

SWATANTRA IN PARLIAMENT

Swatantra has now emerged as the single largest Opposition Group in the Lok Sabha. The Party already occupied that position in the Rajya Sabha. The Leader of the Party's Group in the Lok Sabha, Prof. Ranga, has moved to the seat reserved for the Leader of the Opposition and the Communists, now grouped in two separate Parties, have been ejected from the benches they occupied as the leading Opposition Group.

Mr. M. R. Masani, the Party's Deputy Leader in the Lok Sabha, spoke for the Party during the Food Debate on September 7. Explaining the Swatantra Party's abstention from joining in tabling the motion of no-confidence in the Cabinet, Mr. Masani pointed out that the new Government faced the House on that day for the first time. It was their view that this move was premature and that the new Government deserved an opportunity to show whether it was capable of making the changes and rectifications in policy that were necessary in the present context. While members of the Swatantra Party shared the indignation and impatience about the trials to which the Indian people were subjected as members of other Opposition Parties and did not yield place to any of them in the distress felt about the difficult economic position in the country and while the Party would like to see the present Government replaced by a better Government, they were not prepared to join, particularly with the Communists, in bringing down the pillars of stability on which alone ordered progress can be based.

There had been some encouraging statements made by the Prime Minister and some other leaders of the Government which showed that there was an awareness of certain basic truths which had not till now been given the weight they deserved. On the other hand, there were conflicting voices speaking from within the administration. So the Swatantra Party would judge the new Government by its deeds and not by its words. To the extent that the new Government tackled the issues in a way that gave concrete substance and form to the first signs of realism that were noticeable, they would get the support of all patriotic people and parties who put the country first. If, on the other hand, they continued with the entanglements of the past and persisted in mistakes and errors which were now clear, they would certainly have a right to expect unrelenting

opposition from the Swatantra Party, Mr. Masani added.

The No-Confidence debate that followed saw Mr. N. Dandekar, "the hero of Gonda", make his debut in Parliament.

In a hard-hitting speech, Mr. Dandekar outlined the Party's attitude to the No-confidence motion as one of "armed neutrality". He said that the Swatantra Party was standing aside from the motion because the present Government had been in office for only a short while and they should not be hanged for "the sins of their fathers". He added that the Party believed that, for the present, it should merely bring to the Government's attention what it thought was the "state of the Nation" and demand remedial measures. A major part of Mr. Dandekar's maiden speech was devoted to an indictment of the pattern of planning which had created an "inflationary" economic situation in the country.

Mr. P. K. Deo feared that the three-month-old Shastri Cabinet had no magic wand with which to wave away the legacy of the past seventeen years of misrule and reckless spending. He asked for an assurance from Government that it would not continue its futile efforts for talks with Communist China over the border dispute.

He urged the Government to take an early decision on the charges made by the non-Communist opposition parties against some of the Orissa Ministers. Referring to efforts being made to combat corruption, Mr. P. K. Deo said: "I most respectfully urge that firing a cannon ball at a mosquito is not going to stop corruption in this country. It has to be tackled at the breeding place. Where is the breeding place? The breeding place is the permit-licence-quota-raj and nothing else. So long as there is favouritism, so long as scope is given to favourites of the Government to become rich overnight so that they could afford to pay to the election coffers of the Party in power, these things will continue. The Swatantra Party has demanded that there should be an end to this permit-licence-quota-raj, and Rajaji has rightly pointed out that a high level statutory body should be appointed for the distribution of these quotas and licences".

The Party's decision to abstain from the No-confidence motion has been received well by enlightened opinion in the country. Editorial comments have appreciated the Party's stand. For instance, the *Times*

of India editorially commented on September 8: "...The Swatantra Party has done the right thing in not identifying itself with the no-confidence motion introduced by Mr. Chatterjee. There will be wide agreement with its view that the no-confidence motion will not serve any useful purpose..." From Lucknow, the *National Herald* observed the same day: "The Swatantra Party has shown reason in not voting for admission of the no-confidence motion and deciding that the new Government should be given some time to prove themselves."

Earlier, on September 5, speaking to newsmen at Madras airport, Rajaji observed: "No-confidence motions, I do not expect, will reduce food prices, nor are they likely to displace the Ministry."

Prof. Ranga, who returned from a foreign tour on

September 15, participated in the debate on Foreign Affairs and the discussion on President's rule in Kerala.

Mr. Pravinsinh Solanki spoke on the notorious "Murud Incident" in which a plane landed at Murud in Maharashtra and the occupants, obviously smugglers, were able to leave the country without being detected.

Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, the Party's Leader and Deputy Leader respectively in the Rajya Sabha, participated in several important debates. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and Prof. Ruthnaswamy spoke on Food and the International Situation.

Some extracts from the speeches mentioned above are reproduced in a Supplement to this Newsletter.

SWATANTRA COMMITTEES MEET

The Party's Organisation Sub-Committee, Parliamentary Board and Central Organising Committee met in September.

Organisation Sub-Committee

The Organisation Sub-Committee first met in New Delhi on September 6 and 9 and again in Bombay on September 30. The major item of discussion before the Organisation Sub-Committee at New Delhi and Bombay was the Party's affairs in Bihar. In view of the importance and significance of the developments in that State, the subject has been dealt with exhaustively elsewhere in this Newsletter.

Matters pertaining to Party elections were discussed and recommendations made to the Central Organising Committee.

Parliamentary Board

The Parliamentary Board met twice, at Delhi on September 6 and in Bombay on September 30. At both meetings, various recommendations received from State Units in regard to the adoption of certain prospective parliamentary candidates were considered.

In addition to the recommendations approved at earlier meetings of the Parliamentary Board, one prospective candidate from Gujarat, two from Uttar Pradesh and one from Orissa were approved.

The Board at its meeting in New Delhi discussed various issues that were to come up at the Session of Parliament beginning September 7, especially in regard to the attitude to be taken on the motion of no-confidence.

The Parliamentary Board meeting in Bombay accepted the resignation tendered by Mr. Yashpal Singh, an independent member of Parliament who had joined the Party's Parliamentary group soon after the inauguration of the present Parliament as an associate member. The circumstance leading to

the resignation of Mr. Yashpal Singh was his dissatisfaction with the Party's Parliamentary Group's inability to accede to the altogether impossible demands made by Mr. Yashpal Singh arising out of the arrangements decided upon by the Parliamentary Group when moving to the new seats allotted to them.

Central Organising Committee

The Central Organising Committee met in Bombay on September 30. The major item of business was Bihar, which is reported in detail elsewhere.

Two members of the Party in Orissa, viz., M/s. Satyanarayan Mishra and Ghanshyam Das, who had committed acts of indiscipline during the elections to the Rajya Sabha from the Orissa Assembly in March this year, were expelled from membership of the Party on the recommendation of the Orissa State Executive after both persons concerned had been given an opportunity to submit their appeal.

The following resolutions were adopted at the meeting:

Malaysia:

The Committee recorded its sense of disappointment over the persistence by the Government of India in the same equivocal and unhelpful manner as in the past, disregarding the overwhelming feeling in the country, in not condemning Indonesian aggression against Malaysia. Recent statements made on behalf of the Government of India had not made any difference in this respect. The Committee demanded that full support should be given to Malaysia in her troubles.

Food Scarcity and Soaring Prices

The Committee reiterated the Party's opinion that the present food crisis and the soaring prices of all commodities are the direct forewarned consequences of the policies of the Congress Government and can-

not be overcome by the present methods of controls, searches and intimidation, but only by a drastic change in the land policies of the Congress regime and its inflationary programmes of public expenditure and deficit financing.

