that when they go there, they will find a place but when they go there, they have to pay Rs. 200 for a single room. That is why there is dissatisfaction among the staff. Therefore whenever you order transfer, the Divisional Superintendent or the General Manager should look into the matter.

Lok Sabha — August 17, 1966

* Moved by Dr. L. M. Singhvi

Jayanti Shipping (Taking over of the Management) Bill, 1966

P. N. Solanki

I happen to be a member of the National Shipping Board and I recall a very sad day in Madras when our first meeting took place. We wanted to discuss the Jayanti Shipping affair. We were told to keep quiet about the whole matter because, they said, enquiries were taking place, and that nothing should be discussed at that. A senior Member by the name of Mr. Master was with me and the previous Minister, Mr. Raj Bahadur, took him left and right, to the point of insulting him as if he had committed a crime by uttering the word Jayanti Shipping Company. There was something fishy in the entire affair, which was being hidden deliberately by the previous Minister, Mr. Raj Bahadur.

Mr. Sukthankar was the Chairman of the Committee which went into this. It has given a very bad report.

I believe there are criminal proceedings against Mr. Teja. He should be brought to this country and asked to explain. We have previously arrested thousands of businessmen who have committed such faults and thrown them into prisons. Even these poor goldsmiths are thrown into prison because they went on hunger strikes. But this man who played havoc with Rs. 20 crores of this country goes scot-free. At least there should be a ban on this man that he cannot leave this country until all the charges are cleared. The Government argues that "We are not ready to have a judicial inquiry or any further commission because this will harm the other interests which may come forward with facts." Wherever he was connected with this affair, there are certain reports which are not coming forward from there. If you want, those reports, first of all you will have to get hold of Mr. Teja because he may be canvassing in his own favour all around the world with the money which he may have misappropriated. Therefore, first of all we should confine him into the boundaries of this country.

There was one Director, Mr. Parasuram, who also raised this issue previously regarding Jayanti Shipping. He placed a Memorandum in the meeting of the Board of Directors against the Jayanti Shipping proceedings. Unfortunately, he was removed from the Board of Directors for raising his voice.

Another gentleman is Mr. Thirumala Rao; he resigned from the Company just a few months back when the trouble was brewing; we would have liked to know something from him as to what were the facts about Jayanti Shipping. There should be a commission within this country against people whose names have been connected with Jayanti Shipping, a commission

for such people who have been able to give facts but have not been able to produce them because we have ignored them.

Through this Bill you want to take over the Company for a certain period. But do not hand it over to Mr. Teja after making good the losses.

While the entire procedure was going on about Jayanti Shipping all the private shipping companies here were looked upon as if they had committed a crime. They were criticised; they were told that they were limping while Jayanti Shipping was making a marvellous progress. There was an actual discrimination between the two and Jayanti Shipping was treated as if it was the favourite child of the Government. You can see the previous reports of the Ministers and the speeches made, particularly the speeches of Mr. Raj Bahadur which relate to these things.

Therefore, the commission within this country should be appointed for finding out facts. Mr. Teja should be confined here and he should not be allowed to go abroad, roaming round and canvassing in his favour.

Lok Sabha — August 24, 1966

Dahyabhai V. Patel

This is a belated step which the Government have now taken and it is something which they should have taken much earlier. Here is a tax evader, as the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Government has said. And what a Commission of Enquiry have they set up? Have you ever heard when a gang of thieves and swindlers are concerned one swindler is made the judge? That is exactly what has happened.

I have great respect for Mr. Sukthankar. He was an able officer. But he was the Managing Director and he was appointed to enquire into the allegations against this company. The principle of this is wrong.

I had produced documentary evidence to prove that there was fraud, evasion of taxes and breach of foreign exchange regulations. Photostat copies of this type were produced and yet no action was taken by the Government under the plea that a Committee has been appointed to look into this. This kind of behaviour of the Government hits at the very root of the Constitution and the fair type of Government that we expect. We have complained again and again of the differential treatment between the public sector and the private sector. The Government is very hard on the private sector. I have no objection to their being hard on dishonest people; I will support the Government in this matter. But the Government have broken open the hearths and homes of people whom they suspect of evasion of income-tax and very often they are found to be wrong. What was that Government doing on this?

