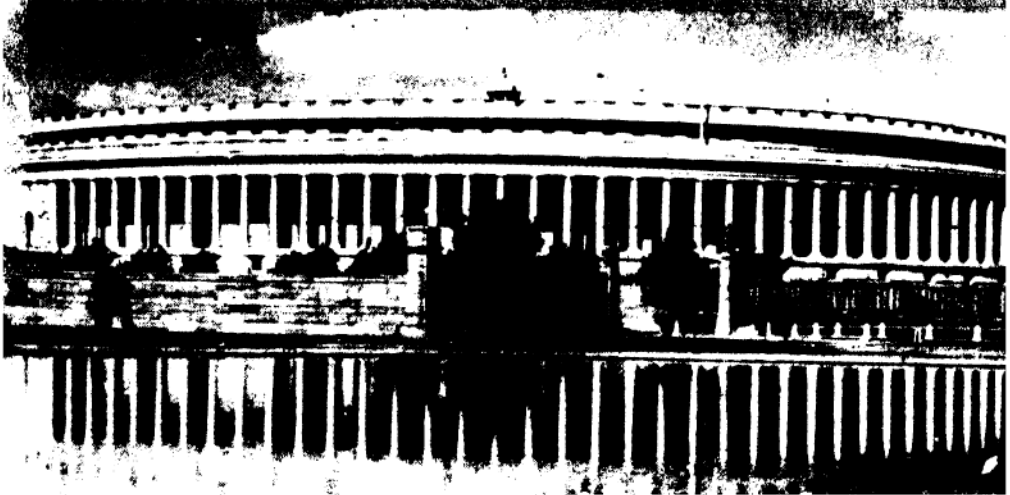


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The Journal Of Parliamentary Information



THE JOURNAL OF PARLIAMENTARY INFORMATION

Editor : S. L. SHAKDHER

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The Journal of Parliamentary Information is entering the twentieth year of its publication. During the last two decades, the Journal attempted to serve as an authentic recorder of important events and developments in the two Houses of the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures in India. It sought to present in an objective manner relevant information in the field of parliamentary studies for the use of legislators and others interested in parliamentary matters.

Parliamentary institutions, functions and procedures are in a constant state of development and growth. It is a dynamic process. Living, as we do, in a fast moving world and subject, as we are, to myriad constraints imposed by the technological revolution, information explosion, ever expanding frontiers and demands of socio-economic change, our legislatures have to face newer and newer problems every day. Their tasks also become increasingly complex. Their procedures and practices have to respond to the needs of the changing situation and demands of the times. New practices are accordingly being evolved continuously in India and abroad and the Journal tries to capture and record them contemporaneously. Also it seeks to serve as a forum for the expression of views and opinions contributing to the strengthening of parliamentary institutions and development of parliamentary democracy in the country.

A number of articles on a variety of subjects of parliamentary interest have appeared in the Journal from time to time. The series of articles on the impact of the recommendations of the three financial committees of Parliament has continued uninterrupted since the April 1970 issue. The present issue also contains two articles in this series. The articles deal with the theme of co-operative movement. It would be seen that the Public Accounts Committee, having probed into the affairs of two co-operative bodies, made some concrete recommendations for their improvement which were accepted by the Government for implementation.

The notes on privilege issues refer to the casting of reflections on the Members of the other House by the Members of the Lok Sabha as reported by a newspaper. The Speaker's appeal for the maintenance of cordial and harmonious relations between the two Houses

is in keeping with the high parliamentary traditions cherished by the country.

The growing interest taken by the Members of Parliament in undertaking reviews of some of the latest titles of parliamentary interest is most welcome and encouraging. It is hoped that their interest would continue to develop further and they would find it possible to enrich the Journal with contributions on constitutional and parliamentary matters. In the future issues of the Journal, it is proposed to devote greater space to practice and problem oriented articles of contemporaneous parliamentary interest. Besides Members of Parliament, it is hoped, academics would also come forward and send their contributions for consideration.

Suggestions of the readers for the improvement of the Journal would be most welcome.

—S. L. Shukdher.



DR. GURDIAL SINGH DHILLON

Speaker, Lok Sabha

[Elected President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union,
October 26, 1973]



SHRI S. L. SHASTRI

Secretary-General, Lok Sabha

[Elected President of the Association of Secretaries-General
of Parliaments of the World, October 23, 1973]

FELICITATIONS TO SPEAKER AND SECRETARY-GENERAL

On October 26, 1973, the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union elected Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha as its President for the next year in a straight contest against Sir John Hall, a British M.P., by 55 to 48 votes.

Earlier, on October 23, 1973, Shri S. L. Shakhder, Secretary, Lok Sabha was unanimously elected President of the Association of Secretaries-General of Parliaments of the world for a three-year term.

Offering warm congratulations to the Speaker, Dr. G. S. Dhillon, on his election, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi observed in the Lok Sabha on November 12, 1973:—

“The Inter-Parliamentary Union is an international parliamentary organisation whose aim is to promote personal contacts between Members of all Parliaments and to unite them in common action to secure and maintain the full participation of their respective countries in the firm establishment and development of representative institutions and in the advancement of the work of international peace and co-operation. The honour is a richly deserved one. It is in recognition of Dr. Dhillon's personal qualities and of his hard and conscientious work for the Council. Dr. Dhillon has guided the deliberations of this House with dignity and good humour. We are conscious of the honour to our country and to this Parliament.”

Congratulating the Secretary, Shri S. L. Shakhder on his election, Shrimati Indira Gandhi observed:—

“The objective of the Association is to carry out studies concerning parliamentary law, practice and procedure and to propose measures for improving the methods of work of the various Parliaments of the world and for ensuring collaboration between their services. Shri Shakhder's election is a tribute to India and to the work which he has been doing for the Association over the last two decades. All of us here are aware of his knowledge and his deep interest in parliamentary procedures on which he is recognised authority.”

Expressing thanks for the magnanimous and generous observations made by the Prime Minister, the Speaker, Dr. G. S. Dhillon said:—

“As a matter of fact, it is not an individual honour for

me alone. It is an honour because I represent your House and it is an honour because our House represents the largest democracy in the world and a great country.

I would like to join the Prime Minister in congratulating Mr. Shakhder for the very well deserved honour that he has achieved, having been elected the President of the Association of Secretaries-General of Parliaments. It is still greater honour because we call him Secretary and he is the President of the Association of Secretaries-General of Parliaments. I have consulted the Prime Minister that we must also designate him Secretary-General.

I avail of this opportunity to convey my thanks on your behalf to the many countries which had sponsored my name. . . . If you will allow me, on behalf of you all and our Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, I will convey our deep gratitude to them.

I assure you on behalf of our Group that I will do my best to keep up the great name of this organisation and also work with honesty and integrity for the aims and objects which it stands for. . . . I do hope that with your co-operation and the co-operation of our distinguished Prime Minister we will be able to set up high standards.

I am extremely grateful to you also on behalf of our Secretary-General. He had the great honour of being elected to the International Committee for Parliamentary Documentation (CIDP) a few days back. Only five members are elected and he was one of them. He achieved it by unanimous election but I had to go through the mill which is our lot sometime. As a member of that organisation, I, assure you that I shall discharge the functions with honesty and sincerity."



*His Excellency Mr. Leonid I. Brezhnev addressing the Members of Parliament.
Seated from left to right on the date are Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India;
Dr. G. S. Pathak, Vice-President of India and Speaker of Lok Sabha.*

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY MR. LEONID ILYICH BREZHNEV

TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

[On November 29, 1973, His Excellency Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., addressed the Members of Parliament in the Central Hall of the Parliament House. We reproduce below his Address as well as the welcome speech by Dr. G. S. Pathak, Chairman, Rajya Sabha and the Thanksgiving speech by Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha in the end.

—Editor]

WELCOME SPEECH* BY DR. G. S. PATHAK, CHAIRMAN, RAJYA SABHA

It is a privilege for me to welcome you, Mr. General Secretary, in our midst, on behalf of the Members of Parliament assembled here as also of the people of India. We extend to you our warm and cordial greetings as a sincere friend of India and as a great and respected leader of a country with which India is happy and proud to have such strong ties of friendship. Your visit to our country will have made a historic contribution to further deepening and consolidating the links already uniting the 800 million people of our two nations.

The Great October Revolution

You, Mr. General Secretary, are a child of the Great October Revolution, which our respected leader, Jawaharlal Nehru had described as early as in 1927, as "one of the great events of world history, the greatest since the French Revolution and the story of which is more absorbing, from the human and dramatic point of view, than any tale of fantasy". Jawaharlal Nehru had, at the same time, added the following prophetic words. He said: "The dynamic forces released by the Revolution of 1917 have not played themselves out. They have made history, and they will continue to make history and no man can afford to ignore them."

Unity of the Soviet People

I well remember my own visit to Moscow for the celebrations of the 50th Anniversary of the formation of the USSR. It was a memorable occasion and demonstrated the unity of the Soviet people and

*English translation of the speech delivered in Hindi.

their determination to build a better and fuller life for themselves. It also brought to my mind the great sacrifices made by your country during World War II to stem the tide of fascism. We have admired your own personal role during that hour of trial and crisis for your country, as a soldier and warrior on active duty, all through the war.

Foreign Policy of Soviet Union

The Soviet Union today is a mighty force in world affairs. It is therefore all the more important that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, like the foreign policy of India, is aimed at consolidating international peace, strengthening peaceful cooperation amongst States, and rendering support to peoples struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and the strengthening of the political and economic independence of their countries.

Soviet Support to India

The cooperation between our two countries has extended to many fields. This country is deeply conscious of and grateful for the principled support extended by the Soviet Union in almost every crisis that we have faced. The sympathy and support which were spontaneously extended to us by the people and the Government of the Soviet Union during 1971 are still fresh in our minds. In the economic field the Soviet Union has made a significant contribution to India's own efforts at achieving industrial progress and self-reliance. There are today many concrete expressions of this cooperation in the industries that have been set up in various fields—metallurgy, machine building, power, coal, oil exploration and refining, among others.

Co-operation on basis of Mutual Benefit

The cooperation between our two countries has always been on the basis of equality, sovereignty and mutual benefit. Indo-Soviet friendship is no passing phenomenon, influenced by considerations of the moment. It is because it is rooted in the long term interests of our peoples and States that the two countries have been together, even in times of hardship.

Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation

Over two years ago, India and the Soviet Union concluded a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. This Treaty was a logical expression of several decades of close and friendly relations between

the two countries. It lays stress on the development of friendship and cooperation between the two States while reiterating the principles that have always guided their foreign policies—respect for each other's territorial independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

India's policy of non-alignment

India has, since Independence, followed a foreign policy based on non-alignment and the principles of peaceful co-existence which had been enunciated many years ago by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. We are unshakeable in our determination to spare no effort in implementing these principles in regard to our relations with other States. We greatly value the importance that the Soviet Union itself attached to non-alignment as a policy that could contribute to the maintenance of international peace and stability and lessening of tension in the world.

A Friend of India

Mr. General Secretary, we have been privileged to welcome many statesmen of the world in this Central Hall of Parliament. But today we are welcoming not only a great and farsighted world leader—for we have followed with keen interest and admiration the untiring efforts made by you personally to promote friendship and peace in the world—but also a great and sincere friend of India. For this reason, this day will long be etched in our memory.

I have great pleasure in requesting you now to address Members of our Parliament.

Esteemed Mr. President, Esteemed Madam Prime Minister, Esteemed Mr. Vice-President and Mr. Speaker, Distinguished Members of Parliament,

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude for the privilege of addressing the supreme legislative body of your country, the Parliament of the Republic of India. I am well aware of the important role played by Parliament in the political life of India.

I take this opportunity to convey to you cordial greetings and good wishes from my colleagues, Members of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and from all Soviet parliamentarians.

Friends,

We have arrived in your country at the kind invitation of the Prime Minister of your Republic, esteemed Madam Indira Gandhi, I must say that it was an invitation which we accepted with satisfaction.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the strengthening of friendship and to the all-round development of its relations with India.

Of no small importance in this context are the long-standing historical traditions of peaceful good-neighbourly relations between our two countries. These relations have never been marred by wars or conflicts. Throughout the history of Soviet-Indian relations feelings of mutual respect and sympathy between our peoples have been growing and strengthening.

Soviet people have always sided with the Indian people's struggle for their freedom and independence. They have always sincerely supported it, and rejoiced in its successes. Far back at the turn of the century the founder of the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin, passionately condemned the arbitrary rule of the colonialists in India; he deeply

believed in the vitality of the Indian people and predicted the inevitable collapse of colonial domination.

We know that, on their part, the Indian people and their outstanding leaders took an intense interest in our revolution and in the building of a new society in the land of Soviets. Jawaharlal Nehru remarked that following the behests of the great Lenin, Russia had looked into the future.

The successful development of political, economic and cultural ties between our two countries over the last decades has made these feelings of mutual respect and sympathy still stronger.

Our countries are also drawn together by the profoundly peace-loving nature of their foreign policies. The consolidation of Soviet-Indian friendship is today acquiring primary importance both from the stand point of the national interests of the two countries and from the standpoint of strengthening peace and invigorating the international situation on the whole of our planet.

Soviet Union's 'Peace Programme'

Esteemed friends,

Addressing such experienced politicians, I probably do not have to go into the details of all the concrete foreign policy steps taken by the Soviet Union in recent years. You are well aware of them and you know, for sure, that we consider it to be our task to do the utmost to promote a radical improvement of the world situation which would permit of establishing solid guarantees of peace and of ensuring peaceful co-existence, detente and a broad development of international co-operation. This is the goal of the Peace Programme formulated by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has become the platform of the foreign policy activities of our state.

Why do we attach such great significance to the fulfilment of these tasks, and to the implementation of the Peace Programme?

It is clear that to give effect to the gigantic plans for building a new society the Soviet people need peace, and a tranquil international situation, and the expansion of mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological ties with other states. And this is something that other peoples, indeed all peoples on Earth need as well.

In a wider and historical perspective, this is a question of the road to be taken by the entire development of international relations, and to a great extent by the development of the history of human society.

Effects of cold war

The experience of the last quarter of a century has shown one possible road. I mean the "cold war". Where has it led? It has led to the splitting up of the world into hostile military-political blocs and to a disruption of normal ties between many states, and it has desfigured the internal life of many countries. Its sinister offspring was the fantastic growth of the means of mass annihilation. It has revealed a remarkable ability to convert the most wonderful achievements of human genius from a boon into a bane. It is surely appropriate to recall in this connection the words of Karl Marx who likened progress under capitalism to a cruel deity that would drink nectar only from the skull of the killed!

Moreover, the "cold war" was not all that "cold". It was punctuated from time to time by real wars unleashed by the imperialists and colonialists under the motto of a struggle against communism. By providing fertile soil for the most rabid reaction, it impeded the social progress of peoples and hampered the pursuit of independent policies by many countries that had freed themselves from colonialism.

Like a vicious tornado, it drew into its orbit even those who would have liked to stand aside, and it cast a gloomy shadow upon the entire situation on our planet.

More than once the world was on the brink of nuclear war. Only at the price of great efforts was it possible to stop short at the brink—sometimes at the very last moment. But it needs only one mistake to bring upon mankind a great and irremediable disaster.

Need for lasting peace and peaceful co-operation

We do not want ourselves to follow that road, nor do we want mankind to go on following it. We see another road, a road of building up normal relations between countries, of eliminating the hotbeds of war and tensions created by imperialist policies, and of developing broad and equal co-operation among all states irrespective of their social systems. Lasting peace and peaceful co-operation among states will also create more favourable conditions for the solution of many other important problems, such as those of national liberation,

social progress, overcoming the glaring economic inequality of various countries. This is, we are sure, the only alternative to a nuclear catastrophe which, in one way or another, would result from continued and aggravated tensions in relations between states.

Peaceful co-existence

Today we can say with great satisfaction that this alternative is gradually becoming a reality. In recent years the relations between many states—relations which were previously extremely acute and tense—have been registering ever more clearly a turn towards peaceful co-existence and mutually advantageous co-operation.

What is the reason for this?

The reason lies, above all, in the fact that in our times the real might and political influence of the socialist states and of the countries that freed themselves from colonialism has increased immensely, and that the influence of these profoundly peace-loving states upon the entire system of international relations has grown.