Nehru Effigy on Coins

The Committee emphatically condemned the project of minting coins with the effigy of the late leader of the Congress Party and Prime Minister of India as it would constitute political propaganda for the Congress Party through the national currency and pointed out that this step was wholly inconsistent with the law being enacted to prevent political slogans being written on currency notes.

Indo-Soviet Agreement on Aid

In a reference to the recent agreement with the Soviet Union in regard to arms, the Central Orga-

nising Committee expressed its concern that the recent arrangements arrived at with the Soviet Government in Moscow, under which communist technicians would work for many years in India, would lead to communist infiltration in a vital sector of the administration, the defence forces and establishments, opening out wide avenues for Communist China's subversive activities.

Orissa Memorandum to President Radhakrishnan

Noting with concern the serious charges of corruption made against Orissa in the memorial presented to the President on 13th August by the non-communist opposition members of the Orissa Legislature and others, the Committee expressed the view that a commission of inquiry should be appointed to examine the charges as was done in the case of the Punjab Chief Minister in order to clear the atmosphere.

BIHAR DEVELOPMENTS

Swatantra Newsletter No. 46 (August/September 1964) had outlined the circumstances leading to the dissolution of the State unit of the Party in Bihar and the notice served on the former President and Secretary of the dissolved unit to show cause why disciplinary action, including expulsion from the Party, should not be taken against them for flouting the Party's authority in refusing to hand over the papers, books of account and assets of the State Unit as directed by the Party.

Certain members of the Party in Bihar had appealed to the Organisation Sub-Committee to reconsider or revoke its decision to dissolve the State Unit. The Organisation Sub-Committee, meeting in New Delhi on September 6, considered this appeal. A deputation led by Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh met members of the Organisation Sub-Committee that day in connection with the appeal. After listening to their representation that the decision to dissolve the State Unit be revoked or modified, the Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that there was no reason for them to change their earlier decision.

There was another appeal by certain members of the Party in Bihar to the Central Organising Committee against the dissolution of the State Unit by the Organisation Sub-Committee. To consider this appeal, the Organisation Sub-Committee had already decided to convene a meeting of the Central Organising Committee in Bombay on September 30.

Even while Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh was making efforts to secure a revision of the decision to dissolve the State Unit, reports appeared in the Press that Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh had approached Mr. K. Kamaraj, the Congress President, with an

offer to join the Congress Party along with his supporters. The Organisation Sub-Committee of the Party met again in Delhi on September 9 to consider this new development. They decided to issue the following press statement:

"The public are aware of the dissolution of the Bihar unit of the Swatantra Party against which an appeal has been filed by some members of the defunct unit, which will be considered and disposed of by the Central Organising Committee of the Party which is scheduled to meet for this purpose in Bombay on 30th September. Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh and Mr. Shyam Sunder Prasad, formerly President and Secretary of the defunct unit, have further been asked to show cause why they should not be expelled from the Party for disobeying the directive of the Party to hand over charge of the papers and assets of the Party. They have been asked to submit any explanation they may have by 10th September."

Meanwhile certain developments appear to be taking place according to newspaper reports, namely, Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh is offering his services to the Congress Party along with members allegedly under his influence.

The Organisation Sub-Committee of the Party considers it necessary to take immediate notice of these developments and warn members and sympathisers of the Party in Bihar, and in particular members of the State Legislature, against being misled into defection from the Party under the impression that the Swatantra Party will not function in Bihar just because of the defection of Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh. On the contrary, as soon as the time given for the disposal of the appeal is

over, there will be a Party unit functioning in Bihar including members of the State Legislature who remain loyal to the Party. It appears that Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh is trying to bargain for the most favourable terms both with the Congress Party and some parties opposed to the Congress. It is therefore all the more necessary for loyal members of the Swatantra Party to be on guard. Members of the Party should hold themselves in readiness to participate in the re-organisation of a loyal and effective unit in Bihar and to communicate with the Central Office at 143, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay -1, with reference to any problem that may immediately arise.

It was further decided that there should be no change in the date or venue of the meeting of the C.O.C. which will take place in Bombay on the 30th September."

Later the same evening, Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh submitted his reply to the letter asking him for an explanation on August 26. The reply, instead of explaining his conduct, amounted to a criticism of the Party's leadership and was an attempt to tender his resignation from the Party.

In order to leave loyal members and friends of the Party in Bihar in no doubt about the determination of the Party to re-establish itself in Bihar along democratic lines, Mr. M. R. Masani and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel visited Patna on September 19 and 20. They were given an enthusiastic reception at the airport and later addressed a well-attended Workers' meeting at Mr. Ram Binod Singh's residence. Despite the fact that no information or intimation was sent to the districts in regard to the arrival of the leaders from the Centre, workers from no less than 12 of the 17 districts in the State, including several office-bearers of District units, were present at the meeting.

Mr. Masani and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel also met numerous friends and sympathisers both individually and in groups and were encouraged by their offer of cooperation and their expression of appreciation of what was repeatedly described as an "unprecedented act of courage by any political party in the country".

On September 20, Mr. Masani and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel addressed a crowded press conference. They took the occasion to explain in detail the reasons that led the Organisation Sub-Committee to order the dissolution of the Bihar Unit. Reports of the Press

Conference were featured prominently in every newspaper in the State.

Taking into account what they saw and heard in Bihar and suggestions from friends in regard to future work of the Party in the State, Messrs Masani and Patel submitted their recommendations for the consideration of the Central Organising Committee at its meeting in Bombay on September 30. This meeting had before it three issues relating to Bihar: a) Consideration of the appeal made to it by certain members of the dissolved unit against the Organisation Sub-Committee's decision; b) Consideration of explanations received from Messrs Kamakhya Narain Singh and Shyam Sunder Prasad; and c) Consideration of concrete steps to be taken to reorganise the Party's work in Bihar.

Considering the appeal first, the members of the Central Organising Committee had before them the appeal and comments by the Central Office on various statements made in that appeal. The appeal was rejected.

The Committee then turned its attention to the letter of September 9 received from Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh which, instead of explaining his conduct, purported to be a letter of resignation. Appended to this letter were signatures of various others. There was no reply from Mr. Shyam Sunder Prasad, the former Secretary, who had also been asked to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against him. The Central Organising Committee unanimously decided to expel from the Party Messrs Kamakhya Narain Singh and Shyam Sunder Prasad for gross indiscipline and disloyalty to the Party.

Turning to the future work of the Party in the State, the meeting took certain concrete steps, including the decision to open a branch of the Central Office at Patna for some months and to set up an Advisory Committee to cooperate with the Central office in its work.

A press statement setting out in detail the decisions briefly mentioned above was released on the occasion (Annexure).

On September 8, the Central Office opened its branch office at Fraser Road (above "New Pintu") Patna-1, as directed by the Central Organising Committee. Mr. P. D. Patwari, hitherto in charge of the Gujarat State Party office in Ahmedabad, was deputed to take charge of the Patna branch office.

AN IMPRESSIVE CONVENTION

Trichinopoly was the venue of a Convention convened by the Madras unit of the Party on September 26 and 27. Commenting on the Convention, Rajaji wrote in the issue of *Swarajya* dated October 3: "The Party Conference in Trichinopoly on the 26th and 27th of September was impressive. All arrangements were perfect, thanks to the excellent management of the Reception Committee. Over 1,200 delegates

attended and took part. Visitors' tickets were charged Re. 1 for each day. Over a thousand visitors attended on the first day and over 1,800 on the second day watched the proceedings. Sri Narayan Dandeker, Shri Lobo Prabhu and Srimati Gayatri Devi addressed the rally and made impressive speeches. There was a great public meeting on the night of the 27th

which on a conservative estimate was a gathering of 50,000".