Then there is one more criticism in the Report of the Enquiry Committee to which I think the attention

of the House be drawn. It says on page 24 that there has been top heavy and incompetent management. What was the Company Law Administration doing all the time? It says this in that connection:

"Shri Thirumala Rao, M.P. was appointed a Director and Vice-Chairman of the Company with effect from 26-6-1961 when the Company was a private limited company. He was given an honorarium of Rs. 1000/- per month and an allowance of Rs. 500/- per month with effect from 1-9-1961. His remuneration was raised to Rs. 4,500/- per month, inclusive of all allowances, with effect from 1-1-1963. He severed his connection with the Company with effect from 1-12-1965. We have not been shown any papers assigning any specific duties to him."

The Committee appointed by the Government has this to say about him: "We have not been shown any papers assigning any specific duties to him." Was it for looking after the Members of Parliament or the Ministers of Government that this salary was being paid to him? Then it goes on:

"Shri Thirumala Rao's son, Shri Ramkrishna Rao was posted in the Company's Office in London. His designation, then, was Management Representative. His academic qualifications are M. Com. and LL.B. He completed his education in 1957 and served as Information Assistant for a little over a year in "India 1958" Exhibition and thereafter in the same capacity in the Government Tourist Office in Delhi from May 1959 to September 1961 before joining the Jayanti Shipping Company".

Then there is a paragraph on page 27 under the heading 'Misuse of Company's Funds' and it says there:

"Dr. Teja has denied that the cost of his or Mrs. Teja's travels to India and elsewhere was paid by the Jayanti Shipping Company" —

The Report further says:

"We have, however, seen a few vouchers which showed clearly that at least some of these travels were financed by the Jayanti Shipping Company. We have, indeed, seen some other vouchers which go to show that the cost of similar travels by some other persons who were not even on the pay rolls of the Company and who had not been deputed on

any special mission by the Company's management, was also met by the Company."

A Company that was not able to pay its staff, a Company that was not able to pay the income-tax dues of the staff into the Reserve Bank, a Company that could not put the provident fund contributions of its employees into Government securities, against such a company if they do not take any action, the Ministers are all guilty.

Rajya Sabha — September 1, 1966

The Insecticides Bill

B. N. Anantani

I support the motion. A Bill of this nature should have come before this House much earlier. There are no provisions specifically to avoid the manufacture of spurious insecticides. There must be some rigidity and no laxity in supervision and inspection of such things should be tolerated. In rural areas, some sort of educative machinery should be provided whereby the farmers may know how, when and where such insecticides should be used and how they should be handled.

Rajya Sabha — July 25, 1966

The Telegraph wires (unlawful possession) Amendment Bill 1966

Devi Singh

It should be considered whether we are not vesting the officers with excessive powers which may be abused by them.

The character of the people has not been raised to a higher moral plane even during the last 19 years. That is why this Bill has to be introduced, otherwise, there was no necessity for such a Bill. The Government should take steps to raise the moral standards of the people.

Rajya Sabha — July 27, 1966

(For Private Circulation)

Name	Permanent address	Tel. No.	Delhi address	Tel. No.
Raja Venkatappa Naik (Raichur)	P.O. Shorapur, Gulgarga Dist., Mysore.		48, South Avenue, New Delhi.	33036

ORISSA

Mr. P. K. Deo (Kalahandi)	The Palace, P.O. Bhawani Patna, Dist. Kalahandi, Orissa.	4	4, South Avenue Lane, New Delhi.	32121
Mr. Raj Raj Singh Deo (Bolangir)	Shailashree Palace, P.O. & Dist. Bolangir Orissa.	3	29, North Avenue, New Delhi - 1.	33562
Mr. Gurucharan Naik (Keonjhar ST)	Vill Mahadebnasa, P.O. Deojhar, Via Joda, Dist. Keonjhar, Orissa.		26, North Avenue, New Delhi - 1.	36867
Mr. Debanant Amat (Sundergarh ST)	Vill. Balani, P.O. Lathikata, Dist. Sundergarh, Orissa.		26, North Avenue, New Delhi - 1.	36867
Mr. Anirudha Dipa (Phulbani SC)	Vill. Kankala, P.O. Dhalpur, Dist. Phulbani, (Orissa).		180, North Avenue, New Delhi - 11.	35231
Mr. Dhirendranath Deb (Angul)	P. O. Deogarh, Sambalpur, (Orissa).		24, North Avenue, New Delhi - 1.	31750
Mr. K. P. Singh Deo (Dhenkanal)	The Palace, At & P.O. Dhenkanal, (Orissa).	5	64, South Avenue, New Delhi.	32700
Mr. Mahendra Majhi (Mayurbhanj ST)	Vill. Niranjan, P.O. Sanpakhana, Dist. Mayurbhanj, (Orissa).		60, South Avenue, New Delhi - 11.	34630
Mr. Dharni Dhar Jena (Bhadark SC)	Vill. Baradadiha, P.O. Gelpur, Via Bhadark, Dist. Balasore (Orissa)		159, South Avenue, New Delhi - 11.	31879