To cut the very roots of the "cold war" it was necessary to provide its initiators with tangible proof of the futility of their hopes to topple socialism and to strangle the national-liberation revolutions of the peoples by relying on the use or threat of force. And there was only one thing which could prove the futility of their hopes, and that was the transformation of socialism and the national liberation movement into an invincible force. And they did become such an invincible force—a force bringing mankind progress, freedom and peace!

The more far-sighted leaders of the Western states, who realistically assess the situation in the world, are coming to the conclusion that the continuation of the policy of pressure, threats and building up tension holds out no prospects and is fraught with danger. The idea of peaceful co-existence which has been invariably and consistently upheld by the socialist countries has come to enjoy increasing support in the capitalist world as well. And all of us, esteemed Members of Parliament, can justly take pride in the fact that this is a historic achievement of the peace-loving policy to which both our states, the Soviet Union and India, are making a significant contribution—each in its own way.

Peace and co-operation in Europe

The positive processes presently underway in international relations are most graphically expressed, I would say, in the European continent. It is for this reason that I would venture to give you our assessment of some topical European problems.

Through the bloody experience of the two World Wars, which taught both nations and politicians a good deal, and due to the persistent efforts of the peace-loving policy of the socialist countries, which met with response and understanding among the realistically-minded circles of bourgeois Europe, the European states have in fact finally come to a common understanding that war, and especially a nuclear war, should be absolutely excluded as a means of solving European problems.

That conviction underlies the treaties and other important documents signed in recent years by socialist states and France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries of Western Europe.

And now, for the first time in the age-long history of Europe, collective efforts are being made by European states (with the participation of the United States and Canada), which at the All-European Conference have set themselves the task of jointly laying a solid foundation for new relationships in Europe—relations of peaceful co-existence and active mutually advantageous co-operation.

To elaborate a kind of a code for such peaceful relations and co-operation, which would be binding upon states and which would inspire the peoples, is certainly not a simple thing, if account is taken both of the disparity in the social system of European states and of differences as to what they regard as their national interests in one sphere or another. That is why there are debates and discussions, and a diplomatic struggle, at the All-European Conference. This is not at all surprising; it could be foreseen.

In the long run, we believe the edifice of European peace and co-operation built by joint efforts will gradually replace the present divisions of that continent into opposing politico-military blocs.

Reduction in Armed Forces and Armaments

About a month ago negotiations were started in Vienna whose purpose is to work out, for the first time in European history, an accord on the agreed multilateral reduction of forces and armaments in the centre of the continent, at the junction of the zones of the

activity of the two opposing military blocs. As we understand it, this should be a reduction from which neither side would gain unilateral advantages, while at the same time general security and mutual trust would be strengthened. The Soviet Union lays no claims to any military advantages from the contemplated reduction and it certainly cannot agree to the other side gaining them. This should be absolutely clear.

Arms Race and Disarmament

International detente provides favourable conditions to move ahead on the whole front of the struggle for an end to the arms race and for disarmament. The Soviet Union has been waging this struggle for many decades. Our efforts, and the efforts of other socialist states and of all peace-loving countries have already begun to yield tangible results. But the main task is still ahead. The arms race still continues and is fraught with no small hazards for mankind. And this is increasingly contradicting the general trend in the development of international relations towards detente and the strengthening of peaceful co-existence.

The implementation of partial steps in the sphere of disarmament such as prohibition of certain types of weapons, complete discontinuance of nuclear tests, reduction of military budgets everywhere and by all together with further measures to limit the strategic arms of the militarily strongest powers, will bring the world closer to the ultimate goal in this field, that is, to general and complete disarmament. The Soviet state has been fighting for this great goal since the very first years of its existence. It has already contributed significantly to this cause. And I want to assure the Parliament of friendly India that the land of Soviets will do its utmost to bring closer the day when the centuries-old dream of the best minds of mankind about destroying the means of mutual annihilation becomes a reality.

Relations with United States

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

For a stable change in the whole world situation towards a more enduring peace and security of unquestionably great importance are the changes for the better which have occurred in the last two years in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of

America. The essence of these changes—in terms of what is primarily important for other countries—is that the two strongest powers, a socialist one and a capitalist one, have mutually recognized, in a binding state-law form, the principle of peaceful coexistence as the basis for relations between them. What is more, they have undertaken to conduct their foreign policies in such a way as to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war.

I believe there is no need to argue that such an understanding benefits all the peoples of the world interested in the prevention of a new world war. In taking these steps to improve relations with the United States, the Soviet Union acted in accordance with the well-known principles of its peaceful socialist foreign policy. We duly appreciate the fact that the leadership of the United States of America in this instance displayed political realism, foresight and an awareness of the demands of the times.

Like all significant turning points in historical development, this turn in relations between the USSR and USA is not being made simply, it is being made under conditions of a struggle between various forces, and with certain zigzagging and hitches. We clearly see that certain quarters in the politico-military bloc of Western powers, and in the United States itself, regard as undesirable for themselves the establishment of relations of lasting peace and mutually advantageous co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States, and they are trying to oppose it in every possible way. It is also known how active such circles are in the United States though these activities, we are deeply convinced, have nothing in common with the interests of the American people.

Determination to follow the path of Detente

However, what has been achieved as a result of the Soviet-American summit talks in 1972 and 1973 in terms of directing relations between the Soviet Union and the United States on to a normal and healthy track undoubtedly meets the fundamental long-term interests both of the Soviet and American peoples and of universal peace. And permit me, dear friends, to say outright that we in the Soviet Union are convinced that nobody will succeed in obliterating this peaceful gain of a constructive policy!

The Soviet Union is fully determined to go further along the charted path of detente and peaceful co-operation. Of course, we proceed from the assumption that the American side will act likewise.

Detente in Asia

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

It is with great satisfaction that we note the fact that the great Asian continent has not remained aloof from the positive changes in international affairs. In Asia, too, the locomotive of detente and of the normalization of international relations has already started to move and is beginning to pick up speed.

Indisputably, the situation in Asia remains complicated. Guns are still firing here and the blood of patriots is being shed. There are still quite a few acute contradictions, major outstanding problems and disputes between states and hotbeds of grave tensions.

Yet, there are changes—and substantial ones at that.

A prominent part in this respect was played by the ending of the Vietnam war achieved as a result of the great victories of the Vietnamese people resting on the support of the Soviet Union and all peace forces, including India, in the struggle against imperialist aggression. With the passing of time it is becoming increasingly clear that this was the necessary prerequisite for the improvement of the situation in the Asian continent.

Other important elements of that positive process are a significant improvement of the situation in South Asia and the emergence of the independent state of Bangladesh as a rightful member of the family of Asian nations, and the broadening co-operation between Asian states. The well-known proposals of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the peaceful democratic unification of Korea have made a useful contribution to enlivening the situation in the continent.

Security of Asian Nations

In Asian countries confidence is growing in the feasibility of achieving a lasting peace and creating a stable situation here, favourable for concentrating the efforts of these countries on topical tasks of their internal development. The search is being intensified for practical ways and concrete measures, both partial and general, which would be conducive to promoting and strengthening the security of Asian states. It is on these problems that the thinking of the Asian public is concentrated, and we believe this to be a major achievement.

No small number of interesting initiatives are emerging, inspired by a concern for Asia's peaceful future, such as the idea of the neutralization of South-East Asia, the search for a formula for relationships between South Asian states which would ensure good-neighbourly co-operation between them, the proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and plans for regional co-operation.

There is also a growing interest in the idea of safeguarding security in Asia through collective efforts. The Soviet Union is known to be a determined advocate of this idea. This is not only because the greater part of the territory of our state lies in Asia. We believe that the establishment of relations of peace, security and co-operation in Asia, a continent populated by over a half of mankind, would be a step of world-historic importance in ensuring the peace and security of nations on a world-wide scale.

Consolidation of Economic Independence of Asian States

In this connection we take into account not only the political but also the economic aspects of the matter. Given lasting peace, the Asian countries will be able, for the first time, to concentrate on solving the economic and social problems they face and on developing their culture. In these circumstances it will be easier for them to consolidate their economic independence.

Resumption of Panch Shila Policy

As early as in the 1950's the Asian countries formulated the principles which envisaged the development of their relations towards peaceful coexistence and co-operation. These were the principles of Bandung as well as the policy of Panch Shila which is especially dear to India. But afterwards, for reasons which there is apparently no need to recall, this process was, so to say, frozen. We believe the time has now come to resume the movement that was interrupted.

Asia must be a Continent of Peace

And that is why it seems opportune to hold a thorough and comprehensive discussion of the idea of collective security in Asia which would help trace a common approach, acceptable to all states concerned, towards the problems of peace and security in the continent. In a word, we are calling for an active, broad and constructive discussion which would help to bring about a deeper understanding of the urgent tasks. The opportunity has arrived and the present

situation in Asia has created adequate prerequisites. Asia can and must become a continent of peace, friendship and co-operation. This great goal is worth the efforts and the struggle.

Opponents of Peace and Detente

Indeed, a struggle. For the cause of peace and detente still has numerous and quite influential opponents. These are, primarily, the forces in the capitalist world which are directly involved in military preparations, which are interested in the widest possible arms race and in boosting military expenditures. These are also the forces of extreme reaction, racialism, overt or covert colonialism and various forms of modern fascism which exist in various parts of our planet, on different continents. Together, they form a sort of united front to oppose the turn towards peaceful coexistence which has now become discernible in international relations. These are the same forces which are fighting against social progress, freedom, independence, and the equality of peoples.

All this creates no small obstacles in the way of mankind's progress towards lasting peace and good-neighbourly co-operation among nations. The achievement of the goals, which seem self-evident and so desirable for the peoples, proves to be no simple and easy matter. It requires persistence, energy, dedication and skill in overcoming the resistance of the opponents of detente. It requires the effective solidarity of all those who stand for peace and progress. The contribution of every peace-loving state is important, and indeed, the contribution of countries such as India and the Soviet Union playing as they do a tremendous role in international affairs.

Middle East Events

A striking example of the complexity of present-day international relations was provided by the events of the recent weeks in the Middle East which became a focal point of the inter-action of many of the opposing forces in the world today.

Now, after some relatively brief but violent fighting, calm has set in there. The hostilities have been stopped. But the ruins are still smouldering, the graves of thousands of victims are still fresh, the hostile armies are confronting each other with their arms at the ready. It is clear that urgent measures must be taken to prevent new bloodshed and to establish a stable peace. But for this to be done, the lessons of the past should be learned.

What conclusions can be drawn from the recent events in the Middle East and around it?

Conclusions of the Middle East War

First of all, the new war has shown with all clarity the inadmissibility of a further continuation of the explosive situation in the Middle East, the inadmissibility of the further presence of the aggressor on the lands he seized by force. Unless an early peace settlement is reached, unless all the consequences of Israeli aggression are eliminated, a new and even more dangerous military explosion may occur in the Middle East at any moment.

The hostilities have made it crystal clear that the Arab world today is not what it was six years ago. They have shown the increased strength of the Arab states, the victims of aggression, and they have dispelled the myth of the invincibility of Israel's armed forces. At the same time the world has witnessed the effective solidarity of the states of the Arab world, which was evident both in the military sphere and in the implementation of political and economic measures to defend common interests in the international arena.

Soviet Union's Assistance to Arab Countries

Practical proof was also provided of the high effectiveness of the solidarity and friendly assistance given to the Arab peoples in their just struggle by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by many states in Asia, Africa and other continents. The political and diplomatic isolation of Israel resulting from its aggressive policies has become especially obvious these days.

At the same time the events of the past weeks have given us yet another proof of the usefulness for universal peace of the work already done in recent years to normalize international relations and to ease international tensions, in the first place in relations between the biggest states with different social systems.

Threats to Universal Peace

I trust that the distinguished Members of Parliament will agree with me that without this factor of detente in the world which emerged in the last 2 or 3 years, the state of affairs would have been quite different. Were the present conflict to break out in an atmosphere of general international tension and of exacerbated relations,

say, between the United States and the Soviet Union, the clash in the Middle East could have been considerably more dangerous, it could have acquired dimensions threatening universal peace.

And it can be said for sure that in such a case there would have been no possibility for a joint initiative by the USSR and the United States which was supported by other states and has led to the well-known decisions of the Security Council on the Middle East and has made the cease-fire possible.

Vacation of occupied Territories by Israel

At present the main task is to secure, at long last, a stable peace settlement in the Middle East in the course of the forthcoming negotiations. This requires that the lands seized by Israel be returned to their legitimate owners, that justice with regard to the Arab people of Palestine be ensured and that a foundation be laid on this basis for durable peaceful co-existence and good-neighbourly relations between the Arab states and the state of Israel. Otherwise there will be neither peace, nor tranquillity in the area.

Historic responsibility rests on the participants in the forthcoming negotiations.

As regards the Soviet Union, it has no selfish interests in the Middle East whatsoever. Our only profound desire is to see that a genuinely stable peace, a just peace, is finally established in that part of the world, situated in proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union. And the Soviet Union, for its part, will do everything to actively facilitate this.

India's stand appreciated

We highly appreciate the position taken with regard to the Middle East events by the Republic of India which resolutely and unambiguously backed the just cause of the Arab peoples. The stand taken by India is not fortuitous. On the contrary, it is indicative of her general role in modern international relations as a peace-loving state actively fighting for the cause of peace and for the peoples' rights.

India's Foreign Policy

After its liberation, India can be said to have played the role, of an innovator paving the way for the independent foreign policies

of young states. It was one of the sponsors of the historic Bandung Conference, the first big anti-imperialist forum of Afro-Asian states. India was at the source of the movement of non-alignment and contributed to the formulation of its progressive principles. Anti-colonialist and anti-racialist pronouncements, opposition to imperialist military blocs, support for peoples fighting for their national liberation and dedication to the principles of peace and peaceful coexistence have all justly won high prestige for India's policy.

India's contribution in normalizing South Asia Situation

The great contribution which India is making to the normalization of the situation in South Asia is generally known. With its active participation, important agreements have been worked out which laid the foundations for good-neighbourly relations between all States of the region. Today, for the first time, conditions are taking shape in the Subcontinent for a crucial turn to good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation. All sincere friends of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan and all truly peace-loving states can only rejoice in this development.

India's Growing Role

It is no secret that India's new role and the enhancement of her prestige and influence in the world are not to everyone's liking. Some are even trying to impede this. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we welcome this historic change. In India's growing international role we see a convincing manifestation of the current process of deep democratization of international relations and the transformation of the peoples who for centuries were the object of policies pursued by others into equal participants in and creators of international life. Another reason why we welcome India's new role is because her policy is aimed at achieving objectives which are at the same time the objectives of Soviet policy, that is, the struggle against colonialism against aggressive imperialist wars, and for strengthening peace and envigorating the international situation.

Consolidation of Independent India

The years of the consolidation of independent India were at the same time the years of strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship. We

started from a few contacts and arrived at a broad and close co-operation in the most varied fields, a co-operation based on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation.

Strengthening of Friendship and Co-operation between the two countries

We note with great satisfaction that the task of the further development of co-operation between our countries is meeting with full understanding and active support on the part of the Government of India, led by the outstanding stateswoman and ardent patriot Madame Indira Gandhi.

The idea that Soviet-Indian friendship is indispensable and beneficial has seized the minds of millions both in India and in the Soviet Union. And this constitutes the most solid foundation for the further successful growth of our relations.

Permit me to express the hope that the Indian Parliament will continue to promote Soviet-Indian co-operation. We in the Soviet Union as well, I can assure you, will be working in this direction. Our policy of strengthening friendship between the Soviet Union and India in every possible way is a policy which is firm and invariable.

In conclusion, may I ask the permission of the distinguished Members of Parliament to extend through you once again greetings to the great people of India and to wish them happiness and prosperity.

Thank you.

THANKS-GIVING SPEECH BY DR. G. S. DHILLON, SPEAKER OF LOK SABHA

Your excellency, Mr. Chairman, Madame Prime Minister, Members of Parliament and Friends,

It is a matter of proud privilege and genuine pleasure for me to express, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Members of Parliament and the 547 million people of this land whom they represent, our feelings of spontaneous joy at your visit. I extend to your Excellency our heartiest gratitude and warm appreciation for your very inspiring and endearing address this evening. All of us will cherish the memory of this occasion for long.

You are here, your Excellency, not only as an important leader from a country with whom India had particularly close relations; you are to us specially welcome as a sincere friend, a genuine well-wisher who, we know, has been taking keen interest in the shaping and nurturing of a policy of close cooperation and friendship which our peoples have come to value greatly. The warm and affectionate welcome accorded to you on arrival and the scenes of spontaneous rejoicing that greeted you wherever you went in the last four days truly reflect the great esteem in which your country is held by our people.