The following resolutions were adopted at this Conference:

1. "This Conference of the Madras State Swatantra Party is emphatically of the opinion:

(a) That the recent arrangements arrived at with the Soviet Government in Moscow will lead to communist infiltration in vital sections of the administration and the defence forces, opening out wide avenues for Communist China's subversive activities;

(b) This Conference records its sense of disappointment at the repetition by the Government of India of the same equivocal and unhelpful attitude as it displayed before, devoid of the condemnation which the Indonesian aggression on Malaysia calls for, from all peace-loving and just nations, and in particular from India. Recent statements made on behalf of the Government of India have not made any difference in this respect.

2. "This Conference emphatically condemns the project of minting coins with the effigy of the late leader of the Congress Party and Prime Minister of India as it would certainly be first-rate political propaganda for the Congress Party through the national currency, and points out that this step is wholly inconsistent with the law being enacted to prevent political slogans being written on currency notes.

Such proposed coinage should be dropped, unless the Government can secure the unanimous consent of all the Opposition members in Parliament. This Conference recommends that this question may be raised in Parliament through a suitable motion.

3. "This Conference of the Swatantra Party is emphatically of the opinion that the present food crisis and the soaring prices of all commodities are the direct and forewarned consequence of the policy of the Congress Government and they cannot be overcome by harassment of businessmen and processes of terror and intimidation, but only by a drastic change in the land policies of the Congress regime, and its inflationary programmes of public expenditure and deficit financing. This Conference reiterates the appeal of the party that all real Opposition parties should combine on this single issue of pre-eminent national importance and force the Congress regime out of its continued and obstinate policies, or out of office.

4. This Conference respectfully draws the attention of the President of India to the scandals and suspicions of corruption raised against one State Chief Minister after another, and in view of the integral connection with and control of the Congress Party over all these regimes, the President may consider taking effective steps to restore public confidence in the administration.

A HISTORIC SAMMELAN

Never in recent history has Saurashtra witnessed such a gathering of peasants as at Dhoraji in Rajkot district where almost a lakh of peasants gathered in conclave on September 27.

The Saurashtra Khedut Sammelan was primarily concerned with the highly unpopular ban on the movement of groundnuts imposed by the Government of Gujarat.

A resolution unanimously adopted by the Sammelan charged the Government of Gujarat with deliberately attempting to avoid considering the ruinous effect the State Government's policy in regard to groundnuts would have on the economy of Saurashtra.

The resolution called for "Mungfali Bandh" (No sale of Groundnut) if the Government of Gujarat did not withdraw its price control and ban on the movement of groundnuts. The resolution affirmed: "No agriculturist in Saurashtra will sell his groundnut crop or bring it into the market. This Convention requests all traders in groundnut crushing industry, and all others concerned to refrain from purchasing groundnut and to support Agriculturists in this struggle."

To implement the "Mungfali bandh," the Sammelan formed an Action Committee under the President-

ship of Shri Bhagwanjibhai Patel who presided over the Sammelan.

The Sammelan further announced that if the Government of Gujarat failed to concede their demand within four days the farmers would go on satyagraha. Reports have since been received that volunteers have already been enrolled for the purpose.

The Party's State President, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, and Mr. Ramanbhai Patel, attended the Sammelan. Mr. Masani, M.P. for Rajkot, who could not be present owing to illness, sent a message of solidarity. Actively associated in the work of the Sammelan was Mr. Dharamsinh Patel.

Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel announced at the Sammelan that a march from Baroda to Ahmedabad would commence on October 2 and the number of marchers would increase considerably by the time they reached Ahmedabad to present a memorandum on groundnut oil to the Government.

Incidentally, a rival meeting convened by the Communist Kisan Sabha under the leadership of Mr. Indulal Yagnik at the same time less than a mile away was most meagrely attended and went almost unnoticed.

Around the State Assemblies

GUJARAT

Moving a motion of no-confidence in the Gujarat Ministry on September 1, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Leader of the Opposition and President of the State Unit of the Party, accused the Government of showing "inexcusable callousness, timidity of execution, and weak leadership" in handling the food crisis in the State.

Bhaikaka asked the Gujarat Ministry to follow the advice given by Mr. N. V. Gadgil at the last AICC session that the Congress Party having failed to solve the food problem should quit the Government. The Gujarat Government had similarly failed to deliver the goods and hence should resign, he added.

Bhailalbhai reminded the Government that the

food crisis in the State has been developing since long, but the Government had failed, he added, to take sufficient care to prevent the emergence of the crisis. The Government had failed to heed the warnings repeatedly given by the Opposition members in the House.

The Leader of the Opposition attributed the failure of the Government's food policy on its socialistic agrarian measures such as Cooperative Farming and the Land Ceilings Act.

Lashing out at the Government for carrying on "Goebbels-like propaganda" that farmers were hoarding foodgrains, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel asked how the Gujarat farmer with an average holding of less than five acres, could have the capacity to hoard as alleged by the Government.

NEWS FROM STATE UNITS

Party units in most parts of the country are currently engaged in conducting elections at the primary and district levels. This is a very important aspect of the Party's activity and no efforts are being spared to ensure that the elections will result in the emergence of leadership from the primary to the national level worthy of a Party. A detailed procedure for the conduct of the elections has been issued by the Centre and it is hoped that early next year various Committees truly reflecting the will of the rank and file of the Party will settle down to the serious business of strengthening the Party organisation and preparing for the challenge of 1967.

A few of our units have found time to undertake other activities despite preoccupation with the elections. We report on these activities below:

ANDHRA

The flood havoc in Krishna District saw the Party's leaders and Workers in the State trying to lend a hand in the rehabilitation of the flood victims.

Addressing a press conference in Hyderabad on October 5, Prof. N. G. Ranga called for an immediate re-orientation of schemes for flood control at the State and national levels.

Prof. Ranga said he was "horror struck" to learn that the Irrigation Minister of Andhra Pradesh left for Japan "on some trip" just as it was becoming clear that the flood situation in the State was becoming serious.

He supported the demand for a full-fledged enquiry into the washing away of half of the Vijaypuri bridge over the Krishna river.

BOMBAY

Workers of the Party in Bombay passed the hat around and collected Rs. 2,000/- to be used for the relief of flood victims in Andhra.

Between August 15 and 31, Party workers met their respective members of the State Assembly, presenting to the latter a memorandum detailing immediate measures to control the food situation.

On September 6, Mr. N. Dandekar was felicitated on his being elected to the Lok Sabha by the Election Tribunal. Replying to felicitations, Mr. Dandekar alleged that Mr. Nehru had abused his office during his four speeches in Gonda during the general elections in 1962. He expressed his gratitude to the late Raja Raghavendra Pratap Singh of Mankapur for his help and encouragement during and after the election in 1962.

The presence in the City of national leaders of the Party was utilised by the Bombay unit in organising two public meetings on September 30.

The first was a well-attended meeting of foodgrain dealers at Kesarbagh. Addressing the traders Rajaji said he would like to tell the Government: 'You know nothing about the trade and yet you want to conduct it. It is like a man who does not know how to use a razor and yet wants to shave others.' The Government was unaware as to when to buy, store or sell grains. It imagined that grains, like vegetables could be bought every day of the year. It wanted to do away with big farms and encourage small ones because it was interested in buying votes and not grains.

All that the Government could do, he said was "ask for forms to be filled and nothing more." He said that the forms were useless, and added: "I think you were right in saying you will not fill forms." He

regretted that they had later withdrawn the resolution on not submitting forms under the Food Grain Licensing Order.

He warned the traders: "It is you who are now asked to get licences. Next it will be those who want to eat who will have to get licences."

Later, addressing a public meeting at Chowpatty, Rajaji said that all the effects of the Government's misrule could be suffered if it had not ruined the nation's character.