RAJASTHAN

Smt. Gayatri Devi (Jaipur)	Rajmahal Palace, Jaipur, (Rajasthan)	74129 74122	33, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.	611675 618583
Mr. Meethalal Meena (Sawai Madhopur ST)	P.O. Bamanvas, Dist. Sawai Madhopur, Rajasthan.		32, Meena Bagh, New Delhi - 11.	384357
Mr. S. K. Tapuria (Pali)	9, Raja Santosh Road, Alipore, Calcutta - 27.	451080 455886	201, South Avenue, New Delhi - 11.	31031
Mr. D. N. Patodia (Jalore)	Hindustan Deakes Ltd., 53, Ezra St., Calcutta -	474719 345393	340, Vinay Marg New Delhi - 11.	75391
Mr. N. K. Somani (Nagaur)	West Coast Paper Mills Ltd., Shreenivas House, Waudby Road, Bombay - 1.	268241 241679	58, Sunder Nagar, New Delhi.	619048 617991

Name

Permanent address

Tel. No.

Delhi address

Tel. No.

UTTAR PRADESH

Nawabzada Syed Zulfikar Ali Khan
(Rampur)

Noor Mahal,
Rampur,
Uttar Pradesh.

281

Rampur House,
19-B, Defence Colony,
New Delhi.

77505
72155
72979

Mr. Giriraj Saran Singh (Mathura)

Rose Villa,
Bharatpur,
Rajasthan.

A-35, Defence Colony,
New Delhi.

626044

Rajya Sabha

Name

Permanent address

Tel. No.

Delhi address

Tel. No.

Mr. Dahyabhai Patel

68, Marine Drive,
Bombay - 1.

242731

18, Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi.

381946

Mr. Sundermani Patel

Vill. & P.O. Bhedabhal,
Dist. Sundargarh,
Orissa.

61

114, North Avenue,
New Delhi - 1.

35112

Dr. B. N. Antani

Narayan Nivas,
Nagar Chakla,
Bhuj (Kutch).

140, South Avenue,
New Delhi - 11.

33296

Dr. K. C. Baghel

Village Pathri,
Dist. & Tehsil Raipur,
Raipur (Madhya Pradesh)

29, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi

48230

Mr. B. K. Deo

The Palace,
P.O. Bhawanipatna,
Dist. Kalahandi, (Orissa)

131, South Avenue,
New Delhi - 11.

36876

Mahant Laxmi Narayan Das

Amin Para,
Ward No. 26,
Raipur (Madhya Pradesh)

6, North Avenue,
New Delhi - 1.

34829

Mr. S. S. Mariswamy

15-D, Shenoynagar,
Madras - 30.

61630

17, Canning Lane,
New Delhi

45265

Mr. Loknath Misra

Dargha Bazar,
Cuttack - 1.
(Orissa).

228, North Avenue,
New Delhi - 1.

34223

Sardar Ram Singh

7/113, Swaroop Nagar,
Kanpur, (U.P.)

37072
32932

8, Meena Bagh,
New Delhi - 11.

381270

Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy

125, Santhama Road,
Mylapore,
Madras - 4.

119, South Avenue,
New Delhi - 11.

35064

Mr. Devi Singh

Mundawa House,
Sansar Chand Road,
Jaipur,
(Rajasthan)

75358

42, Meena Bagh,
New Delhi - 11.

382556

Mr. D. Y. Pawar

Suragana House,
Agra Road,
P. O. Nasik,
(Maharashtra)

32, Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi.

384367

Mr. K. Sundaram

"Rasakondalu",
Circuit House,
Coimbatore,
(Madras State)

2826

122, South Avenue,
New Delhi.

31940

(For Private Circulation)

INLAND PRINTERS, BOMBAY 7