Indo-Soviet Friendship

The friendship between India and the Soviet Union is one rooted in the hearts of our peoples. And it is not a sapling of yester year. Long before India became free, our peoples were drawn together in ever so many ways. As the world knows, Mahatma Gandhi was profoundly influenced by the great thinker Tolstoy. Our freedom movement itself derived encouragement and hope from the Russian Revolution. Our leaders—notably our distinguished and beloved late Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru—drew inspiration from the Soviet example—your great struggle and your greater accomplishments. It is this affinity in our background that has bound our peoples in their deep-seated faith in the ideals of human equality, freedom, development, eradication of poverty and stout opposition to colonialism and racism. What is more natural than that, with our Independence the relations between our two countries should have steadily grown—broadened, deepened and matured to put forth foliage and fruit with the years.

Peaceful Co-existence and Constructive Co-operation

Thanks to the unprecedented march of Science, we are living in a very compact world today. More than ever before, mankind has now to think and act in overall universal interest. There can be no true happiness in this little habitation of ours when sections of its peoples are held in bondage or deprived of their basic human needs. It is a tribute to your wisdom and farsightedness, Your Excellency, that you were among the very first world statesmen to recognise the basic five principles of peaceful co-existence. It was one of the foundational principles of your great nation—and a principle which you have adhered to with a sense of commitment and determination and dedication—that the peoples of the world must come together and develop and grow through mutual cooperation, and sharing of knowledge, skills and resources. The relations between our two

countries, as is well known, are based on such ideals of constructive cooperation between our two peoples.

The Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation indeed follow the path of reason which should govern relations amongst all nations. Through our record of friendship and cooperation over the years we have demonstrated to the world how two progressive peaceloving peoples can constructively cooperate in various fields. Events over the last few years have amply shown how much cooperation, besides being mutually beneficial and enriching, can and does serve the cause of peace and stability. May I say, Your Excellency, that a visit by a leader of your eminence, has greatly strengthened the ties of Indo-Soviet friendship and brought our peoples ever and even closer.

May I once again thank Your Excellency on behalf of all the Members assembled here and say how happy we are at your coming and request you to convey the sincere and warm hearted greetings of our Parliament and the people to the great people of the Soviet Union.

IMPACT OF FINANCIAL COMMITTEES' RECOMMENDATIONS ON
ADMINISTRATION*

[A series of articles highlighting the impact of recommendations of the Financial Committees of Parliament on the Administration was started with the April 1970 issue of the *Journal*. Continuing the series, we publish in this issue two articles on "The National Cooperative Development Corporation" and "Central Government Employees' Consumer Cooperative Society Ltd., New Delhi" based on the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee.

—Editor]

I. THE NATIONAL COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Constitution and Finance

The National Cooperative Development Corporation was set up in 1963 with the object of planning and promoting programme for the production, processing, storage and marketing of agricultural produce and notified commodities through cooperative societies. The Corporation maintains the "National Cooperative Development Fund" fed by loans and grants from the Government of India which is used to advance loans and grants to State Governments and national-level cooperative federations for implementing various schemes for the cooperative sector. It is a successor to the National Cooperative Development and Warehousing Board which was set up in 1956, following the recommendations of the All India Rural Credit Survey Committee.¹

One of the considerations of the All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee in recommending establishment of a statutory body with an independent fund of its own was to "insulate the processing, marketing and other cooperative development programmes from the limitations of annual budgetary allocations" as a prelude to their becoming "a non-departmental and non-Government activity." The Public Accounts Committee, in their Hundred and Sixth Report (1969-70), observed that this objective had not been achieved and the National Cooperative Development Corporation functioned just like any other Government department, the funds provided to it by Government being subject to lapse, if not utilised, at the end of the

¹PAC, 106th Report (1969-70), paras 1. 1.5 and 1.6.

financial year. Further, in view of the fact that there had been in existence a full-fledged Department of Cooperation under the Government, since 1958, the Committee expressed a doubt whether the existence of an official organisation like the National Cooperative Development Corporation was at all necessary.²

The Committee were unable to accept the arguments advanced by Government for routing assistance to States through the Corporation, namely, that the arrangement (i) prevented diversion of assistance by States to other sectors, (ii) secured association of the Corporation with the implementation of cooperative schemes thereby facilitating formulation of programmes on sound and realistic lines, and (iii) ensured association of non-official leadership with the cooperative movement. The Committee felt that the Corporation was not in a position effectively to stop diversion of funds by the States. Further any evaluation of schemes for which assistance was released by the Corporation could well be done by the Department of Cooperation or other agencies like the Programme Evaluation Division. As regards securing association of non-official leadership with the cooperative movement, the Committee were of the opinion that the purpose could be secured equally well by devices such as Informal Consultative Committees.³

The Public Accounts Committee, therefore, desired the Government to conduct a detailed expert study about the necessity for the continuance of the National Cooperative Development Corporation. "In any case, even if there is justification for the organisation, the present system of channelising Central assistance to the States through the Corporation does not appear to be necessary", the Committee observed.⁴

In pursuance of the Committee's recommendations the Government appointed an Expert Committee to examine the working of the National Cooperative Development Corporation, and report by 30th April, 1971. The terms of reference of the Expert Committee included the following:

- (i) to review the working of the National Co-operative Development Corporation with a view to assessing to what extent the objectives for which it was established have been achieved.
- (ii) to examine whether there is need for the continuance of

²*Ibid*; para 1.20.

³*Ibid*; para 1.19.

⁴*Ibid*; para 1.21.

the Corporation; and if so to suggest modifications, if any, in the scope of its existing activities.

- (iii) to examine whether the present system of channelising Central assistance to the States through the Corporation is necessary and to suggest any change, modifications of improvement therein.⁵

Co-operative Marketing Societies

The Public Accounts Committee pointed out that the statistics about the growth of cooperative marketing societies, though they looked impressive, concealed quite a few vital deficiencies in the cooperative marketing movement. For instance, the increase in the "owned funds" of primary societies from Rs. 3.82 crores in 1957-58 to Rs. 33.13 crores in 1966-67 was largely due to "progressive increase in financial support from Government". Again, the spurt in the turnover of the primary marketing societies from Rs. 70 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 412 crores in 1967-68 had to be weighed against several factors. In the first place, the turnover was attributable to a relatively small proportion of societies. Secondly, the Committee observed, the figures of turnover were not by themselves very reliable. The Committee in this context referred to the findings of the Reserve Bank Survey of 22 primary marketing societies, which indicated that the reported turnover of marketing societies included "even fictitious marketing transactions", apart from pledged produce which the loanees had redeemed from the societies for sale through alternative channels.

Another Committee, viz., Dantwala Committee, also recognised the "possibility of inaccuracies and also duplications in the statistics at the primary level". Sixty to seventy per cent of the agricultural produce handled was attributable to the States for the Food Corporation giving the societies "a virtual monopoly in procurement operation." As regards agricultural requisites, it had been pointed out that the fertilisers accounted for the bulk of the sale and that in most of the States, cooperatives had been appointed as 'sole agents' for distribution of agricultural requisites including chemical fertilisers.

The Government, however, stated that the large increase in the Government's contribution to the share capital of primary marketing societies had also been accompanied by a substantial step-up in

⁵PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), pages 69 to 72.

⁶PAC, 106th Report (1969-70), paras 2.2 and 2.3 to 2.26.

the members' share capital and reserves. While there had been an average annual increase of Rs. 1.51 crores in the share capital contributed by the State Governments, this increase was of the order of Rs. 1.85 crores in the case of share capital collected from members and reserves. The Government stated that the practice of recording fictitious marketing transactions was reported only in one district. With a view to obviating any inaccuracies and duplication in the statistics, separate statistical cells were stated to have been set up at the State level in all the States.

The Committee were not satisfied with the progress made by the cooperative marketing societies in enlisting members. While the Government's share capital contribution had risen from Rs. 0.64 crores in 1957-58 to Rs. 15.75 crores in 1967-68 recording an increase of 2361 per cent, the paid up share capital of members had risen from Rs. 1.57 crores to Rs. 7.98 crores only during the corresponding period accounting for an increase of 409 per cent. It was thus obvious that the members' share capital consistently lagged far behind the contribution of the Government which phenomenon needed to be arrested if the cooperative movement was to be a success. The Committee suggested that concerted measures should be taken to increase the members' share in the capital structure of the societies to at least match the contribution of the Government.⁷

According to the Public Accounts Committee, the most serious qualifications concerning the marketing operations of the societies was the fact pointed out by the Reserve Bank in their sample survey that 'in a number of societies, the agencies from whom they purchased the produce were traders' and 'the agency on whom they depended for the sale of the produce were also the traders to a very large extent'.⁸

The Government informed the Committee that with the progressive development in integrated marketing, the dependence on traders for sale of produce would decrease. Since 1964-65, the Government added, the inter-State trade in the cooperative sector had increased from Rs. 5.76 crores to Rs. 56.86 crores in 1968-69.⁹

The Public Accounts Committee observed that the experience gained in the past had suggested that planning for this sector had been impractical and unbusinesslike. There had been what the

⁷PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), paras 1.5 to 1.10 and pages 22-27.

⁸PAC, 106th Report (1969-70), para 2.27.

⁹PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), pages 28-29.

Reserve Bank Survey had characterised as a "target approach" to the whole movement, which had resulted in proliferation of societies with "very little attention" to "appropriate norms in regard to the coverage of area, the volume of agricultural produce, etc." to be handled by the societies. The Committee, therefore, felt that the accent during the Fourth Plan should be on consolidation of the position of existing societies rather than on creation of new ones.¹⁰

The Government expressed the view that planning in this sector could not be termed to have been impractical and unbusinesslike. The Government nevertheless admitted that they were aware of the "areas of weakness" of the cooperative marketing structure, and assured the Committee that "conscious efforts are being made to develop these co-operatives as viable and efficient organisations". The Committee were further informed that their recommendation had been incorporated in the Fourth Plan document, emphasising that "consistently with the programmes for increasing agricultural production, steps will be taken to strengthen the existing cooperative marketing structure, especially at the primary level". The accent, thus in the 4th Plan was on strengthening of the existing structure rather than expansion.

The Committee pointed out that the Dantwala Committee had recommended revitalisation of weak cooperative marketing societies as far back as 1966 and the State Governments had been asked to draw up a phased programme to identify and strengthen weaker societies and if found necessary to liquidate dormant societies. They found that only 7 States (Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu Kerala, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh) were reported to have selected societies for strengthening. Even in regard to these States the Committee did not get any precise idea of the contemplated programme in the absence of Statewise details of weaker societies and the steps taken or proposed to be taken to revitalise them. The Committee desired that special steps should be taken to have a targetted programme for a proper survey to identify weak and moribund societies and strengthen|liquidate them early in all the States.

The Committee further desired that there should be a six-monthly review of the progress made in the consolidation of existing societies by obtaining necessary data from the States.¹¹

¹⁰PAC, 106th Report (1969-70), para 2.29.

¹¹PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), page 36 and para 1.14.

Financial Assistance for Development of Processing Societies

During 1967-68, the Corporation provided financial assistance amounting to Rs. 451.88 lakhs for the implementation of various co-operative processing programmes. The total assistance provided by the Corporation for cooperative processing schemes upto the end of 1967-68 aggregated about Rs. 26 crores. While the performance of the processing societies had been impressive in certain spheres, notably in the field of sugarcane processing, where the cooperative factories between them accounted for a third of the country's sugar production, the overall position was considered unsatisfactory by the Public Accounts Committee, who made the following suggestions for bringing about improvement in their working:

- (i) a reasonable period should be granted for the installation of a processing unit and if the unit was not installed within that period, the financial assistance given to it should be recovered;
- (ii) the assistance should be phased out over a large number of instalments which should be related to the progress of work;
- (iii) stress should be laid on the modernisation of conventional units where utilisation had been high rather than on the organisation of the new ones.¹²

The above suggestions of the Committee were accepted by the Government for implementation.¹³

Co-operative Godowns

Following a review of the progress in the construction of co-operative godowns, it was noticed in 1969 that the position was not satisfactory in some of the States. The backlog was particularly heavy in respect of rural godowns assisted under the "crash programmes". The Public Accounts Committee pointed out that nearly a third of the Centrally-assisted godowns had not come up. It was also pointed out that construction work in respect of a number of the godowns had commenced as far back between 1956-57 and 1960-61 and in a large number of other cases, construction had been abandoned before completion.

¹²PAC, 106th Report (1969-70), paras 3.7 and 3.30.

¹³PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), pages 41-42.

The utilisation of the capacity of completed godowns, as reflected in sample surveys carried out by the Corporation, had also not been very satisfactory. 32 per cent of the godowns covered by the survey utilised 75 per cent of their effective capacity and 31 per cent of godowns to the extent of 41 to 75 per cent. While 30 per cent of godowns utilised capacity to the extent of 11 to 40 per cent, 7 per cent of godowns had not been utilised to more than 10 per cent of their effective capacity. The Public Accounts Committee also found that renting of godowns by the cooperative societies to Government was quite common and that construction of new storage capacity in some places "was well ahead of and in excess of demand". The Committee felt that faulty location of godowns was yet another factor which seemed to have substantially impeded utilisation of capacity.¹⁴

Regarding the progress in construction of godowns, the Government informed the Committee that 90 per cent of the godowns had already been constructed and only 10 per cent were pending completion. These too were stated to be under various stages of construction.

As regards the 'dropped' godowns, the Government stated that such godowns were less than 3 per cent of the total assisted godowns. The Government did not consider this number as large. They, however, added that broad guidelines had been communicated to the State Governments for the selection of locations for construction of godowns. The selection of locations was left to the discretion of the State Governments for they were the implementing agency in the field and hence were in a better position to take decision about the suitability of location. The Corporation, however, kept a watch on the progress of construction in each State, analysed various problems and suggested suitable measures to the concerned Government. These included: construction of godowns within a reasonable period not exceeding two years, release of financial assistance in two instalments instead of one, planning of location of godowns on maps and laying down criteria for allotment of godowns to village societies to ensure their economic functioning.

In view of the time-lag between release of assistance and construction of godowns and the fact that a large number of godowns were ultimately dropped, the Committee suggested that the release

¹⁴PAC, 106th Report (1969-70), paras 4.11 4.12 and 4.22 to 4.24.

of assistance should be more progress oriented so that the entire funds may not be released before the actual commencement of construction.¹⁵

As regards under-utilisation of godowns, it was stated by Government that the study in this regard conducted by the officers of the National Cooperative Development Corporation was based on random sampling and hence was of a very limited nature. The State Governments had since been advised to undertake the studies regarding utilisation of godowns in their respective areas. Eight States, viz., Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, had already undertaken such studies which indicated that the position was particularly encouraging in the first five States. The State Governments had been advised to carry on such studies on a continuous basis so as to assess the extent of utilisation of godowns and take necessary remedial measures. The Committee desired that studies regarding utilisation of godowns should be undertaken by the remaining States early. They also expressed the view that the reasons for low utilisation of godowns had not been adequately investigated and explained by Government. They desired that a comprehensive study be made of the position and purposeful steps taken to remedy the situation and to maximise the utilisation of godowns.¹⁶

Regional Imbalances

The Working Group of the Administrative Reforms Commission on Cooperation had observed that the progress of the cooperative credit movement was uneven as between different regions, different States and different areas within a State, and that the Eastern region having 17 per cent of the cropped area of the country and 27 per cent of the rural population accounted for only 8.6 per cent of the total short and medium-term credit borrowed by primary agricultural societies in the country, whereas the Western region with 26 per cent of the cropped area and 17 per cent of the rural population accounted for 42.8 per cent of the total cooperative credit in the country. The Public Accounts Committee also felt that the progress of the cooperative movement in the country had been very uneven. The movement had yet to strike firm roots in States like Rajasthan, Bihar and Orissa, which were comparatively less developed in this regard than regions like Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab.

¹⁵PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), paras 1.15 to 1.19.

¹⁶*Ibid*; paras 1.20 to 1.23.