Referring to Socialism, Rajaji described it as a product of academic thinking in the 19th century. Since then it had been tested and found to be faulty. Congress socialism had led to food scarcity, soaring prices and a general disgust.

Among others who spoke at the two meetings were: Maharajkumar Himmatsingh, Mr. N. Dandekar, Dr. (Mrs) Shantabhai Gulabchand, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh.

DELHI

SWATANTRA CLUB

The Swatantra Club of Delhi organised a public meeting in New Delhi on "The Problems of the Day". Rajaji addressed the meeting which was presided over by Mr. N. Dandekar.

Rajaji suggested a change of Government as a remedy for India's economic and other ills. He expressed concern over the deteriorating conditions in the country — food shortage, rising prices, widespread corruption, the threat of aggression and a crisis of character.

He said that the verdict of the Election Tribunal had not only meant Mr. Dandekar's success but had also exposed the "Gonda rape of the ballot box."

On the occasion, Rajaji formally inaugurated a new weekly publication in Hindi *Swarajya Sandesh* which would largely be a Hindi version of *Swarajya*.

GUJARAT

A meeting of the Gujarat State Executive at Ahmedabad on September 13 adopted a resolution criticising the Government for having imposed a ban on the export of groundnut oil without making adequate arrangements for the distribution of the commodity among the people within the State.

Maharajkumar Himmatsingh organised processions and made representations to the Government in regard to the grievances of the people of Kutch over the shortage of essential commodities and high prices.

Mr. Dharamsinh Patel, the Party's field organiser in Saurashtra represented the grievances of the people against anti-social elements. He had lodged a complaint against a Congress member of the State Assembly with the Sadachar Samiti.

ORISSA

The Executive Committee of the Orissa Unit at its meeting on August 23 demanded timely action to remove the present Ministers of Orissa from office. A resolution adopted at the meeting urged for the immediate appointment of a Commission of Enquiry by the Central Government to go into the charges of corruption against the Ministers and said "that will really be an acid test of Mr. Nanda's determination and sincerity in his bid to root out corruption and save the State from disaster." Reviewing the political situation in the State, the resolution said "widespread...mounting corruption in all spheres has been a long standing problem in the State" and alleged that it had become "acute during the last three years."

A resolution on rising prices fixed the blame for it on "continued indifference of the Government in solving the problems, inefficiency in administration, partisanship in distribution of food-grains..."

In another resolution on the coercive methods adopted by the Government for the realisation of water-cess, the Committee warned the Government that "arbitrary levy of water and land rents without correlating them to actual profits made by cultivators and collecting such taxes by repressive measures" will not be accepted by the people and is bound to be resisted.

A five-man delegation of the Party's leaders in Orissa led by the President of the State Unit, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo met the Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri and pressed him for early action on the memorandum presented by the State Unit to go into the charges of corruption against some Ministers and Congress leaders in the State. Earlier the Delegation had called on President Radhakrishnan and the Home Minister, Mr. Nanda.

The Swatantra Youth Front of Orissa and the West Orissa Students Association have expressed their deep shock at police excesses against students. They have called for immediate intervention by the Centre and the unconditional release of the arrested students.

WEST BENGAL

SWATANTRA FORUM, CALCUTTA

Mr. M. R. Masani, who was in Calcutta in September, went through a crowded programme during his short stay in the City.

On September 3, he addressed a well attended meeting of the Lions Club of Calcutta and other associated Clubs. The subject of his talk was "India and her Neighbours".

The following day he spoke to an audience of over 600 people on "Planning and Prosperity".

A meeting of Party Workers enrolled in Calcutta was held on September 5 in the presence of Mr. Masani. The future set up of the Party in the City and the State was discussed at length.

Later that day, Mr. Masani addressed a crowded public meeting under the auspices of the Swatantra Forum. The Chairman of the meeting was the well-known Barrister, Mr. Samarendra Sen. Apart from literature sold, hundreds of leaflets in Bengali were distributed free. Over 150 people wrote their names

and addresses in special books distributed all over the Hall as an indication of their interest in the Swatantra Party's work and the necessary follow up action is now being taken, reports Mr. Cusrow Irani of the Swatantra Forum.

ANNEXURE

Press Statement on the decisions of the Central Organising Committee Re: Bihar

The Central Organising Committee of the Swatantra Party, which met in Bombay on September 30, unanimously resolved to expel Messrs Kamakhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh and Shyam Sunder Prasad from membership of the Party for gross indiscipline and disloyalty to the Party.

An appeal by certain members of the defunct unit against the dissolution of the Party was considered by the Committee and rejected. The Committee was convinced that the former interim State Executive of the Bihar unit had completely failed to perform their functions.

The Central Organising Committee, after considering the show cause notice served on Messrs. Kamakhya Narain Singh and Shyam Sunder Prasad by the Central office on August 26 for flouting the authority of the Party by refusing to hand over charge of the papers, books of account and assets of the dissolved unit of the Party in Bihar, and the letter of resignation submitted by Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh on September 9 by way of reply, took note of the fact that even while Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh was appealing for justice from the Organisation Sub-Committee and an appeal against the dissolution was pending, Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh had offered to join the Congress. Therefore the Central Organising Committee came to the conclusion that Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh and Mr. Shyam Sunder Prasad (who had not cared to reply to the 'show cause' notice) were guilty of gross indiscipline and disloyalty to the Party. The question of their resignation from the Party, therefore, did not arise.

In so far as the MP's, MLA's and MLC's of the Party in Bihar were concerned, the Central Organising Committee, in the absence of individual communications from them, considered them to be members of the Party and, in the circumstances of the case, declined to accept the signatures appended to the letter of resignation from Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh. The Central Organising Committee further decided that, in case any of them had applied for membership of any other Party, they will still have an opportunity to withdraw their applications (sending a copy of such withdrawal to the Central Office of the Party) and indicate their desire to remain members of the Party not later than October 20.

In so far as those persons who had been enrolled as Worker-members by the defunct unit prior to 31st

July 1964, are concerned, the Central Organising Committee felt that they should be given an opportunity to be considered duly enrolled on their being screened by the Central Office provided they complete two forms viz. (a) a letter addressed to the Party giving the relevant particulars such as receipt number and date of enrolment and indicating their wish to be Workers of the Party and (b) a letter addressed to the former President of the State Unit with a copy to the Central Office calling upon Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh either to remit their subscription amounts to the Central Office of the Party or to return the money to the applicant concerned.

In response to the wishes expressed by the Party's friends and sympathisers in Bihar, the Central Organising Committee directed the Central Office to open immediately a branch office in Patna until such time as a reorganised State Unit comes into being. The Central Office was further directed to depute staff necessary to run the branch office. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel was requested to help the Central Office during the next few months in reorganising the Party in Bihar.

To ensure the fullest cooperation of the Party's friends and sympathisers with the work of the Bihar branch of the Central Office, the Central Organising Committee set up the following Advisory Committee and authorised the General Secretary to add to the Committee as and when deemed necessary and helpful for the growth of the Party in Bihar:

1. Mr. Ram Binod Singh
2. Mr. Jaleshwar Prasad
3. Sardar Harihar Singh, MLC
4. Mr. N. Baksi
5. Mr. N. N. Singh Deo, M.L.A.
6. Mr. Jaghdhatri Nath Sah Deo, M.L.A.
7. Mr. Maheshwar Prasad Narayan Sinha
8. Mr. Parmanand Kejriwal
9. Mr. Harischandra Mishra
10. Mr. M. V. Shastri
11. Mr. Bashirul Haque
12. Mr. Budhan Rai Verma
13. Dr. M. A. Azazi
14. Mr. Ganga Prasad Singh
15. Mr. Gajadhar Singh
16. Mr. A. S. Chaudhari

The following are some extracts from speeches delivered by Swatantra members in the two Houses of Parliament during the last session of Parliament.

IN THE LOK SABHA

PROF. N. G. RANGA

President's Rule in Kerala—September 23, 1964

"... This is the third time that it has happened in Kerala. Why is it that the principle of majority rule has failed in that State? Many experiments have been made. Almost every important party has been charged at one time or the other of making up a majority and running the administration there..."

"I think in 1960 the then President of the Congress went there and campaigned and some hon. friends there for whom I have great personal affection and respect had also gone there and run the election campaign. It was a national campaign carried on in the name of all democrats, belonging to all political parties, except the communists. They invited the co-operation of every democratic non-Congress party and it was that democratic coalition that had won the majority. But what had been the result? Bit by bit they swallowed up the other people, demoralised some others and in the end they emerged as the single party Government as the Congress Government.

In these circumstances, what is it that one can suggest to the Government? It was in this connection that the press people asked for my views, and I said that let an experiment be made, as Shri Khadilkar is now suggesting. He wants one kind of experiment, and I want another kind of experiment.

"... the Swiss type. That is what I have been thinking of. This is not the first time that I have been thinking of. This is not the first time that I have mooted this idea in public. When there was trouble in Orissa and the House was asked to give its sanction to President's rule in a similar fashion, I made that suggestion. Earlier when there was similar trouble in Kerala, I made a similar suggestion and I repeat it now. Look into the working of democracy in Switzerland, true it is a very small country; the population also is not very big. But at the same time, it is not much smaller than Kerala and the population is not much smaller than that of Kerala. Therefore, an experiment can be made on those lines.

What do they do there? They do not dismiss all political parties. All political parties are free to function. They go to the people and get their votes by proportional representation. If you can possibly introduce proportional representation even as an experiment in Kerala, if it is not too late for you to do it by taking the necessary legislative sanction, please do it; I am in favour of it. Let us agree upon a minimum strength of 5 or 10 members and let all those parties which gain that minimum strength be given proportionate representation in the Ministry. Let each Ministry be assisted by a small representa-

tive committee. Let all of them sit together and make a committee cabinet, as they have in Switzerland."

"It is not as if I am putting forward my claim for inclusion in their coalition. My party does not function so far in their elections. But the most important thing is, if this Government, if this ruling party, were to declare itself in favour of the kind of proposition I have made, then one good thing would happen. All this time, many people have been wondering in this country and abroad as to why it is that such large numbers of people in every State go on voting for the same type or different types of Congress people, in spite of the fact that corruption charges have been levelled against Chief Ministers and other Ministers, and they have been proved to the hilt."

"In spite of all this, people go on voting for them. There are various reasons. There is the name of Mahatma Gandhi and Panditji, which they have appropriated and also the two bullocks—"my bullocks"—which they have taken over. But more than any other reason, there is the reason of the fact that they themselves happen to be the ruling party. In this country democracy has been a new thing. For a very long time our people have been accustomed to supporting and eulogising the people who are there as rulers.

Let, for once, the Congress leadership make up their mind and demonstrate to the people that they are not so keen on governing everywhere at all costs and under all circumstances and that they are prepared to share power with other people, not in the way in which they have done, in the crab-like manner they have done, but in a co-operative, comrade-like, decent, Gandhian manner, when it would be safe for other parties to co-operate with them without the fear of being subjugated, subverted, destroyed and ultimately degenerated."

Foreign Affairs—September 25, 1964

I am glad my hon. friend, Sardar Swaran Singh, the new Foreign Minister, has made a comprehensive, sober and peace-making statement today. If one were to depend entirely on his own speech as it was being delivered and as it should be read later on, one would think that there is no trouble at all in this world, that everywhere there is peace, all problems are very easy to be solved, they are going to be solved and, therefore, there would be no need at all for India to be worried about. My fear is, the actual conditions are not like that.

Sir, I am glad the Prime Minister has accepted the advice tendered to him by some of us that at long last there should be a departure made and the

foreign ministership should be separated from the Prime Ministership. That was a demand which I used to make several times when the former Prime Minister was alive, and I am glad the present Prime Minister has accepted that suggestion. I welcome the present Foreign Minister into this House and I wish him and the country success during his tenure.

Then, Sir, I am also glad, my hon. friend has made a survey of the conditions that prevail vis-a-vis our country in the neighbouring countries, and that he has visited some of them. But I cannot agree with him in the statements that he has made assuring us that not much trouble would have to be expected by our people in Burma and Ceylon and that the Burmese Government is dealing with our people in an impartial manner and the Ceylonese Government has been decent and considerate towards those lakhs of Stateless people. I do not see any reason why all those lakhs of people who have been there during this generation as well as the previous generation too, who have been taken over there by their Government, whether it was the British or some other power, to develop their social economy, should be left in the lurch in the manner they have been left and should be denied the right of citizenship and, what is even worse, now that they should be placed at the tender mercies of the local Government. I am glad my hon. friend has stated that while we should try and strive to achieve friendship with these countries, we should not slur over the problems and points of difference that arise between us, and it is in this regard that I feel that if only greater consideration from the view point of all those people who had been there, large sections of them from different parts of our country, had been paid by our Ambassadors as well as our Foreign Minister and Foreign Ministry here, their fate would have been much better than what it has been.

"...I am glad indeed that the Finance Minister, when he happened to be at Kuala Lumpur, was good enough to offer sympathy and understanding to support Malaysia. We must remember that the Malaysian Prime Minister stood heroically with us when we were in trouble. I am also glad that the present Government appreciated the strong action taken by America when in Tonkin area Chinese aggression showed its face. I am also glad that we are trying to help Vietnam and Laos against Communist aggression.

It is most unfortunate that, as is the case with most other people also, we stick to dogmas long after their use is over. I would like my hon. friend to demonstrate what was the negative role that non-alignment has played and what is the positive role that it is going to play. My fear is that it has no positive role to play at all in the present circumstances. Even if you are enjoined to hang on to the dogma because it has come down to you as a heritage, even then, in addition to that, is it not necessary for us to look out for allies, for friends? Allies, not

against Soviet Russia, allies not against United States but only against Chinese Communist aggressors. If Soviet Russia is willing to be our ally, she would be most welcome. But we know that she cannot afford to do it, she would not like to do it, because ultimately she and Communist China are agreed on their general ideological approach, the Communist approach. Therefore, the only natural allies that we can have, not against Soviet Russia — I am repeating it again—but against Communist China, can only be from amongst the democratic nations.

In this context my leader, Rajaji, has been advising this country and the people as a whole that it would be best for us to have a firm alliance, a firm friendship, with the United Kingdom, America, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and various other democratic countries which are willing to come into partnership with us in order to beat down this imperialism and make those people realise the value of world peace, democracy and human rights.

In this context I wish to make an offer on behalf of my party and my leader, Rajaji, that we are prepared to give all our support for whatever it is worth to this Government — any Government for the matter of that in this country, which is anxious, willing, keen and earnest in achieving an honourable, peaceful and decent agreement with Pakistan. We would like to give first priority to this. Why? Because everyone knows that all this huge unbearable expenditure that we are now incurring on defence forces can be cut down by more than half if only we can have peaceful relations with Pakistan.

"...what about Kashmir? Did we not warn the Government, as I read out some time back, as long ago as 1958, that it would be dangerous for our country to come to depend upon the tender mercy of one political party in that State and none else at all? We have all known the history of the so-called National Conference. It is so unfortunate that this Government has been dogged by bad luck in such a way that every time they think in terms of having any important person in detention they seem to be doing it at the wrong moment. Was it necessary for them to have this gentleman, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, into custody and put into jail just on the eve of the session of the legislature? Was it not possible for them to know that they had a majority of support from amongst National Conference MLAs before they took this decision? But they have done it. We need not go into why they have done it and all those things. Even today we are in danger.