The Committee recognised that the development of cooperatives in these areas would be conditioned largely by sound leadership and the popular support for the movement and that the provision of financial incentives by Government could not by itself effectively fill up these voids. However, the Committee hoped that the Government would do well to examine how best the movement could be stimulated in these areas by enlisting the support of the public which should be suitably educated for this purpose.¹⁷

Admitting that the progress of the cooperative movement in the country had been very uneven, the Government informed the Committee that the reasons for the lack of progress of the movement in the Eastern States (Assam, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and the Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura) were analysed as lack of non-official leadership, inadequate and untrained staff, wrong policies followed in mixing credit with trading activities, comparative negligence in drawing up programmes of development, bad location of marketing societies, etc. The Government stated that a scheme for special additional Central assistance for cooperative schemes in these States was drawn up and such assistance was given under a Centrally-sponsored scheme during the periods from 1962-63 to 1968-69 in the Eastern States, and from 1966-67 to 1968-9 in the Rajasthan. This scheme of special assistance was, however, discontinued from 1969-70 on account of the decision of the National Development Council to reduce the number of Centrally-sponsored schemes and make available Central assistance for the State Plan schemes in the form of block grants and loans. Certain other measures taken for assisting these States were, however, continuing. These provided, among other things, for a lower percentage of share capital from members for establishing cooperative sugar factories and the processing units in these areas.

“Basically”, the Ministry added, “the responsibility for implementing the accepted policies and programmes for strengthening the cooperative movement rests with the State Government”. Moreover, the Central Government and the Reserve Bank had been drawing the attention of the State Governments to the areas of weakness and to the need for giving priority and making adequate financial provisions for the cooperative development schemes in the annual plans.

¹⁷P.A.C., 106th Report (1969-70). paras 8.4 and 8.5.

The Public Accounts Committee expressed the hope that Government would take expeditious steps to eliminate the regional imbalances with growth of cooperative movement in the country.¹⁸

Vested Interests in Co-operatives

The Public Accounts Committee were disturbed to find that vested interests were "subverting the working of the cooperatives in the country". According to the Committee, these interests had managed to perpetuate themselves in office and corner "the lion's share" of the societies' services for "self, friends and relatives". The Committee observed that a host of devices had been employed by them such as "restrictions on admission of fresh members", avoiding general-body meetings, "manipulating elections", employing near relations in the paid services of cooperatives, "granting liberal loans to friends and relatives", not recovering these loans etc. The scope for self-aggrandisement and personal enrichment, according to the Committee, could be very vast, considering that the National Co-operative Development Corporation alone had extended assistance aggregating Rs. 90 crores to cooperatives till the end of 1967-68. Besides, the Government had, on their own, been extending assistance on a sizable scale for schemes connected with consumer cooperatives, labour cooperatives, thrift and credit societies.

The Committee were of the view that measures to remedy the situation had not yet been even attempted. They desired the Government to take up the matter with the State Governments in right earnest, so that suitable legislative and administrative measures were initiated without further delay. According to the Public Accounts Committee, one of the aims should be to ensure that positions of influence in cooperative societies were not monopolised by a few influential persons and no one was allowed to hold more than one or two key posts at the apex, district or *taluka* level.

The Committee were later informed by the Government that it was primarily the responsibility of the State Governments to implement suitable measures including legislation and curb the growth of vested interests in Cooperatives. The Central Government had been impressing upon the State Governments the need for effective action in the Annual Conference of the Registrars of Cooperative Societies and the State Ministers in-charge of Cooperation. Several

¹⁸PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), paras 1.32 to 1.34.

¹⁹PAC, 106th Report (1969-70), paras 9.15 to 9.19.

State Governments, it was stated, had already incorporated provisions in their respective Cooperative Societies Acts/Rules for curbing the growth of vested interests in cooperatives. The Committee were further informed that the Central Government would review the position from time to time and also continue to pursue the matter with the States.²⁰

Conclusions

The review made by the Public Accounts Committee of the progress in certain sectors of cooperative activity, like marketing, processing and storage, indicated a number of shortcomings in these sectors. The Committee summed up their observations in the following terms:

- (i) The organisation of societies had proceeded in a manner which had resulted in accelerated organisation of a number of co-operative societies without adequate investigation about their viability.
- (ii) Ambitious plans for organisation of new societies had suffered for lack of a purposeful follow-up.
- (iii) The co-operative movement was still largely dependent on Government for its survival. While Government support was essential, the societies should be encouraged to stand on their own legs.
- (iv) Vested interests had secured a hold on a number of societies, which they were turning to their advantage.
- (v) The progress of the movement in different States had so far been uneven.

The Committee desired that steps should be taken to de-officialise the cooperative movement, which was essentially a voluntary activity. The proliferation of official agencies was not in the Committee's opinion conducive to de-officialisation of cooperative movement. The Committee, therefore, suggested reconsideration of the need for an organisation like the National Cooperative Development Corporation.²¹

While agreeing with the principle that the cooperative movement was essentially a voluntary activity and should be developed as such, the Government informed the Committee that all aspects of the working of the National Cooperative Development Corporation would be considered by the Expert Committee appointed for the purpose.²²

²⁰PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), pages 52-54.

²¹PAC, 196th Report (1969-70), paras 10.2 and 10.4.

²²PAC, 23rd Report (1971-72), pages 54-55.

II. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' CONSUMER COOPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD., NEW DELHI.

The Central Government Employees' Consumer Cooperative Society Ltd., New Delhi, was set up in April, 1963 in pursuance of a decision taken by the Union Cabinet on the recommendations of the Staff Welfare Review Committee and the Second Pay Commission. The Society, intended to supply essential goods to Government employees at reasonable prices has been running a number of stores in Delhi selling rationed commodities, groceries, textiles, general merchandise, footwear confiscated goods, etc.¹

Losses Incurred by the Society

The Society had been incurring losses since 1965-66. The cumulative losses upto January, 1968 amounted to over Rs. 11 lakhs. Commenting on the working of the Society, the Public Accounts Committee observed in their Hundred and Second Report (1969-70) that the losses incurred by the Society not only wiped out its share capital amounting to Rs. 8.89 lakhs, including Government's contribution of Rs. 4.67 lakhs, but also forced the Society to subsist on borrowed funds derived mainly from the Government. To keep the Society going, the Government had been obliged to give a moratorium on outstanding loans amounting to Rs. 24 lakhs.

Apart from the share capital support amounting to more than 50 per cent, the Government subsidised the expenditure on the staff to the tune of Rs. 6.47 lakhs over a period of six years. The loans given by the Government carried a concessional rate of interest of 4.5 per cent as against the commercial rate of 8 per cent. Also, the accommodation for most of the stores had been provided at a concessional rate of rent of Re. 1 per month| quarter.²

The Government apprised the Committee of the main reasons for the losses incurred by the Society. It was stated that the Society had its branches located in far-flung places and it was difficult to get

¹PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.1, 1.2 and 1.10.

²*Ibid*; paras 1.16 and 1.17.

the required number of trained and experienced supervisors with could function "effectively and honestly" for its various stores. The Government, on their part, had no hesitation in admitting that "due to inadequacy of proper supervision at various levels, the efficiency of the functioning of the Society suffered considerably". It was, however, maintained that the position was improving as a result of the closure of uneconomic stores|ration units, constant watch on the increase of over-head charges, regularity in carrying out physical verification of stocks, recover of the value of shortages of goods from staff; and quick disposal of damaged goods.³

Uneconomic Stores

The Department of Cooperation had formulated certain norms for gauging the efficiency of cooperative departmental stores. Among these, there was a norm fixing the amount of sales per man-day. A Study Team of the Department of Cooperation, which evaluated the working of the Society in 1968, found that retail stores were opened by the Society without regard to their functioning as viable and efficient units. "It is regrettable", the Public Accounts Committee observed, "that the management of the Society opened branches without carrying out any market surveys or assessing the demand in the locality of their proposed operations". According to the Committee, the management did not show sufficient alertness even after it came to their notice in April, 1966 that as many as 15 out of 32 stores of the Society were uneconomic. It took them over ten months to decide that a thorough study of the situation should be made, and another year or two to close down some of the uneconomic units. It appeared to the Committee that the Board of Directors neither set up standards of performance for the management nor periodically reviewed their working.⁴

The Government explained in reply that the branches of the stores of the Society were opened as a welfare measure mainly on the consistent pressure from the Welfare Associations of the Central Government employees for providing amenities to members of the Society living in different areas. In these circumstances, the Government felt, economic consideration based on estimated profit or loss could not have received due weightage. According to them, the Board of Directors did take stock of the situation from time to

³PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), pages 8-9.

⁴PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), paras 1.02; 1.21 and 1.26.

time and thereafter decided to close down uneconomic stores, depending upon the extent of welfare purpose served by them. The Committee did not desire to pursue the matter further.⁵

Sales Operations

About 75 per cent of the Society's sales were in 'low-margin' goods like groceries and rationed commodities. Even departments capable of yielding higher margins, like textiles, footwear, etc., ran into losses. Referring to the instances of "heavy stock" and "slow-moving items" in departments like footwear and crockery, the Public Accounts Committee observed that the losses could have been avoided had those departments been organised to cater to consumers' requirements.⁶

The Government admitted that detailed study and periodic analysis of consumers' requirements, which were not carried out on a very systematic basis, could have provided the necessary data for evolving a sound purchase policy. They, however, claimed that as a result of the steps subsequently taken to make purchases on realistic basis, there had been marked increase in the sales.⁷

Purchase and Inventory Control

An Inspecting Audit Team found in 1968 that during the period 1963 to 1967, large quantities of grocery, which constituted the bulk of the Society's trading activities, were purchased at rates higher than those prevailing in the market and sometimes these were purchased from outside Delhi, when the same were locally available at lower rates. The Audit Team also drew attention to "the lack of purchase planning", the "non-existence of purchase order books" and the absence of any independent check on the purchase transactions of the Society. The Study Team of the department of Co-operation too pointed out in 1968 that there was "no scientific or rational system of inventory control". Goods purchased were neither of standard quality, nor was there any proper assortment of varieties which could provide good selection. There were no floor or ceiling limits

⁵PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), pages 18-19.

⁶PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.37.

⁷PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), page 13.

for the stocks, with the result that purchases were made haphazardly without any regard to sales targets. In that context, the study Team specifically made mention of heavy stocks of textiles, confiscated goods and footwear. Summing up the situation faced by the Society, the Public Accounts Committee observed that in the circumstances "about 60 per cent of the stock will have to be disposed of by clearance sale" which would inevitably entail substantial losses.⁸

The Government explained in reply that certain commodities like pulses and spices were purchased direct from the producing centres as the rates there were always less than the rates prevailing in Delhi.

Explaining the reasons for the accumulation of stocks in the textile department, the Government stated that while planning its purchases, the Society did keep in view the seasonal requirements, stock position, new varieties, etc., but some of the items did not sell as fast as the others. Some varieties obtained from the mills were outdated by later varieties and thus remained unsold. Bulk purchases from mills it was stated, had its own advantages. The Government, however, claimed that in so far as textiles were concerned, the Society had been able to clear old stocks by organising clearance sales and purchasing goods of current designs and varieties.⁹

Overhead Expenses

The guidelines laid down by the Department of Co-operation provided for 6 per cent margin on sales to cover overhead expenses of cooperative departmental stores. But, notwithstanding the management's exhortations for economy and ample rent-free facilities enjoyed by the Society, its overhead expenses continued increasing over the years. The position had not been substantially improved, even after it was pointed out by the Study Team of the Department of Co-operation in 1968 that overhead expenses were "quite high". in relation to the gross margin of 2.4 per cent.¹⁰

The Committee were later informed by the Government despite inherent difficulties, the overhead expenses had been brought down from 14.03 per cent of sales in 1968-69 to 12.34 per cent in

⁸PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.53.

⁹PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), pages 20 and 21.

¹⁰PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.61.

1969-70. The Government further added that the overhead expenses in the case of stores of the society were likely to exceed the limit prescribed by the Study Team of the Department of Cooperation, because of the fact that the stores were housed in residential buildings having a number of small rooms. It was argued that the economy in overhead charges which could be effected in a departmental stores under one roof could not possibly be effected in the stores of the Society, which were situated in far-flung places and housed in Small rooms of residential buildings. While appreciating the Government's contention, the Public Accounts Committee desired that a suitable norm for the Society should be got fixed through an independent work study which could take cognisance of the peculiar features of the working of the Society. They also suggested that efforts should be made to bring down the overhead expenses even by reduction in staff.¹¹

Management and Supervision

One of the major factors contributing to the losses of the Society was stated to be large-scale pilferage from the stores. The Public Accounts Committee felt that "extensive pilfering by the employees over the years not only highlights laxity of control by the management, but also points to their failure in their primary duty to recruit proper personnel after verifying their character and antecedents."¹² According to the Government, however, suitable candidates were not forthcoming in view of "very unattractive" pay scales prescribed by the Society. The Government assured the Committee that they were not sparing any efforts to obtain the services of qualified persons on deputation. As per the Committee's recommendation action was duly taken to verify the character and antecedents of all the employees.¹³

It was the Committee's feeling that the Society was "saddled with a top-heavy administration, with very little supervision at the ground level." The Committee secured the admission by the representative of the Ministry of Home Affairs that the management did not succeed in imbuing a large number of people "with the kind of feeling of identification with the undertaking which a private trade

¹¹PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), paras 1.16 to 1.22.

¹²PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), paras 1.66 and 1.88.

¹³PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), pages 15-16.

has."¹⁴ Explaining the efforts made in this direction, the Government informed the Committee that it was precisely with the above object in view that an incentive scheme had been introduced in July 1970. Under this scheme, the sales staff would be entitled to get a pay raise, depending upon the extent of increase recorded in the scales beyond the prescribed norms.¹⁵

Future of the Society

In conclusion, the Public Accounts Committee expressed their doubt whether in view of its past record the Society could be kept going as a viable unit, even after its activities had been overhauled. The Committee noted that the Government, who themselves shared some of their apprehensions in the matter, were taking stock of the situation. The Committee felt that by gradually shedding its work in rationed commodities with a view to cutting its losses, the Society had given up "any pretensions to welfare activities." Moreover, another cooperative organisation, i.e., the Super Bazar, had since been established to cater to the residual requirements which the Society was intended to meet. In the circumstances, the Committee desired the Government "seriously to consider whether any worthwhile objective would be secured by allowing the Society to continue and whether further losses to Government could not be cut by winding up the Society."¹⁶

The Government stated in reply that the position of the Society during 1969-70 had improved considerably after the Board of Administration (abolished in August 1968) was revived in July 1969 and major changes in the management personnel made. The half-yearly and annual accounts (provisional) prepared as on 31-12-1969 and 30-6-1970 had exhibited net loss of Rs. 2.58 lakhs and Rs. 1.60 lakhs, respectively, as against Rs. 8.16 lakhs in 1966-69.

In view of the reported improvement in the working of the Society and the cause served by it, the Government proposed to watch its performance for some more time, before taking a final decision as to whether or not the Society should be wound up. The Public Accounts Committee (1971-72) desired that Government should come to a decision on the basis of the working results of the Society for the year 1970-71 and keep them informed of their decision. The Committee also suggested that the working results showing profit/loss in

¹⁴PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.75.

¹⁵PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), pages 23-24.

¹⁶PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.80.

respect of (i) rationed articles, (ii) other articles, and (iii) Customs confiscated goods should be brought out separately in order to facilitate a correct appreciation of the working of the Society.¹⁷

In reply to their observations|recommendations contained in the 16th Report (1971-72) the Committee were informed that the provisional Trading and Profit and Loss Accounts for the year ending 30-6-71 had shown a net profit of Rs. 4.76 lakhs after making provision for Reserve Fund and Share Transfer Fund. It was added that "Government feels assured that the Society has now turned the corner and is showing profit. It is meeting an important need of the Central Government employees in providing essential commodities of daily use at comparatively cheaper rates. Encouraged by the good results shown by the Society in its business in the recent years the Government feels that the Society should not be wound up."¹⁸

The Committee had also recommended a comprehensive investigation of the working of the Society by Government with a view to "identifying lapses that occurred and fixing responsibilities."¹⁹ The Committee were informed that the examination of the cases with reference to relevant documents had been undertaken by the management. These would be placed before the Board of Administration and with their remarks before the Board of Directors. On receipt of the views of the Board of Directors, the need for a comprehensive investigation by the Government would be examined.²⁰

Subsequently, the Committee were informed that a Committee consisting of five members of Board of Directors were examining the question of fixing responsibility for the lapses resulting in losses to the Society.