Is it not time that they should hold, just as they are going to hold interim elections in Kerala, interim elections here and give a chance for those people to make a choice of their leaders? As I had suggested in the case of Kerala, here also I would suggest to them to make an experiment of all groups and parties above a minimum strength, may be five or more MLAs being brought together into a committee government and expecting them to run the admini-

stration on the basis of a consensus, more or less on the lines on which the Swiss Government has been run. If you do not do it, what is likely to happen is that you would be keeping Sheikh Abdullah outside the legislature and all those who support him as also many others who would be opposing him, belonging to the Muslim League and various other groups, with Shri Sadiq and his group ruling the roost in the Assembly in the name of the National Conference.

Therefore we have got to convince the world that we are trying our best to make democracy work in Kashmir in the most effective and practicable manner. If we do it, it is possible that the talks that are to take place between our Prime Minister and the President of Pakistan would have a much better chance of success than at present.

Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti): How to make friendship with Pakistan? Let us know.

Shri Ranga: My hon. friend has tried his influence for several years while he was in Government. We know the results. Now I am asking other friends to make their experiments.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: We want you to explain it.

Shri Ranga: I have not yet become the Foreign Minister. It is not for me to do that. It is wrong for any Opposition leader to try to probe into details and then begin to give detailed advice to the Foreign Minister. All that he can do is to say that these are the objectives....

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I withdraw my request.

Shri Ranga:which we would like the Foreign Minister to achieve with the aid of the Prime Minister and his colleagues including my hon. friend, Shri Malaviya. The only thing is that Shri Malaviya thinks that the first enemy is Pakistan and the second enemy is China, I suppose. I do not know whether he considers China as an enemy at all because he has begun to make new friends.

"....Is India going to allow herself to be isolated as against China? Are we going to keep mum while Chinese influence in Burma and Ceylon increases and has been going on increasing, as you all know? In Indonesia it has been increasing all along, as you know, and with what disastrous results. The former Indo-China, all these four countries, that have come into existence there, if they were to be swallowed up through her influence and if they were to be brought under the paw of her political power and influence, what would be the fate of India? Not only as a matter of status but even in the matter of the ultimate freedom of this country, it would not be possible to be complacent. How else have all those ten countries from Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania and other countries in Europe come under the influence of the Communists? Did the local Communists ever succeed in getting a majority in any decent democratic election? No, Sir; it was because the Russian Red Armies went into those countries, helped them, gave them the protection or umbrella of their power that they were able to esta-

blish themselves in power. Similarly, the second group of Indian Communists are also hoping to get power in this country. They are politicians, and they want power just as my hon. friends opposite have had power here. Therefore, it is natural for them to look up to their spiritual mentors namely the Chinese Communists, so that they can also play their part here. If we allow that, what would happen in this country?

Recently, there has been so much of propaganda against this Government all over the world, saying that after Jawaharlal Nehru, the country is going to pieces; five thousand to ten thousand men have already been taken into jail, and everybody says that "poor Mr. Shastri is such a nice man and yet he is not well and he is not strong and the Government of India is going to pieces." This is the atmosphere that our enemies have been spreading all over the world. If that kind of atmosphere continues to be developed in the years to come, and country after country in our neighbourhood comes under the influence of the Chinese, then what would be the fate of our own democratic votes here in this country? Would they not be in danger of losing their souls? Would they not become unwilling to go and risk their votes for the ruling party or any of the other democratic parties including mine, and would they not go and vote in favour of the communists?

Of course, the communists may not come through elections in a majority all over India at the same time, but bit by bit they want to do it. They have already bored into Kerala and they have their place in Assam as well as in Bengal.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: They have bored in Andhra Pradesh also.

Shri Ranga: Last time when there was the Chinese aggression, we know what happened. We know the really disastrous role, unpatriotic and disquieting role that so many of these communists played in all those areas. They were hoping to be able to capture power bit by bit, and they would like to do it also.

Therefore, it is in the interests of India to see that she should not be thinking only in terms of fighting China all by herself because she would not be in a position to do it. For fighting China, we need the support of Pakistan, and we need the support of all our other neighbours, that is Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, and then in addition to this, we need also the support of the other countries, active or passive, psychological or physical or political, in the whole of South-East Asia. Beyond that, we must go also to Africa.

Recently, I came into touch with some of the leaders from the parliaments of the African countries, when they came to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference and also at some other international gatherings. I found to my surprise and regret that quite a large number—I do not wish to say that the majority of them, but quite a large number of them—of the newly liberated and independent African countries

are not convinced of the justice of our cause, that we should be supported, that China is in the wrong and China is going to be an enemy not only of us but also of them. Just as we have flirted with China in the years past when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was leading us, unfortunately wrongly, as we have discovered now, so also those countries are now pursuing and cherishing and nursing this wrong impression that communist China is a very peace-loving nation, and a very democratic nation and is really keen on the equality of races and continents and equality between backward and advanced countries and therefore, there is nothing wrong with communist China. That is the threat to our peace. That is the threat to our place in the world. The sooner our Government make up their mind to gear their foreign policy as well as their foreign publicity in the direction of gaining more and more friendships in the democratic world and also in the semi-democratic world and also on the Soviet side of the world, as against communist China, the better it would be. Otherwise, it would be a very dangerous thing indeed for us to pursue the kind of goody-goody, peace-evoking and general invocation of peace for everybody which seems to be the new atmosphere in reaction to the earlier tempestuous period that we have had.

P. K. DEO

No-Confidence Motion—September 14, 1964

As pointed out by the previous speaker of my Party, the present Government has inherited the legacy of 17 years of misrule, 13 years of planning with wrong priorities and reckless spending to the tune of Rs. 19,000 crores. Of this deficit financing amounted to Rs. 1800 crores, as a result of which the prices have shot up by 37 per cent. It has inherited a legacy of public debt to the tune of Rs. 90,000 million rupees or more. In this period, direct taxation had increased by 85 per cent and the net of indirect taxation has been cast so wide that it has not left any conceivable consumer item. We are reaping the consequences as the cumulative effect of all this. So, we feel that though the subsequent months may unfold the real worth of this Ministry, this three-month old Ministry does not possess any magic wand that it will undo all the mistakes overnight. So, we, as responsible Members of the House, belonging to the largest opposition party in the country, could not afford the luxury of associating ourselves in this no-confidence motion.

Up till now effective steps have been taken to free the sacred soil of this country from aggression. We have more or less acquiesced in the illegal acquisitions of China.

By occupying large chunks of Indian territory, China has been reaping the political and military benefits. We have always met the challenge by

making a mild protest and all these protests have fallen on deaf ears.

We still pursue these futile talks. This morning's paper says that we still want to find out through the good offices of Ceylon if China is at all sincere to withdraw its military posts from Ladakh. Are we yet to learn the intentions of China? Do we not know actually what China is after? All these years, we have been wasting time on these futile talks.