The Committee wanted the working of the Society to serve as a lesson to Government for the future. In their opinion, the cooperative departmental societies could succeed, only if they were organised and run on "business principles". In organising and running such societies, the Committee desired, *inter-alia* the following points to be borne in mind:

- (i) the Society should not proliferate into a number of branches organised as "one-stop shopping" facilities for the whole range of consumer needs:

¹⁷PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), paras 1.8 to 1.15.

¹⁸Note furnished by Government in reply to recommendations contained in the 16th Report of PAC, (1971-72).

¹⁹PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.81.

²⁰PAC, 16th Report (1971-72), pages 33-34.

(ii) stress should be laid on the sale of high-margin goods;

(iii) there should be a properly organised system of purchases based on reliable commercial intelligence and adequate expertise;

(iv) close watch should be kept on overheads;

(v) there should be a system of concurrent accounting and effective internal audit for detection as well as deterrence of mistakes and frauds;

(vi) a well-defined budget should be prepared for setting up standards of performance; and

(vii) there should be an experienced and alert management with a clear chart of responsibilities, who would ensure effective supervision at the floor and departmental level".

The Government were of the view that since the Society was set up with the primary object of supplying essential goods to Central Government employees at reasonable prices, the welfare aspect should appropriately receive preference over commercial considerations. They, however, maintained that the Society did avail of the "benefit of expertise available with the Department of Cooperation." As indicated earlier, a Study Team from the Department of Cooperation was invited to study the working of the Society. The Government claimed that the recommendations of the Study Team were given due consideration. The Society was also stated to have received advice from the Chief Director of the Department of Cooperation in his capacity as a member of the Board of Directors and Board of Administration. Assuring the Committee that the Society would continue to benefit from the Department of Cooperation's expertise the Government nevertheless stressed the need to maintain the *status quo*.

As regards the points suggested by the Committee for ensuring proper running of the Society, the Government informed the Committee that those were duly borne in mind. Referring to the steps taken in that regard, the Government stated that uneconomic branches had been closed down. Efforts had been made to obtain high-margin goods in larger quantities and confiscated goods from new centres. The overhead expenses were also kept under check. The Government informed the Public Accounts Committee that while purchases of commodities other than textiles were being made on

²¹PAC, 102nd Report (1969-70), para 1.82.

the basis of monthly needs, seasonal requirements were being taken into account in connection with the purchase of textiles. It was also stated that purchases were being made after proper survey of the market. In addition, departmental internal audit had been started with effect from 1-7-1969 and efforts were being made to get suitable personnel for the preparation of budget and forecast.²²

In a subsequent note furnished to the Committee, Government stated that the sale in respect of non-rationed and customs confiscated goods had increased considerably in 1970-71 as compared to the previous year. As per recommendations of the Committee high margin goods were being procured in larger quantities with a view to wipe off the past losses.²³

²²PAC. 16th Report (1971-72), pages 24 and 25.

²³Note furnished by Government in reply to recommendations contained in the 16th Report of PAC, (1971-72).

I. *Privilege Issues*

LOK SABHA

- (i) *Alleged directive by a Parliamentary Party to its members not to hob nob with members of other Parties*

On August 1, 1973, Sarvashri Shyamnandan Mishra, Jyotirmoy Bosu and Madhu Limaye, members, sought to raise¹ a question of privilege on the ground that the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive Committee was reported to have issued a directive to its party members not to hob nob with members of Opposition Parties. They contended that the Central Hall and Lobbies of Parliament were places meant for free exchange of ideas among members and any hinderance imposed in this respect amounted to curtailment of their rights and privileges.

Disallowing the question of privilege, the Speaker, Dr. G. S. Dhillon, ruled² as follows:—

“How can you bring it up as a privilege motion? If something happened inside the party executive meeting, it is a party affair. I do not allow it. Every party has a right to issue direction to its members. A privilege motion should not arise unless a member comes to me and says to me that due to this he is obstructed from the discharge of his duties. That direction is meant only for Congress members. If any Congress member comes to me and says that he is obstructed or if anybody else comes to me and says that this statement is causing obstruction in the performance of his duties as a Member of Parliament, that is understandable. Then I shall consider it. So far there is no such thing.”

¹L. S. Deb., August 1, 1973, cc. 4514—29.

²Ibid.

(ii) *Alleged reflections on the members of Rajya Sabha in a speech of a member in Lok Sabha as reported by a newspaper*

On April 19, 1973, the Speaker, Dr. G. S. Dhillon, informed³ the House that he had received the following letter dated April 2, 1973, from the Chairman, Rajya Sabha:—

“The speech of Shri Bibhuti Mishra, M.P. in the Lok Sabha on the 30th March, 1973, while moving his resolution for abolition of the Rajya Sabha as reported in the Hindi daily *Hindustan* in its issue of March 31, 1973, under the caption “राज्य सभा राजनीतिक अन्वेषण वा केन्द्र - विभूति मिश्र” was the subject matter of some discussion in the Rajya Sabha in its sitting held on March 31, 1973. I am forwarding the relevant extracts of the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha which also include the observations which I made on the subject in the House for your consideration and for such action as you may think appropriate. You will no doubt agree with me that both Houses of Parliament and their members should treat the other House with utmost respect and consideration, and the best of relations should prevail between the two Houses and the respective members thereof. I shall be glad if you would kindly inform me about the action you take in the matter.”

The Speaker added that he had replied to the Chairman, Rajya Sabha, by his letter of April, 5, 1973, as follows:—

“...I have gone through the speech of Shri Bibhuti Mishra as contained in the Lok Sabha cyclostyled Debates of March 30, 1973. I find therefrom that Shri Bibhuti Mishra did not say in his speech what is attributed to him in the aforesaid caption of the news report. I am sending herewith a copy of that day's Debates of Lok Sabha for your perusal.

I fully share your views about the cordial relations between the two Houses of Parliament and their Members.

Obviously that newspaper has given a highly misleading caption. We are taking up the matter with the Editor of the newspaper.

³L. S. Deb., April 19, 1973.

I also appreciate the concern as shown in the speeches of the Hon'ble Members of your House. Please assure them on behalf of Lok Sabha and also myself that we hold them in utmost respect and high regard."

The Speaker also informed the House that the Editor of the *Hindustan*, who was asked to state for his consideration what he had to say in the matter, in his letter dated April 16, 1973, stated as follows:—

"... Shri Bibhuti Mishra, M.P., did not say in his speech in the Lok Sabha that 'राज्य सभा राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार का केन्द्र है'।

The heading, therefore, in so far as it; stated that it was from a speech of Shri Bibhuti Mishra is also incorrect. The mistake however arose this way: Shri S. M. Banerjee, Member, Lok Sabha, who followed Shri Bibhuti Mishra, spoke the words to the effect set out in the caption. The reporter, who covered the proceedings unfortunately, did not make a note that Shri Bibhuti Mishra had ended his speech and what followed in the report that he had taken, was part of the speech of Shri S. M. Banerjee. By reason of this mistake the report which the *Hindustan* got read as if Shri Bibhuti Mishra had spoken the words to the effect set out in the caption and this was the origin of the mistake. Immediately the mistake was discovered I published a correction in the issue of the paper *Hindustan* dated April 2, 1973 and I am forwarding herewith a clipping of this portion. I would only add that this correction was published on the front page and in as prominent a position as that occupied by the original report and in as bold a type as that employed in reporting the speech of Shri Bibhuti Mishra in the issue of the 31st March, 1973. It would be seen that the error was bonafide and was due to the reporter treating a part of Shri S. M. Banerjee's speech as coming from Shri Bibhuti Mishra. I greatly regret the error which was unfortunate.

Lastly, I would seek the indulgence of the Hon'ble Speaker to point out that the official report of Shri S. M. Banerjee's speech shows that the words, or words to the like effect, were used by him in describing the manner in which some of the Members of the Rajya Sabha have come to occupy their places.

Finally, I will conclude with a request to the Hon'ble Speaker to condone this bonafide error on the part of the Paper."

The Speaker then observed as follows:—

"In view of the explanation given by the Editor and the

correction published by him in the newspaper, if the House agrees, the matter may be treated as closed.

I hope the House agrees.

I shall also inform the Chairman, Rajya Sabha, accordingly.

May I take this opportunity to appeal to the Hon. Members to use necessary restraint and not to say anything in this House which may bring disharmony between this House and Rajya Sabha."

The Speaker accordingly sent a letter to the Chairman, Rajya Sabha, informing him of the position.

RAJYA SABHA

Alleged misreporting of the proceedings of the House by a newspaper

On August 1, 1973, Shri S. S. Mariswamy, a member, sought to raise⁴ a question of privilege against the Editor, *Alai Osai*, a Tamil daily, for allegedly misreporting the proceedings of the House. Shri Mariswamy stated that the said newspaper in its issue dated the 26th July, 1973, under the heading 'Charges levelled against Tamil Nadu Government official in Parliament', had wrongly published a news item to the effect that Shri A. G. Kulkarni, another member, while putting a supplementary to a Starred Question in the House on July 24, 1973, had charged that in the matter of import of stainless steel by a Company in Tamil Nadu, a Deputy Secretary of the Tamil Nadu Government had helped the firm. According to Shri Mariswamy, what Shri Kulkarni had actually stated in the House was that the Deputy Secretary concerned had written to the Government of India in the matter. Therefore, the newspaper by publishing a wrong report of the proceedings of the House had wilfully and intentionally committed a breach of privilege and contempt of the House.

The Deputy Chairman, Shri G. Murahari, who was in the Chair, observed that the Editor of the concerned newspaper had been asked to state what he had to say in the matter and that further action would be taken on hearing from him.

⁴R. S. Deb., August 1, 1973.
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On August 23, 1973, the Chairman, Shri G. S. Pathak, informed⁵ the House *inter alia* as follows:—

“The Editor of *Alai Osai* who was asked to let us know what he had to say in the matter, had first stated that the news item mentioned above was based on the P.T.I. reports. By a subsequent letter, the Editor stated that the news item concerned was published on the basis of the publication made in *The Hindu* and *The Hindu* published the same on the basis of the P.T.I. report. He also expressed regret for the publication of the incorrect version in his newspaper based on the P.T.I. report.

On the basis of the information furnished by the Editor, *Alai Osai*, the matter was taken up with the Editor-in-Chief, P.T.I. The latter intimated that they had carried an erroneous report on the subject due to misreporting by its reporter and expressed regret for the same. P.T.I. also issued a correction to their earlier report on the subject.

The correct version of the report as now issued by the P.T.I. has since been published in *Alai Osai* of August 13, 1973, along with an expression of regret for publishing an incorrect version of the report earlier.

In the circumstances, I am treating the matter as closed.”
The matter was accordingly closed.

ANDHRA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(i) *Alleged disrespect shown to a member by a Commissioner of a Municipality in not acknowledging his letters or furnishing information on matters of public importance*

On October 14, 1971, Shri C. V. K. Rao, a member, gave a notice of the following question of privilege:—

“On 23-9-71 I have addressed letter to Commissioner of Kakinada Municipality, Sri Srinivasa Rao, on matters of public importance. The Commissioner did not acknowledge and care to reply thus violating G.O. Ms. No. 1293, dated 22nd August, 1958 and Memorandum No. 787/Services. C/67/1, dated 3-5-1967. Further when phoned to him by me after a week's time reminding him for reply he said that 'Rome was not built in a day' thus showing disrespect and total disregard to Government's instructions in attitude towards Members of Legislature. Further when a letter was addressed to him again on 5-10-1971 on another matter of urgent

⁵*Ibid.*, August 23, 1973

public importance regarding Commissioner resorting to demolition of poor men's huts he also did not care to acknowledge and furnish information.

But on the other hand he sent his staff to raze the huts to the ground in Kakinada on 7-10-1971 as though that is an answer to the Member's letter of 5-10-1971 thereby not only being hasty, harsh and inhuman to the poor people's welfare but also being negligent, indifferent and disrespectful to Member's letter on vital matters concerning public welfare. The said Commissioner, Sri Srinivasa Rao, committed a breach of privilege which has to be dealt with by the Privilege Committee forthwith."

On October 23, 1971, the Secretary to Government Health and Municipal Administration Department, was requested to obtain and furnish the explanation of the Commissioner of the Kakinada Municipality on the question of privilege.

On November 22, 1971, the Deputy Speaker, after perusing the explanation received from the Commissioner of the Kakinada Municipality, referred the matter to the Committee of privileges.

The Committee of privileges recorded oral evidence of Shri C. V. K. Rao, member, the Chairman and the Commissioner of Kakinada Municipality and of three other Municipal Councillors. The Committee also received a letter from the Commissioner of Kakinada Municipality, which stated *inter alia* as follows:—

"I have no intention whatsoever either to slight the authority of the House or the Hon'ble Members of the House. If my action in any way constitutes breach of privilege of the Legislative Assembly, I can assure you that it is neither deliberate nor wilful on my part to interfere in the activities of the Members of the House and I tender my unconditional apology to the House."

The Committee of Privileges in their Seventeenth Report presented to the Speaker on February 7, 1972, reported *inter alia* as follows:—

"The Committee is of opinion that the whole episode could have been avoided if the Commissioner, Kakinada Municipality could have taken prompt and prudent action by consultation or meeting the local M.L.A., in this regard i.e. Sri C. V. K. Rao, who is also an *ex-officio* Councillor, Kakinada Municipality.

The Committee recommends to the Government that a

circular may be issued to all the Commissioners of the Municipalities in the State to the effect that requests made by the Members of the Legislature should be promptly acknowledged and attended to. The Committee consider that there is no breach of privilege involved in this case. That apart, the Commissioner, Kakinada Municipality has tendered an unconditional apology. In view of all these, the Committee considers it not necessary to proceed further in the matter."

The Committee recommended that the matter be dropped. No further action was thereupon taken by the House.

(ii) *Alleged wrongful detention of a member in police custody for more than forty-eight hours*

On July 28, 1970 Shri G. Rajaram, a member, sought to raise^a a question of privilege on the ground that Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy, another member, was arrested at 5 p.m. on July 13, 1970 at Serole village and not produced before any Magistrate till 6.30 p.m. on July 15, 1970. He contended that the illegal detention of Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy in the police custody for more than forty-eight hours amounted to breach of privilege and contempt of the House.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Shri J. Vengala Rao, stated that Shri N. Ramachandran Reddy, who was arrested at 5 p.m. on July 13, 1970, was taken to Mahaboobabad by about 9 p.m. with the intention of producing him before the Munsiff Magistrate next morning. Shri Reddy complained of heart attack and on the local doctor's advice, he was immediately shifted to Warangal and admitted in M.G.M. Hospital. After obtaining a certificate from the doctor that Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy was not in a position to be removed, the police informed the Magistrate of the reasons for not producing Shri Reddy. Shri Reddy was subsequently granted bail by the Sessions Judge, Warangal on July 15, 1970.

The Speaker reserved his ruling. On July 30, 1970, the Speaker referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges.

The Committee of Privileges after calling for the views of the Government on the matter and hearing the Police Prosecuting Officer and Sarvashri G. Rajaram, P. Narasingh Rao and N. Ramachandra

^aA. P. A. Deb., July 29, 1970.

Reddy, members, in their fourteenth Report presented to the House on December 3, 1971, reported, *inter alia*, as follows:—

(i) "The point for consideration before the Committee was whether the arrest and detention for more than 24 hours of Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy was made intentionally or not by the Police. According to the Prosecuting Officer, The Police could not get the Order of the Additional Munsiff Magistrate, Warangal, in which case the Member could have been released, but he was not released. According to Government version, the Police guard was withdrawn from the besides of Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy at 11.30 a.m. on 15-7-1970. According to Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy, it was at 6.30 p.m. on 15-7-1970 that the Police guard was withdrawn. In the light of evidence recorded, the Committee considered as to whether there was any malafide intention on the part of the Police in arresting Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy and detaining him for more than 24 hours.

(ii) Two versions were expressed by the members. According to one version, as per the Cr. P. C., it is the duty of the police to produce the accused before the Munsiff Magistrate within 24 hours. As regards bringing him to Mahaboobabad Police Station and taking from there to Warangal and producing him before the Magistrate, the police did not act with malafide intention as the Police filed the Petition before the Additional Munsiff Warangal on 14-7-1970, within 24 hours; by the time the order was passed by the Magistrate, Warangal, it exceeded the time of 24 hours. So far as Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy is concerned, the police did not act in a negligent way. On the other hand, the police paid better attention to Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy and acted more diligently in his case. As such, the police did not act with malafide intention. Taking all these factors into consideration, there is no privilege so far as this case is concerned.