We sometimes fail in our diplomatic duty and in ordinary courtesy. We never bothered to send a message of goodwill when there was the meeting of the second African summit at Cairo while China was prompt in sending a message of goodwill. We should be careful when we will be going to the second non-aligned conference. I feel that it may be a trap and unless we play our cards properly, we may be put in such a situation that we will have to accept the *status quo* on the northern border. So, all these things have to be considered. We lack that genuineness of heart with which Tunku Abdul Rehman supported India at the time of the naked aggression by China. Of course, our Finance Minister has done a good job. I congratulate him. At the same time, I feel it is not adequate. In this Indonesia-Malaysia controversy, our UN representative should say in categorical terms that we are on the side of Malaysia. We should say that we support Malaysia and we cannot tolerate the interference by another nation, however great it may be, in the internal affairs of a neighbouring State. Though relations with Nepal have improved—for which I congratulate our present Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri—since his visit to Nepal last year, Indians' prestige has received a very rude shock in the neighbouring States. Indians are being squeezed out from Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and East Africa and Fiji Islands. It is high time that we use the good offices of our Missions abroad to ensure that the Indians there got equal and human treatment and they are able to repatriate their assets when they come back, and whatever is taken over by the Government there should be duly compensated for. But we have been neglectful in that duty. Some of the posts of Ambassadors in important centres like Rangoon and Djakarta remained vacant till the other day.

The rehabilitation of those Indians who are coming here is a big problem, and we shall have to give them all facilities. Dandakaranya has been all full, as you, Sir, coming from that area or from very near that area are aware. We shall have to rehabilitate them, therefore, in the backward areas of Kashmir, NEFA and Andamans, and I hope that the present Ministry will examine this proposal.

It is a good thing that the External Affairs Ministry has now a whole-time Minister who is not entirely new to this task, and it is now high time that we should shed the international ambiguity of non-alignment, and do some positive thinking and take

action. Non-alignment has not led us anywhere. It has not solved even one problem of ours.

Non-alignment may be quite good for an academician or from the academic point of view. But non-alignment should not mean equi-distance from the USSR and the USA. It should be the closest proximity to both. In the present context, you may call it by any other term also, if you like, but our foreign policy should be of the closest proximity to both the USSR and the USA. Fortunately for us, both are against China, because both understand that China is a potential menace to the world peace.

Taking advantage of this, we shall have to accept aid. American *bona fides* have been justified by their action at the time of the crises. We are still in the dark regarding the *bona fides* of USSR. My respected leader Rajaji has said in categorical terms that we shall have to align with the West. In our defence preparations, we have been bled white, and the nation has been bled white. If we want to fight poverty, in the internal field, we cannot afford to spend a single paise for our production military equipment. So, we shall have to align, and I most respectfully agree to Rajaji's suggestion.

My hon. friend Shri Harish Chandra Mathur was saying that Shri Dandekar needed some education, because he was new, and that his statement that agriculture was getting a step-motherly treatment was all wrong. I take the liberty to educate Shri Harish Chandra Mathur, through you. It is absolutely correct when Shri Dandekar says that agriculture in this country has received a step-motherly treatment from Government. It is a fact. While the industrialist gets power for the aluminium plant at 3 p. per unit from the Rihand project, the poor agriculturist has to pay 19 p. to pump the much-needed water for his thirsty land. Is that not step-motherly treatment? 2 million acres of irrigation potential have remained unutilized, and there is every likelihood of this figure being raised to 5 million acres by the time we reach the end of the Third Plan.

There is also insecurity of tenure. My hon. friend spoke of our Fundamental Rights. Our Fundamental Rights in the Constitution are like pie-crusts, and they are broken at the time of convenience. The Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution has robbed the ryot of his free-hold right, that is, the ryot who is the backbone of India's economy, and has classified him along with the zamindar or intermediary to wait for his liquidation. When that is the case, could there be any impetus and could there be any incentive for more food production?

I quite fail to appreciate the anxiety of Government to check the food prices. Their anxiety is quite incompatible with the deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 149 crores which they have resorted to in a period of six weeks, during June-July last, which has broken all previous records. Unless you call it planning or call it anything worth planning, it is all hamburg and throwing dust in the eyes of the people.

What is the value of the rupee today? The rupee is just 17 p. in value. You cannot increase the intrinsic value of the rupee by putting Pandit Nehru's profile on the coin. We strongly resent at this. If at all anybody's profile is to be put, it should be that of the Head of the State. We are against the personality cult. We shudder to think how the party in power which had brought forward legislation to the effect that a currency note will lose its legal tender if any political slogan is written on it—that was only to accuse the DMK—could on their own come forward with the proposal that the Indian rupee will bear the Prime Minister's profile. However great he may be he is a party man. That is all wrong, and I strongly protest against it.

PRAVINSINH SOLANKI

Murud Incident—September 17

The only mystery which remains unsolved is the security arrangements of the Government of India. Before this, the only Walcott I knew was Clyde Walcott of West Indies, a famous cricketer. But recently an international smuggler by the name of Daniel Walcott has hit the headlines. He is not only wanted by our Government; six other countries including France and also the Interpol are after him. Two Indian officers who were sent to England are now holding talks in Paris about this man and they are trying to find out where Mr. Walcott will hit again. Twice he has entered our country breaking our security arrangements and he escaped twice.

There is nothing at present that we can do. The only lesson that we can draw from the incident is that we should tighten our security arrangements for the future. We are facing an Emergency and we have the Defence of India rules and we talk of tightening of the belt and being alert but international smugglers of the calibre of Walcott enter our country and escape without any hindrance. It does not pain me that we are unable to catch him; six other countries are unable to catch him; they are also after him. What pains me is that our security arrangements are so slack and under this slack security arrangement Walcott found his escape.

They spent in this country nearly 36 hours. The whole incident took place within 36 hours, from 8th June to the noon of 10th June. During these hours, neither the people of Daboli-Janjira could contact the Bombay Officials nor the Bombay officials could be alerted by the airport staff or anybody who might have traced the plane inside the country. Nothing happened to these people. They just went about their business quietly; in Bombay they met their men, they made their contact and they disposed of their goods which they were carrying, and they were perfect, legal passengers for the flight to Pakistan! When they went to airport, apparently they had nothing that could be checked, and the customs authorities found nothing wrong with them.

The question of their inserting the names in the passenger list remained, and it was quite happily and agreeably done by the airport officials! Therefore, even there, it was not a problem. After taking off to Pakistan, the names of Philby and McLister were found by an airport correspondent, not by the security officers; but an airport correspondent traced the names of these two people and suspected foul play and reported the matter that Mr. Philby could be Mr. Walcott,—could be an international smuggler—and there was something wrong in this. That means, after this incident, our security officers started taking measures; it was too late for them. The people had already escaped. It was believed that they were carrying smuggled goods worth nearly Rs. 1 crore.

IN THE RAJYA SABHA

DAHYABHAI PATEL

Food Debate—September 16, 1964

Now, the question of food is allied to the question of prices. The question of agriculture comes first because it is agriculture that produces mainly our food, the food that more people in this country have been used to, and then it brings me the question of prices. How we have been dealing with this question I would like to deal with first. I always remember that the late Prime Minister said that if we failed on the food front, all our plans would be of no avail. Unfortunately in spite of what we have been trying to warn the Government, our warning has not been heeded to. I do not know whether in the altered situation some attention is going to be paid to it. Time and again it has been stressed and recommended by the planners too that only on a sound agricultural basis can a stable economic structure of the country be built. If food intentions and expenditure of colossal sums alone were any criterion to judge the success of agricultural planning, we should have achieved spectacular success in this field long ago. During the first two plans we have spent about Rs. 2000 crores on schemes of agricultural development. Yet the production of foodgrains, the pivot round which the country's entire price structure revolves, has not been able to make any appreciable headway. In the case of other agricultural crops too the progress has not been significant. Food and clothing are the basic necessities of life and in our country where the people have sub-marginal living standards their weightage in the average family budget is much greater than in prosperous communities. Almost sixty per cent of the family budget of an average family in India is spent on food and eight per cent on clothing. Any shortfall in the availability of foodgrains, therefore, creates far-reaching repercussions on the price levels.