(iii) According to other version, it is a point worth consideration whether the distance between Serole and Mahaboobabad was such that it would take 3 hours for the police to cover it. As the Magistrate has rightly pointed out, when the Police station and the Munsiff Magistrate Court were at a stone's throw from each other, hardly 10 yards—instead of producing him there, the police have deliberately, wilfully and with a malafide intention produced him before the Munsiff Magistrate, Warangal. If he is not produced before a competent Magistrate and orders are not obtained either for judicial custody or police custody for the purpose of interrogation, his arrest becomes illegal and such action by a police officer is liable to be questioned. Here the person involved is not a commoner, he is a member of the House and it is abundantly clear that the police have done all this with a malafide intention. The police had done all this wil-

fully to insult him and degrade his prestige and to bring disrepute on him in the eyes of the people. This they had been doing after arrest also and even after the orders releasing him were passed, so it is a clear case of breach of privilege.

(iv) The Committee, by majority opinion, arrived at the conclusion that there is no privilege involved in this case.

(v) The Committee recommends to the House to drop the case.

No further action was taken to the House.

KERALA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Alleged threat by Chief Minister that President's rule would be imposed if his Ministry fell

On March 22, 1973, the Speaker, Shri Moideen Kutty Haji, informed the House that Shri V. K. Gopinathan, a member, had given notice of a question of privilege against the Chief Minister, Shri C. Achutha Menon, based on a news report published in the *MATHRUBHOOMI*, a Malayalam daily, dated the 24th February, 1971, containing the following remarks⁷ made by the Chief Minister in his Press Conference at New Delhi:

"In case my Ministry falls, the President's rule would be the only alternative."

According to the member, the statement of the Chief Minister contained a warning and threat to the members to the effect that if the members did not vote for the Government, the House would be dissolved and that they would thereby lose their membership. It was further contended that this threat was made with the intention of influencing the members and hence would constitute a breach of privilege of the House.

The Speaker, disallowing the question of privilege, ruled as follows:—

"The member has taken out a single sentence from the statement of the Chief Minister to support his case. It is seen from the report that the Chief Minister has stated at the Press Conference that in case his ministry falls, President's Rule would be the only alternative, since the opposition parties can never act in unison.

⁷Original in Malayalam.

Attempts to intimidate members by threats with a view to influence them in their parliamentary conduct would constitute a breach of privilege. The publication of statements impugning the conduct of members and threatening them with dire consequences if they took part in the debates of the House, publication of posters containing threats, sending letters to members threatening them that if they vote for a particular Bill it would be regarded as a treasonable act, etc. have been cited as instances of such attempts to influence members by threats which would constitute a breach of privilege of the House. (May, Parliamentary Practice, 18th Edn. p. 146).

The opinion expressed by the Chief Minister, if viewed by the above standards, obviously does not contain any such threat to deter the members from performing their duties.

In the circumstances, I withhold consent to Shri V. K. Gopinathan to raise the question of privilege for which he has given notice."

ORISSA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

On April 6, 1972, the Speaker informed* the House that he had received notice of a question of privilege from Shri Banka Behari Das, a member, against the Chief Minister for having made an alleged misleading statement in the House regarding creation of two posts, one of Publicity Adviser and the other of Anti-Podu Cultivation Officer, for appointing two retired employees.

The Chief Minister explained the position but Shri Banka Behari Das was not satisfied.

The Speaker reserved his ruling.

On April 7, 1972, the Chief Minister explained the position further and added:

"Sir, I would like to assure you and the House that it was never my intention to mislead the House and if my statement gave rise to any wrong impression, it was unintended and I sincerely express my regret for the same."

The Speaker then observed:—

"After hearing the statement of the Chief Minister, I hold that there is no question of breach of privilege involved in this case."

*Orissa L. A. Deb., April 6, 1972.

TAMIL NADU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Interruption and walk-out by some members at the time of the Governor's address

On January 27, 1969, the Speaker mentioned⁹ in the House that the interruption by Shri A. Balasubramanyan, a member, and the walk-out staged by 14 other members just before the Governor rose to address both the Houses of the State Legislature assembled together under Article 176 of the Constitution of India on January 25, 1969, and said that the way in which the members conducted themselves during the Governor's address amounted to breach of order and dignity of the House, and a violation of rule 12¹⁰ of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly rules and referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges for examination and report.

The Committee of Privileges (1968-69) presented an *interim* Report to the House on March 28, 1969, recommending that the matter might be considered by the next Committee. The House adopted the *interim* Report of the Committee on the same day.

The Committee of Privileges (1969-70) examined the members who had participated in the interruption and staged the walk-out at the time of the Governor's Address. In the course of their evidence before the Committee, Shri A. Balasubramanyan and other members contended that any obstruction or interruption to the Governor's Address, either before or after the Address or during its duration, should not be regarded as a breach of privilege. If it was considered as only a breach of order of the House under rule 12 of the Assembly rules, it should be dealt with by the Speaker at the next sitting of the Assembly. They further contended that their inter-

⁹T. N. L. A. Deb., January 27, 1969. (Original in Tamil)

¹⁰Rule 12 of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Rules provides as follows:

"When the Houses of the Legislature are assembled together under Article 175 or 176 or when the Members of the Assembly alone have assembled, under Article 175 of the Constitution, no member shall obstruct or interrupt the Address either before or after the Address or during its duration with any speech or point of order or in any other manner; and such obstruction or interruption shall be regarded as a gross breach of order of the House and shall be dealt with by the Speaker as such at the next sitting of the Assembly."

ruption and walk-out were only to focus the attention of the Government on the incident in Kilvermani village which had resulted in the death of 44 persons and it was not their intention to show any discourtesy to the Governor. They maintained that their action was in conformity with the usual parliamentary convention and practice. They also stated that a rule similar to rule 12 of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Rules was not found in the Rules of Procedure of any other State Legislature in the country, and as this rule infringed their constitutional rights, it should be deleted.

The Committee of Privileges, in their Report presented to the House on March 30, 1970, stated *inter alia* as follows:

(i) The House of Commons of the United Kingdom has disciplinary powers in regard to the conduct of its members. The extent and amplitude of the words 'conduct of a member' have not been defined exhaustively and it is within the powers of the House of Commons in each case to determine whether a member has acted in a manner unworthy of a member. Under the term 'conduct of a member' action can be taken against a member even though the facts of a particular case do not come within any of the recognised heads of breach of privilege or contempt of the House. It may also be mentioned that the House exercises its jurisdiction or scrutiny over its members for their conduct whether it takes place inside or outside the House.

(ii) Any disorderly conduct within the precincts of either House, while such House is in session, has been held to be a contempt of the House in several cases.

(iii) The Governor when he addressed the members of the Assembly and the Council performs a constitutional duty.

(iv) The House of Commons in the United Kingdom to which the powers, privileges and immunities of Parliament and the State Legislatures have for the time being been equated has always exercised powers in regard to the conduct of its Members who are expected to maintain a standard of behaviour consistent with the traditions and practice of the House.

Hence, it is open to the Legislature to take action regarding the conduct of a member at the time of the Governor's Address on the ground that the member has not shown proper respect to the Constitution and that his action has been below the dignity of a member and contrary to the oath taken by him.

(v) Article 208(1) provides that a House of the Legislature of a State may make rules for the regulation of its procedure and conduct of its business. Hence, rule 12 of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Rules framed pursuant to this power is a statutory rule and read with Article 194(1) which says that the freedom of speech in the Legislature is subject to the rules of procedure, makes it abundantly clear that the rule is valid and any breach of the rule is a breach of privilege of the House.

(vi) The Committee holds that the contention advanced that in the light of the plain language of Rule 12 of the Assembly Rules, the interruption or obstruction to the Governor's Address either before, during or after the said Address must be construed only as a breach of order and not as a breach of privilege cannot be accepted for the reason that any breach of order of the House has been construed as disorderly conduct within the precincts of the House and as such has been held to be a contempt of the House in several cases.

(vii) The Committee also holds that the further argument that, inasmuch as rule 12 provides that such a breach of order shall be dealt with by the Speaker as such at the next meeting of the Assembly, it cannot be referred to the Committee of Privileges, is not sustainable for the reason that the Speaker has in fact dealt with the case at the next sitting of the Assembly on 27th January, 1969 in that he has referred the same to the Committee of Privileges for examination and report.

(viii) As regards the argument advanced that inasmuch as the Governor's Address was only a 'policy statement' of the Ministry and that any act of the Members during the Address must be construed as an expression of their disapproval of the policy of the Government and not as an act of discourtesy to the Governor or an act of disorder, the Committee is of the view that there is no force in the argument in view of the express provision in Rule 12 that any obstruction or interruption—either before, during or after the Address will be treated as a gross breach of order. Further, in the instant case, the Address by the Governor was delivered by virtue of the provision in Article 176(1) of the Constitution. It is a constitutional requirement that the first session in every year shall commence only with the Address by the Governor. Hence, the Address of the Governor is part of the parliamentary business. Therefore, any act which tends to interrupt the Address whether it be at the place of Address or in any other place which makes it impossible for the Governor to perform the constitutional and parliamentary function must be deemed to be an interruption or obstruction or an indignity offered to the House itself.

(ix) Finally, the Committee holds that the interruption to the Governor's Address and the walk-out thereafter must be construed as obstruction or interruption to the Governor's Address either before, during or after the Address and as such must be held to be in violation of the express provision of rule 12 and that inasmuch as rule 12 lays down that such an act shall be construed as a gross breach of order of the House and hence it must be held to be a contempt of the House. The Committee, therefore, holds that the act of commission and the conduct of Shri A. Balasubramanyan and the other members constituted a contempt of the House and as such a breach of privilege of the House.

(x) The Committee, however, notes that the members have reiterated that they have the highest regard for the Governor and that it was not their intention to show disrespect or disregard to the Governor, but that their intention was only to focus the attention of the Government, and no more, to a very serious matter, namely, the incident in Kilvenmani village, Thanjavur District, which resulted in the death of about 44 persons."

The Committee recommended to the House that the House may express its strong disapproval of the acts of commission and conduct of the concerned members in having obstructed and interrupted the Governor's Address and that the matter may be allowed to rest there.

The House agreed with the recommendation contained in the Report of the Committee, on August 31, 1973.

TAMIL NADU LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Reflections on members by a newspaper in respect of proceedings of the House

On February 13, 1973, Shri Ka. Arivalagan, a member, raised¹¹ a question of privilege on the ground that *Nathigam*, a Tamil daily, in its issue dated the 10th February, 1973, while commenting on a Question in the House on February 8, 1973, had cast reflections on members. He quoted the following comments from the impugned news report published under the caption "KARUNANIDHI'S LAST WIFE?"

"why should Rajaram, the symbal-beater and the soap-applier for Karunanidhi, be the Leader of the Opposition?"

¹¹T.N. L.C. Deb., February 13, 1973, (Original in Tamil).

Should he not, in silence, go to the air-conditional bed-chamber of Karunanidhi?"

Shri Ka. Arivalagan desired the matter to be referred to the Committee of Privileges.

After a brief discussion, the Chairman referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges.

The Committee of Privileges called for a written explanation from the Editor of the newspaper and also examined him in person. During his evidence before the Committee, the Editor tendered an unconditional apology and submitted to the Committee the following letter¹²;

"I realise now that the news report published in *Nathigam* of the 10th February, 1973 lowered the dignity and respect of the House. I express my deep regret for this. Besides, I give the assurance that in future the news reports will not be of this nature.

I will give the same importance to this letter as was given to the news report and publish it prominently in my newspaper, a copy of which will be submitted to the Committee.

I humbly request the Committee that the matter be treated as closed at this stage."

In view of the above letter of regret and assurance submitted by the Editor, the Committee, in their Report presented to the House on August 11, 1973 recommended that the matter be treated as closed.

The House adopted the Report of the Committee on August 13, 1973.

WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Alleged derogatory remarks against the House

On March 29, 1972, Shri Abdul Bari Biswas, a member, raised¹³ a question of privilege against Shri Jyoti Basu, an ex-member who had allegedly described the West Bengal Legislative Assembly as a "Swindlers' House" during the course of his speech in a public meeting at Calcutta on March 28, 1972 and moved that the matter be referred to the Committee of privileges.

¹²Original in Tamil.

¹³W.B.L.A. Deb., March 29, 1972.

After a brief discussion, the Chief Minister, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, stated that if all that had appeared in the newspapers were true, the statement of Shri Basu was no doubt an irresponsible one. He, however, suggested that no importance should be attached to the matter and the time of the Committee need not be wasted by making a reference of this case to it. He appealed to the members to set an example by pardoning Shri Basu.

In view of the Chief Minister's appeal, Shri Biswas withdrew his question of privilege.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (AUSTRALIA)

Imprisonment of a member for non-payment of the defendant's costs in a case instituted by the member against a constable for assault on him

On April 20, 1971, the Speaker, Sir William Aston, informed¹⁴ the House that he had received a letter from the clerk of the Central Court of Petty Sessions, Sydney, intimating, *inter alia*, that Mr. Thomas Uren, a member had been committed to prison on April 10, 1971, during the Easter holidays, for non-payment of the defendant's costs in a criminal case instituted by the member against a Police Constable for alleged assault on him.

Mr. Bryant, another member, thereupon, raised a question of privilege with respect to the commitment to prison of Mr. Thomas Uren. While raising the question of privilege, Mr. Bryant stated, *inter alia*, as follows:—

"The situation is that the honourable member for Reid (Mr. Thomas Uren) was committed to prison, under a warrant, the day before Easter. As you, Mr. Speaker, have announced on 5th January as a result of a court action in which he was unsuccessful, costs were awarded against the honourable member for Reid. This of course, is the important issue. He was ordered to pay costs of \$80. He was not fined; he was ordered to pay cost. So it was ordinarily a civil debt that the honourable member for Reid incurred."

Mr. Bryant contended that "the commitment of the honourable member for Reid to prison in these circumstances was a breach of that privilege and . . . the Privileges Committee ought to examine it."

¹⁴H.O.R. Deb., April 20, 1971, pp. 1659—61.

After some discussion, the following motion, moved by Mr. Bryant, was adopted by the House:

"That the matter of the commitment to prison of the honourable member for Reid (Mr. Thomas Uren) be referred to the Committee of Privileges."

The Committee of Privileges, after considering written Memoranda obtained from Messers A. G. Turner (Clerk of the House of Representatives), Mr. C. W. Harders, Secretary, Attorney-General's Department and Professor Geoffrey Sawer, Professor of law, Australian National University, and hearing their oral evidence, in their Report¹⁵ presented to the House on May 7, 1971 reported¹⁶ *inter alia* as follows:—

"On 19th October 1970, Mr. T. Uren, M.P., laid on information against constable of Police No. 3136 (later identified as Ivano Girardi) alleging that the defendant did unlawfully assault him. The case was heard in the Central Court of Petty Sessions, Sydney and on 5 January 1971 the information was dismissed. Mr. Uren was ordered to pay the defendant's costs in the sum of eighty dollars, three months being allowed for payment and in default of payment within that time, Mr. Uren was ordered to be imprisoned for forty days with hard labour.

Payment was not made within that time and a warrant to commit Mr. Uren to prison was issued on 8 April, 1971. Mr. Uren was, on 10 April, 1971, duly taken and committed to prison. On 12 April 1971, Mr. Uren was released from prison after the balance of the sum ordered to be paid by him by way of costs was paid by another person.

The House of representatives had met on Wednesday, 7 April, 1971, and its next meeting was held on Tuesday, 20 April 1971. The commitment to prison on 10 April 1971 of Mr. Uren occurred therefore during the Easter adjournment of the House of representatives but during the Parliamentary session which commenced on 3 March 1970.

¹⁵Parliamentary Paper No. 40 (1971).

¹⁶The House adopted the following motion, moved by Mr. Swartz., "That consideration of the Report be made an order of the day for the next day of sitting" *H.O.R. Deb.*, 1971, May 7, 1971. p. 2814.

It was put to the Committee that in considering whether the commitment to prison of Mr. T. Uren, M.P. was a breach of Parliamentary privilege, the particular question for determination by the Committee was whether the commitment was one in a case which was of a civil character, or whether it was a commitment in a case which was either of a criminal character or which was more of a criminal than of a civil character. Clearly, if the commitment was one in a case which was of a civil character, a breach of Parliamentary privilege had occurred. On the other hand, if the commitment arose out of a case which was either of a criminal character or which was more of a criminal than of a civil character, the member enjoyed no immunity from commitment to prison and no breach of parliamentary privilege had occurred. At no stage did Mr. Uren seek privilege and the reference to the Committee was raised in the House by another member.

Research failed to reveal any precise precedent in Britain, Australia or elsewhere.

In an opinion sought by the Committee, Professor Geoffrey Sawyer, Professor of Law, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, said in part—

'It cannot possibly be contended that bringing an information was a criminal act on his (Mr. Uren's) part, even on the most extended concept of criminal conduct. Nor can it be contended that an order for payment of costs is in any sense punitive. It is an ordinary consequence, in our system, of being the unsuccessful party in litigation.... It is an indemnity to the successful party.... Hence.... Mr. Uren was imprisoned in a civil and not a criminal cause, and this was *prima facie* a breach of privilege since the imprisonment occurred during a parliamentary session'.

The opinion of Professor Sawyer is further stated in the following extract from the evidence taken by the Committee:

'Chairman—Was the court sitting in jurisdiction during the whole of those proceedings, including the point at which the magistrate adjudged the costs against Mr. Uren and the subsequent adjudgment with imprisonment in default?

Profesor Sawyer—Yes. This is precisely why the difficulty before this Committee arises. In a general sense, the court was exercising criminal jurisdiction at all stages of this matter. The difficulty, as I see it, is that in the course of exercising criminal jurisdiction it is quite possible for a court to make an order which in its nature, is not criminal. That is to say, as between

the court and the person against whom the order is made, the order in question creates a purely civil obligation, not a matter which in itself is criminal'.

The Committee is of the opinion that the commitment to prison of the honourable member for Reid (Mr. T. Uren) constituted a breach of parliamentary privilege.

The Committee, having regard to the complexities and circumstances of the case, recommends to the House of Representatives that the House would best consult its own dignity by taking no action in regard to the breach of parliamentary privilege which has occurred."

On August 23 1971, Mr. N. H. Bowen, Minister for Foreign Affairs, moved¹⁷ the following motion:—

"That the House take note of the Committee's Report."

While moving the above motion, Mr. N. H. Bowen, stated, *inter alia* as follows:—

"..... Immunity from arrest is the oldest of the immunities of members. It clearly extends to arrest in purely civil cases. The immunity does not, however, extend to arrest for crimes. In between purely criminal and purely civil cases the position is debatable....

The New South Wales Premier has written to the Prime Minister (Mr. McMohan) a letter dated 13th August, 1971 expressing the strong view of the New South Wales Government that the Committee's first finding is inconsistent with decisions of New South Wales courts that imprisonment for costs is "criminal in nature"—though, of course, this does not imply that the honourable member has been convicted of or charged with any criminal offence. The Premier enclosed a letter dated 26th July, 1971 from the New South Wales Attorney-General which set out the legal arguments in support of the New South Wales Government's point of view. The premier asked that these views be brought before the House when it is considering the report of the Privileges Committee.

The views of the New South Wales Government have particular significance because the point in question turns upon the construction of a New South Wales statute and the New South Wales Supreme Court has at least twice previously given an interpretation of that statute which is the opposite of that adopted by the majority of the Committee in the report before the House. The New South

¹⁷H.O.R. Deb., August 23, 1971, p. 526.

Wales Government has pointed to the dilemma facing New South Wales authorities who in the future might have to choose between following the decisions of its own court and following the decision of this House if it were to adopt the Committee's first finding. I think the House could have tabled for the benefit of its consideration a copy of the letter from the Premier, dated 13th August, 1971, and a copy of the letter from the New South Wales Attorney-General, dated the 26th July, 1971. I table those letters.

I have given consideration to the questions that arise in this difficult matter and I am bound to inform the House that I find myself in disagreement with the majority views of the Committee on the legal question. In my view, the order that the magistrate made under Section 82(2) of the Justices Act was such that the imprisonment resulting from it did not give rise to a breach of parliamentary privilege. However, there would seem to be little point in debating the legal question in this House. The Committee itself has recommended that no action be taken. The Prime Minister has announced that he has called for a report from the Attorney-General (Senator Greenwood) in conjunction with the Solicitor-General on the whole question of parliamentary privilege and this will, of course, cover the question of freedom from arrest. It is clearly time for a new look at this whole question. In the United Kingdom itself, from which we derive our rules, a select committee of the House of Commons in 1967 recommended the complete abolition of the immunity from arrest, even in purely civil cases. This is entirely a matter for the House itself. However, in all the circumstances I suggest to the House that the appropriate course for it to take would be to carry this motion.

The motion was adopted by the House.

II. PROCEDURAL MATTERS

Lok Sabha

(i) *Applauding the Visitors in the Special Box*

Immediately on the commencement of the sitting of the House on November 16, 1973, the Speaker informed the House of the presence, in the Special Box, of the Swiss Parliamentary Delegation led by H.E. Mr. Marius Lampert, President of the Swiss Senate, who were on a visit to India on invitation. Members of the delegation stood up in the Special Box and bowed towards the House. Members cheered the visitors by thumping their desks. The Speaker also exhibited a time-piece presented by the delegation and thanked the delegation for the same.

(ii) *If a Minister in the Union Cabinet is appointed a Minister in a State Government, there is nothing wrong in his continuing as the Union Minister until he assumes office in the State Government.*

On November 14, 1973, a member, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, pointed out that Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, Minister of State for Home Affairs, who was called to lay certain papers on the Table, had been appointed a Minister in the Rajasthan Government as per Gazette Notification of that State. He could not be a Minister both in the Union Cabinet as well as in the State. The Speaker, thereupon, observed that he was neither a Member nor a Minister in the State (because he had not assumed office there).'

(iii) *Moving of Adjournment Motion after Ballot*

Till November 12, 1973, seven notices of adjournment motion regarding abnormal rise in the prices of essential commodities, petrol, kerosene oil, diesel and gas, milk and ghee (Delhi Milk Scheme) and failure of the Government to check the same, were tabled.

The Speaker gave his consent to moving of the adjournment motion by Shri S. M. Banerjee whose notice had secured first place in the ballot held in respect of notices received at 10.00 hours on November 8, 1973. Leave to move the motion was opposed by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri K. Raghuramaiah and the Speaker asked those Members who were in favour of leave being granted to rise in their places. As more than 50 Members rose, the Speaker declared that leave was granted and that the motion would be taken up after the lunch interval (at 2 P.M.) on that day.

The motion was discussed after lunch and negatived.

(iv) *Ordinance: Unless there are very special reasons, issuing of ordinances should be avoided by the Government particularly when the Parliament is about to meet*

On November 12, 1973 a Member, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, pointed out that the Government had raised the prices of petrol and kerosene oil through an ordinance. He admitted that the Constitution empowered the Government to issue ordinances, but it was improper to impose taxes through an ordinance, particularly when the Parliament was about to meet. The Speaker, thereupon, observed that he would examine the matter and also ask the Law Minister to explain the position and then give his ruling.

On the following day, i.e. November 13, 1973 the Speaker asked the Law Minister to explain the position. Shri Vajpayee then stated that the matter was mainly the concern of the Speaker who had to protect the rights of the Parliament. Many Members supported his view. The Speaker then observed as follows:—

“I have looked into the precedents and I find the position has been very clearly stated by my predecessors as well as by myself. After going through them, I do not think I need the advice of the Law Minister . . .

I have got the rulings right from the time of my distinguished predecessor, Shri Mavalankar. He did not approve of ordinances on the eve of Parliament session. It was repeated by others till I came here. On 22nd November, 1971, Shri Indrajit Gupta raised a similar point, saying that,

‘13 ordinances which are now being presented in the form of Bills relate to additional measures of taxation. They are different from other ordinances.

I said,

‘Ordinance is an ordinance whatever it might be . . . I have tried to see whether there could be any ordinance demarcated into financial and also non-financial ordinance . . . I had already made in very strong terms some observation. But if you think that there should be some distinction between financial and non-financial, tax and non-tax ordinance, there is nothing in my knowledge on which I can base my ruling. All I can say is, I do not approve of an ordinance just at the time when the House is about to meet.’

Ordinances by themselves are not very welcome, specially so when the date is very clear. It is not only clear but it is also near. In such cases, unless there are very very special reasons, ordinance should be avoided.

This is the ruling which I gave on 22nd November, 1971 and the same was given by my predecessors."

(v) Congratulations to the Speaker and Secretary-General of Lok Sabha on their Election to World Bodies

On November 12, 1973, on behalf of the House, the Prime Minister congratulated Dr. G.S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha and Shri S. L. Shakhder, Secretary-General, Lok Sabha on their election as the President of the Inter-Parliamentary Council and the President of the Association of Secretaries-General of Parliaments, respectively.

The Speaker in reply thanked the Prime Minister and the Members on his own behalf and on behalf of the Secretary-General.

FIFTH LOK SABHA—NINTH SESSION

The Ninth Session of the Fifth Lok Sabha commenced on November 12, 1973. A brief resume of some of the important discussions held during the session upto November 30, 1973, is given below:

Reported Presence of U.S. Naval Fleet in the Indian Ocean

The matter regarding "reported presence of U. S. Naval Fleet in the Indian Ocean" was raised in the House on November 12, 1973 by Shri K. Lakkappa through a Calling Attention Notice¹.

The Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh said that on October 29, 1973, the U.S. Government had announced that it was despatching an aircraft carrier task force into the Indian Ocean as a part of the alert of U.S. forces around the world. The said task force was not, however, called back when the alert was lifted. According to the State Department, it was a precautionary move related to moves by other States in the Middle East crisis. Subsequently, some other justifications were put forward such as the assertion of the right of navigation through the Straits of Malacca, balancing the increased Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean, safeguarding the oil routes from the Middle East etc.

On November 1, 1973 the objective of India's policy regarding the Indian Ocean i.e. to ensure that it remained an area of peace free from big power rivalry was reiterated. The Government of India had strongly supported the U.N. General Assembly Resolution of December 16, 1971 declaring the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace for all time and calling upon the great powers to halt the further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean. In that context, they were naturally concerned at any escalation of a major naval power's presence in the Indian Ocean.

¹The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri K. Lakkappa, S. M. Banerjee, Shrikishan Modi, Mukhtiar Singh and Prasanbhai Mehta.

Answering questions, the Minister said that according to the information of the Government, the task force had gone in the direction of Diego Garcia, a place near Mauritius. The Government would continue their efforts in the United Nations and in other organisations to ensure that the Indian Ocean remained as an area of peace and tranquility and free from big power rivalry.

The Government had no intention of convening a conference of littoral countries and mobilising opinion. In the Lusaka Conference and the Algiers Conference the desirability of keeping the Indian Ocean as an area of peace and tranquility was highlighted and that also formed a part of the Resolution or the Declaration adopted there.

Establishment of Convention when Government should Resign

On August 31, 1973 Shri Shyamnandan Mishra moved the following resolution:—

“This House resolves that a convention be established that the Government should resign if it fails to fulfil the following basic programme:

(i) growth in national income at 7 per cent per annum;

(ii) growth in *per capita* income of those below poverty line at 7 per cent per annum;

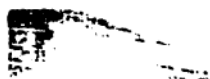
(iii) growth in agricultural production at 5 per cent per annum;

(iv) growth in industrial production at 10 per cent per annum;

(v) to contain price rise within a limit of 5 per cent per annum; and

(vi) to generate employment opportunities at least to take care of the addition to the labour force each year.”

Continuing his speech on November 23, 1973, Shri Mishra said that there were conditions of widening and deepening of poverty, mounting unemployment and increasing economic and social disparities which were making the national situation almost explosive. If the situation was to be changed, additional efforts would have to



be put in, both by the government and the people. Government must own their failures in respect of the tasks as embodied in the Five Year Plans.

The discussion continued for more than two and a half hours in which 16 members participated².

Speaking on the resolution, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance, Shri K. R. Ganesh said that so far as the targets were concerned, there might be difference in the figures, whether a particular percentage was realisable in the present day conditions of economy or not. In case the Government could not achieve certain objectives, it had a moral responsibility to own before the people and apprise them of the reasons for not achieving them. But to say that the Government must resign when the targets could not be achieved was something which had no precedent in any democracy of the world.

After Shri Mishra replied to the debate, the resolution was put to vote and negatived.

Motion of No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers

Moving a motion "that this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers", on November 21, 1973 Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu said that the Government had no right to continue in power as they had the lowest credibility today. In 1970, the Prime Minister dissolved the Lok Sabha on the pretext of seeking a fresh mandate from the people. The time had come for seeking a fresh mandate again.

The discussion continued for two days in which 15 members participated³.

²The members who took part in discussion were Sarvashri Nawal Kishore Sharma, Somnath Chatterjee, Chandulal Chandrakar, Ramavatar Shastri, S. N. Singh, R. V. Bada, Henry Austin, P. G. Mavalankar, P. Ranganath Shenoy, E. R. Krishnan, B. R. Shukla, Ramkanwar, Nathu Ram Ahirwar, Madhu Limaye, K. Narayana Rao and Anadi Charan Das.

³ The members who took part in discussion were Sarvashri B. R. Bhagat, H. N. Mukerjee, N. K. P. Salve, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Chandrajit Yadav, S. A. Shamim, Priya Ranjan Das Munsi, Era Sezhiyan, Karni Singh, Anant Prasad Sharma, Shyamanandan Mishra, H. M. Patel, H. K. L. Bhagat, Samar Guha, and Smt. Maya Ray.

Intervening in the debate on November 22, 1973 the Minister of Finance, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan said that the situation of inflation and the rising prices was a passing phase. The strategy of the Government was to make a frontal attack on the shortages and that could be done mainly by concentrating efforts on the production side. On the demand side, money supply had to be restricted.

After 1971 elections, the Government had taken a series of steps, which showed that it stood for social transformation and for structural changes in the economic and social fields. Certain vested interests, which were affected by those changes tried to exploit the situation.

It had been stated that the Government had a very wholesome foreign policy, but there was something unwholesome in the domestic policy. It was all theoretical, because a country which produced a wholesome foreign policy could not do so unless it had got a fundamentally wholesome internal policy.

Participating in the debate, the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram observed that the Government had at no time claimed that poverty had been abolished, or unemployment liquidated or the standard of living of the teeming millions raised to a satisfactory level. The Government had all along been grappling with the problems. The present difficult situation was the cumulative result of many factors during the last three years over which nobody had any control. Price rise was by no means a peculiarly Indian phenomenon. Prices had risen in almost all the countries of the world. The country would have been in a far worse position but for the handling of the situation by the ruling party, its rapport with the masses and the stability provided by it.

It had been said that the Government should quit. But who would take over? The country had a very bad experience of the running of administration by coalitions of diametrically opposed opposition parties. The people came to the conclusion that the Congress Party might have shortcomings, but that was the only party which had the capacity to run the administration. The people were facing hardships. But there was a ray of hope even in darkness. The people of India had the capacity to tide over such crisis.

Speaking on the motion, the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi *inter alia* observed:

“...Our party is a party that has brought democracy to India; that has laid solid foundation to democracy and is today also determined and pledged to keep democracy and to widen it and to deepen its roots in our country. But democracy is not a licence to abuse to make false allegations or to weaken the confidence of the country to denigrate its achievements.... Democracy does impose certain responsibilities. There is certainly a responsibility on the majority party to see that the voice of the majority or the minority is not suppressed. But at the same time, there is a responsibility on the minority also...on the Opposition too, specially in times of crisis, not to create further difficulties or to block programmes which have been accepted and passed by the Parliament... There should not be opposition for the sake of opposition.

We may not be able to protect them (people) from all their hardships, due to events beyond our control or perhaps due to our own failings, our own short-comings. We have not cut ourselves off from the people, but we have gone to them.... We know we have committed mistakes.... We are trying to chart uncharted seas.... All we can promise the people is that when we have made a mistake, we should try to rectify them. We do not want to cover it up....

I do not want to talk about Maruti here, because all the questions that were asked have been replied to time and again.... No favour has been shown, no rules have been violated, no injustice has been done to anyone. Whatever salary or consulting service there is, is according to rules. I can assure you that I will not countenance any violation of the law or of rules or of procedure....