The Third Plan postulates an increase in agricultural production of 30 per cent during the Plan

period, that is, 6 per cent per annum, and of 70 per cent, that is 14 per cent per annum, in industry. Actually in 1961-62, the first year of the Plan, agricultural production increased by only 1.2 per cent over 1960-61; in 1962-63 it declined by 3.3 per cent over the previous year. During the last twelve years agricultural output has been rising at an average annual rate of 3.5 per cent only. Why? Has Government considered these aspects? There are countries that have been continuously stepping up their production by a much higher percentage than 3 per cent. Is our Government inclined to take lessons and learn from them? As a result of the low output the prices of foodgrains have shown a significant rise. As compared to a year ago, by the middle of July wheat prices have recorded a rise of 28 per cent; jowar and bazra of as much as 56.5 per cent and 34 per cent respectively; pulses 34.5 per cent and gram 46 per cent. The pressure on price levels has been further aggravated by the slow rate of increase in industrial production, particularly of consumer goods the demand for which has been increasing with the rising income in the hands of the people as a result of the large expenditure on developmental plans.

Under the Second and the Third Plans, particularly in the case of the Third Plan, a great emphasis has been laid on the development of the producer and basic industries with a lower priority accorded to the consumer goods. I am sorry the emphasis was not on agricultural output. That is where I think we have missed. The situation has been further aggravated by the rising public expenditure especially of a non-productive nature of the Union and State Governments. We are told that a higher expenditure on defence is necessitated by the Chinese aggression, which has increased from Rs. 312.49 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 854 crores in 1964-65, and that it has somehow to be met as long as the threat to the integrity of our frontiers continues to exist, even though it results in creating a certain amount of pressure on prices. Madam, in the Budget speeches that I made in the last two years I quoted figures of the Public Accounts Committee which pointed out that the increase in taxation was really unnecessary. The under-estimates of income and the over-estimates expenditure that Government planned but was never able to use showed that the increased taxation was hardly justified. If the figures of the Public Accounts Committee reports are scanned and produced before the House, even for the last three years the position is the same. Therefore, I am justified in saying that the increased taxation is not justified and it unnecessarily leads to rising prices.

The division of the country into different zones and the restrictions on movement of foodgrains between them have also tended to aggravate the scarcity conditions. I am glad that the Government seems to realise that the zonal system is not the remedy and they are going to take steps to remedy it by removing the zones as soon as they think they can cope

with the situation. The scarcity conditions and the rising prices have created a psychology which is restricting the flow of foodgrains into the market from the producing centres. The trade has been accused of withholding stocks in the expectation of rising prices. At the same time, it has also been alleged that there has been a certain amount of reluctance on the part of the growers to bring their produce to the market in the expectation of prices which will rise still further in the coming lean months. If, however, Government had sufficient buffer-stocks of imported foodgrains and they were in a position to release adequate stocks through their fair price shops, the position would have eased. But unfortunately it appears that we are working on a ship-to-mouth basis in the matter of food. This is not a very happy picture. If timely and effective remedial measures are taken, the position can be retrieved, but this will need a completely fresh approach to the problem. Our thinking on future planning has to be so oriented that there is a proper balance between the development of producer and basic industries on the one hand and the development of consumer goods industries on the other, with due emphasis on agriculture.

After my recent visit to Taiwan, I handed over a book to the Food Minister about agriculture in Taiwan. You will be surprised that this book is banned, because all literature from Taiwan is banned. I do not know why such a condition should exist in a free country....

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation (Shri B. S. Murthy): How did you bring it then?

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: By telling Customs that I am not going to obey the law and bringing it openly. It is banned by a notification of the Finance Department. If my friend, who is in the Government, does not know, let me enlighten him. I told the Customs: "I am taking it. You can do what you like."

If in twelve years Taiwan has been able to raise its production of rice by 300 per cent. why can we not do it? We have been talking of 10 per cent. or 12 per cent. If we could raise it even by half of what they have done our food problem would have been solved long ago. We have been telling year after year that we are short by 10 per cent. or 15 per cent. We have been telling this since independence. And if we are able to make up this 10 per cent. our population catches up by that amount. Why do we not make an extra effort and try to catch up with the population that is coming in the next few years by learning from people who have done it? That is the cause of our failure. I hope the Food Minister will give serious thought to this and will not allow his thoughts to be disturbed or confused by the disturbances, by the vituperations of my friend who sits here.

PROF. RUTHNASWAMY

International Situation—September 23

"... let me begin by congratulating the Government and the country on having at last a whole-time Minister of External Affairs. This whole-time Minister of External Affairs must also remember that he is not a Minister of International Affairs; he is a Minister of External Affairs of India. He has to administer policies which will promote the national interests of India in relation to foreign States.

"... we come to non-alignment. When the critics of non-alignment criticise this policy, they are taunted with the argument that they want to practise alignment. Alignment is not the opposite of non-alignment. It is as if nations could be divided into two parties, absolutely different, distinct from each other, facing each other and pursuing policies against each other. It is not so definite, so distinct as all that. Nations are mixed up with each other. Friends of one moment may become the enemies at another. So, the opposite of non-alignment is the policy of independence, the policy of the free hand, the policy of promoting the national interests. And let us see how non-alignment has served the interests of our country. Non-alignment is no preventive of war. It is an ironic comment on non-alignment that many of the countries that had declared themselves as non-aligned powers—Egypt, India, China, Indonesia, all members of the Bandung Conference of 1955—have all been engaged in war at one time or other. Nor, Madam Deputy Chairman, is non-alignment a guarantee of friendship. Not a single one of the neutral non-aligned States protested against the Chinese aggression when it took place. The declaration of the Colombo Powers was conspicuous for its complacency in regard to this aggression by China. It equated India with China. They made no declaration as to the guilt of the one or the other. And then there is a contradiction in the remarks made by the Minister of External Affairs in regard to the policy of non-alignment. Among the four principles that he enunciated one ran thus—

"We shall continue to seek friendship and develop our relations with all countries irrespective of ideology or their political systems."

Now, I may ask: Why has Israel not been given the right of exchanging diplomatic representatives with India? Why have the Government of India stopped short of according diplomatic recognition to Israel as an independent State? Why has it not gone further and established diplomatic relationship with Israel?

And then another principle enunciated by the Minister was—

"We shall continue to work for freedom of the peoples of Asia and Africa from colonial rule..."

Now, this colonialism and imperialism do not mean only salt water imperialism, imperialism that is established over the seas. What about land imperialism?

What about the imperialism of Russia which has enslaved so many countries, the independent States of Central Asia, the Muslim States of Central Asia? Is the Government going to undertake the freeing of these countries from this imperialism of Russia?

"...I reiterate that foreign policy must be determined by facts and not by ideology, even by an ideology which has been left as a legacy by the late Prime Minister. A great French publicist, Raymond Aron said, "The situation of each country on the operational map makes its neutrality improbable or probable in advance". Let us look at the geographical position of India and determine our foreign policy accordingly. The geography and the circumstances of India, the military, the defence potential,

the economic potential and even the political potential of the country should determine our foreign policy. Through their foreign policy, through the policy of non-alignment our Ministers, our Government, think that they would be able to build up a bridge between the warring nations, between the nations involved in the cold war. But what history shows that it is not bridgemanhip that we have achieved but brinkmanship in the negative sense. India was brought to the brink of war by this policy of non-alignment and it will continue to bring India to the brink of war if it is pursued. It is in pursuit of this policy of bridgemanhip that our late Prime Minister and the present Prime Minister have been advised to go to Summit Conferences.

Why did the Swatantra Party's group in the Lok Sabha, which only a year ago took a leading part in sponsoring a motion of no-confidence against the Council of Ministers, prefer to abstain when a similar motion was moved in September this year?

FOR ANSWER — READ

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