There is hardly a country in the world today, which has managed to stay away from some kind of financial crisis.... Something must be wrong in the system. Something is wrong in our system here. I am not denying it. I will be first person to say that there should be very radical changes. But we are tied, to some extent, to world currency and so on.... Somehow Members have talked of the people rejecting me. Now, if this happens, it will be the first time in history that some one has been falsely charged, falsely implicated, or that people have been made to believe such falsehood, but I have not the shadow of a doubt that whatever may be said now, whatever may be done, history will vindicate me, history will vindicate my party.

After Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu replied to the debate, the motion was put to vote and negatived.

Procurement and Distribution Price of Foodgrains

Raising Half-an-Hour discussion on November 23, 1973 regarding "Procurement and distribution of foodgrains", Shri Samar Guha said that since independence there had been no serious crisis like the food crisis as the country was facing today. In the last 12 months, according to Government, prices of foodgrains and other consumer goods jumped up by 22 per cent. If the Government wanted to be true to their commitment to the socialist principles, it was possible for them to supply food to the people at reasonable prices. There was wastage to the extent of 25 per cent in handling by Food Corporation of India, loss in storage and during transit. The Government should take steps to check such heavy wastages. The F.C.I. should be reorganized by dividing it into different zones and have Managing Directors in four zones with headquarters in Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Calcutta. The difference between the procurement price and the issue price should not exceed 15 per cent.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, Shri Anna-sahab P. Shinde said that although last years' drought was really unprecedented in the recent past and there was a severe set-back in production but with the cooperation of the State Government and with the cooperation of the people at large, the food situation had been tackled successfully. The worst crisis was over and it would be easier to manage the food economy now as compared to the last eight or nine months. The procurement price of foodgrains had been raised in pursuance of the demand made by members from all sides of the House. Though the present phase of the food situation still continued to be difficult, the trends of procurement indicated that the farmers were responding to the new price decision of the government. The issue price had to be raised to avoid giving heavy subsidy amounting to nearly Rs. 2.50 crores, which meant deficit financing. The increased issue price did not cover entirely the economic cost or the procurement cost or the cost of storage or the cost of transport etc. Therefore, to make a charge that Government were trying to trade and get some profit was not correct.

The Government was fully conscious of the deficiencies of the Food Corporation of India and consistent efforts would be made to improve its functioning. In fact, without such monopoly agencies

doing these functions, millions of people in India would suffer. The Government of India had taken the decision that there should be State Corporations and co-operatives also which should play an important part side by side.

Acute Shortage of Fertilisers

The matter regarding the "reported acute shortage of fertilizers in Punjab and other parts of the country" was raised in the House on November 21, 1973 by Shri P. K. Deo through a Calling Attention Notice.⁴

The Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, said that the position in respect of availability of fertilisers during the current Rabi Season had been difficult due to a variety of reasons like short falls in domestic production resulting from power cuts, shortage of raw material etc. and an acute shortage of fertilisers in the world market, coupled with a global shortage of shipping space. However, all possible efforts had been made by the Government to step up domestic production, as well as to procure the maximum possible fertilisers from the countries abroad, as quickly as possible. There had also been severe operational constraint in respect of port handling and transportation of imported fertilisers. However, with special efforts and in co-ordination with the Ministries of Transport and Railways, very high priority had been given to port handling and rail movement of imported fertilisers in order that supplies of the available fertilisers were made in the quickest possible manner.

In view of the shortage of chemical fertilisers, State Government and non-Governmental Farmers Organisations had been asked to mobilise and utilise organic manures as much as possible.

As far as supplies to Punjab were concerned, special efforts had been made to ensure that maximum supplies were made to Punjab State, in view of its contribution to the agricultural production of the country and to the Central Pool of foodgrains. In fact, a review of the supplies by the Central Fertiliser Pool and domestic manufacturers, from August, 1973 onwards, showed that a substantial portion of the supplies due to Punjab from those two sources had been met. For other States also, despite the difficulties, efforts were being made to make the maximum possible supplies.

⁴The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri Madhu Limaye, Era Sezhiyan, P. K. Deo, H. M. Patel and G. Viswanathan.

Answering questions, the Minister admitted that the Government had not been able to import fertilizers according to the country's requirements. The performance of the Fertilizer Corporation in the matter of production programme had not been encouraging. Various steps had been taken by the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals to that effect.

The fertilizers were distributed to every State on the basis of their actual requirement and not on political grounds. If any special consideration had been given out of the available fertilizers, it had been given to the States of Punjab and Haryana.

Quality and Quantity of Rice Supplied to Kerala

Raising Half-an-Hour discussion on November 19, 1973 regarding "quality and quantity of rice supplied to Kerala", Shri C. K. Chandrappan said that prices of rice in Kerala were higher as compared to the neighbouring State of Tamil Nadu. It was precisely because the Centre miserably failed to keep up its promise in regard to the supply of food requirements of the State after the abolition of food zone. Against the commitment of 75,000 tonnes of rice, only 73,000 tonnes had been supplied in October, 1973. If the situation was not remedied, it would create a very explosive situation in the State.

Replying, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, Shri Annasaheb P. Shinde said that despite the depleting stocks of the central reserves, there had been no lack of sympathy or efforts made by Government of India to meet the requirements of Kerala. The level of supplies, inspite of shortages due to drought and difficulties in procurement, had not been affected so far as the State of Kerala was concerned in any substantial manner. As compared to other States, the level of supplies to Kerala had been much higher. The food situation was progressively expected to improve as the procurement of rice had commenced in a very big way in the country including the State of Kerala.

It had been pointed out that when the Soviet Union was prepared to supply rice, why did the Government not avail of the offer. The Indian team, which had gone to Moscow to discuss the details about the offer was told by the Soviet Government that the quantities to be offered would be very small and broken one. So the Indian Delegation finalized only the wheat deal. The Government had recently taken a decision not to permit bilateral transactions

between the States as that would affect Central procurement which would directly affect allotment to deficit States like Kerala. It had been done in the interest of deficit States themselves.

About forming a Southern zone, there was no agreement among the Southern States themselves and therefore, it would be very difficult for the Government of India to arrive at a decision without the agreement of those States.

Reorganization of Indian Council of Agricultural Research

A discussion under Rule 193 on a matter of urgent public importance regarding the "statement laid on the Table by the Minister of Agriculture on November 12, 1973 indicating Government's decisions on the reorganization of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research in the light of the recommendations of the I.C.A.R. Inquiry Committee" was raised in the House on November 28, 1973 by Shri Samar Guha.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Guha said that the Indian Council of Agricultural Research dealt with very vital problems of the country in the field of agricultural research as well as agricultural education. But, in this research institution some kind of monarchical hierarchy was established with intrigues and a *coterie* was set up as a result of which the scientific incentive, initiative and independence were strangled. Government was also benumbed by the glare of publicity that was received by the institution.

The discussion continued for two days in which 14 members participated⁵.

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed said that it would be wrong to say that the Government had rejected the report submitted by the Gajendragadkar Committee.

The Government had respected the opinion of the Committee and given an autonomous character to ICAR so that it might be possible for them to carry on research education unfettered and uninterfered by bureaucrats and politicians.

⁵The members who took part in the discussion were Sarvashri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra, Krishna Chandra Halder, Vasant Sathe, Indrajit Gupta, Inder J. Malhotra, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Nathuram Mirdha, Era Sezhiyan, K. Lakkappa, H. M. Patel, Vayalar Ravi, Anantrao Patil, Chappelendu Bhattacharyya, Balakrishna Venkanna Naik and P. G. Mavalankar..

Secondly, it had also been realised that there was some justification in the Committee recommending that it should have the status of a department because unless and until there was some governmental authority, research done by ICAR could not be taken to the field level. For that purpose, the Department of Education and Research had been constituted in the Agriculture Ministry, which would take the results of research of ICAR to the field level. The Head of the Department would be the Director-General of ICAR.

The Government had not been able to accept the recommendation of the Committee relating to the recruitment by U.P.S.C. for 5 years in view of the decision of Calcutta High Court that the U.P.S.C. could not undertake recruitment for autonomous and non-government bodies. The Government had decided to appoint an independent recruitment board in the ICAR under the Chairmanship of a whole-time chairman. It would eliminate the lacunae pointed out by the Enquiry Committee and, at the same time, provide a mechanism for proper scientific assessment of candidates who were agricultural scientists.

One of the grievances and reasons for frustration amongst the scientists was that they had to appear for vacancies from time to time before a number of Selection Boards. According to the procedure now devised, all posts in the scale of Rs. 700—1400 would be filled up by selection by the Board. Thereafter further promotions upto the scale of pay of Rs. 1700 would be based on the assessment made by the Director-General. Only for the purpose of posts higher than the above scale, there would be again a reference to the Selection Board. The Government had also decided that the senior posts would be tenure posts and would not be for an indefinite period.

Government felt that there should be no differentiation in the pay scales of agricultural scientists and other scientists and whatever would be the pay-scales fixed for other scientists after taking into consideration the recommendations of the Pay Commission, would also have an application to agricultural scientists.

Warning issued about locust invasion in Rajasthan and other Northern States

The matter regarding "reported warning issued about locust invasion in Rajasthan and other Northern States and the measures:

proposed to check it" was raised in the House on November 29, 1973 by Shri Shivnath Singh through a Calling Attention Notice.*

The Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed said that in the first fortnight of October, 1973, the staff of the Locust Warning Organisation under the Directorate of Plant Protection Quarantine and Storage (Ministry of Agriculture) observed several hoppers in various areas of Jaisalmer District of Rajasthan. Immediate control operations were organised. A number of locust swarms were reported to be present on the Pakistan side of the border and they were organising ground and aerial control operations. Due to late breeding in Pakistan, there was a likelihood of some of the locusts entering India. The States adjoining Rajasthan like Gujarat, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh had been warned to keep ready locust control measures.

Answering questions, the Minister stated that so far as the question of no-man's land 5 k.m. on their side of the border between India and Pakistan was concerned, action had to be taken in that area also so that the locusts might not affect the areas in Rajasthan on the border with Pakistan. A meeting was going to be held at Rome between the representatives of India and Pakistan and with the assistance of the international organisation, it would be ensured that the locusts did not come from there towards India.

Rise in Prices of Essential Commodities

Initiating a discussion on November 12, 1973 on an adjournment motion regarding "abnormal rise in the prices of essential commodities, petrol, kerosene oil, diesel, gas, milk and ghee (DMS) and failure of the Government to check the same", Shri S. M. Banerjee held the Government solely responsible for the rise in prices of essential commodities.

He demanded the appointment of a high powered Commission to unearth black money; introduction of statutory rationing in all the important cities and even in villages; seizure of hoarded stocks of essential commodities and their distribution under the supervision of people's committees.

* The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri S. N. Singh, C. K. Chandrappan, Nawal Kishore Sharma and B. S. Bhaura.

The discussion continued for about six hours in which 17 members participated.⁷

Intervening in the debate, the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals, Shri D. K. Borooah said that the prices of petrol and petroleum products had to be increased because of increase in crude oil prices.

The foreign exchange requirement for the import of crude oil during the current year was estimated at Rs. 500 crores against Rs. 200 crores for the last year. The question was whether it could continue to buy crude at increased price and in increased quantities or effect cut in consumption.

There were 5.40 lakhs of cars and about 70,000 taxis in the country. As slightly less than half of the cars were owned by either the public sector companies or the Government, the number of people who would be directly hit would be about 2½ lakhs only.

The money that was generated as a result of rise in the price of petrol or at least a reasonable part of it would be used for the development of public transport in the urban areas.

The price of diesel had not been raised as it was used for road transport and agricultural purposes. Kerosene and petrol were the two items used for personal consumption. The diesel cost 20 paise more than the kerosene. Parity had thus been brought about in their prices by an upward revision of the price of kerosene.

Speaking on the motion, the Minister of Finance, Shri Yashwantrao Chavan said that the entire question of prices, had to be viewed in its national, economic and also political perspective. The rise in prices was effected by both internal as well as external factors.

The Government had taken a series of steps for controlling the price rise. These steps had the effect of mobilising about Rs. 400 crores. Similarly, the State Governments had also been asked to effect an economy of nearly Rs. 100 crores in their expenditure.

⁷The Members who took part in the discussion were Sarvashri Anant Prasad Sharma, D. Deb, B. R. Bhagat, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Chandrajit Yadav, G. Viswanthan, Annasaheb P. Shinde, Shyamanandan Mishra, K. P. Unnikrishnan, Pilloo Mody, Madhu Limaye, Shankar Dayal Singh, P. G. Mavalankar, Chintamani Panigrahi, S. A. Shamim, Vikram Mahajan and C. H. Mohamed Koya.

With the improvements in the availability of some of the important articles which exercised influence on the price rise, some healthy trend was discernible. The Government hoped that the things were going to improve in days to come and the prices would stabilize.

One of the arguments made by the Opposition was that Government, instead of taking steps for reducing the prices, had itself started increasing the prices and the illustration they gave was the rise in the case of issue prices and the rise in the case of petrol and kerosene. Those who were criticising the Government today about it had themselves said that there ought to have been reasonable prices given to farmers and producers. When the Government gave a rise in the procurement prices to the producer, it was the same people who were coming forward with the argument that the issue prices had been increased.

Regarding petrol prices, it had been said that the companies would take advantage of it in the income-tax deduction. The Government were examining the question as to how Income Tax Act could be amended so that the advantages would not be taken for the purpose of expenditure by the companies.

Taking into consideration all the steps taken by the Government and the assessment made by it, one should not take a pessimistic view of the situation and if the present trend continued, the country would be out of the woods in due course.

After Shri S. M. Banerjee had replied to the debate the motion was put to vote and negatived.

Reported Cancellation of Trains and Consequent Difficulties in the Movement of Essential Commodities and Passengers

The matter regarding "reported cancellation of trains and the consequent difficulties experienced by the people, particularly in the matter of movement of coal and other essential commodities as well as passengers" was raised in the House on November 15, 1973 by Shri Shyamanandan Mishra through a Calling Attention Notice.⁸

⁸The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri Shyamnandan Mishra, Madhu Limaye, Biswanarayan Shastri, Ranen Sen and K. M. Madhukar.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Railways, Shri Mohd. Shafi Qureshi said that Railways had been experiencing shrinking coal supplies in recent months.

The position was further aggravated in August and September, 1973 by the locomen's strike and numerous staff agitations and 'go slow' on the Railways which seriously affected and impeded movement.

As a result, the coal stocks with the Railways were severely depleted. In order to make available to the industries their essential requirements of steam coal, the Railways had to reduce their own coal consumption by curtailing departmental and shunting services and also undertaking temporary suspension of some short distance less-intensively used passenger trains.

According to available indication, steam coal availability was expected to increase in the coming winter months. As and when the availability of steam coal improved and the Railways built up the requisite coal stocks in sheds, the cut in train services would be restored in a phased manner.

Answering questions, the Deputy Minister said that skeleton train service was maintained in all sections. The goods trains had not been cancelled at all. The trains which had since been cancelled would be restored as and when the stock position improved.

Reported Late Running of Trains due to Work-to-rule Agitation by some Railway Staff

The matter regarding "the reported late running of several trains due to work-to-rule agitation by the Signal and Tele-Communication Staff Association and the Indian Railway Loco-mechanical Staff Association who have alleged that the Railway administration has been cold to their long-standing demands" was raised in the House on November 30, 1973 by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee through a Calling Attention Notice.⁹

Replying, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Railways, Shri Mohd. Shafi Qureshi said that no notice as such had been served on the various Railway Administrations by the Indian Railway Signal

⁹The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Ramavatar Shastri, Birender Singh Rao, Nawal Kishore Sinha and Shashi Bhushan.

and Tele-communication Staff Association, but an intimation had been received indicating that the members of that Association would start "Work-to-Rule" movement from November 27, 1973 if their demands were not met. From that date, some incidents had been reported of Signal and Tele-communication Staff not attending to their duties in respect of maintenance of the installations. Some late running of trains had been reported due to such incidents. There was some discussion in Bombay suburban area also.

A seven point charter of demands was received which was carefully examined. One of the demands regarding monetary benefit on the same lines as for the Permanent-way staff in the case of certain accidents which had already been sponsored by one of the recognised Federations had been examined and accepted and orders were issued to the Railways. As regards strength of Signal Maintenance Staff, individual Railways were assessing workloads, taking into account factors like local conditions to see if any increase was necessary. The other demands were not justified.

Answering questions, the Deputy Minister said that the working time of the loco running staff was being reduced to ten hours. But to enforce the new rule 30,000 additional staff would be required which would involve an expenditure of Rs. 30 crores.

Collision between a Truck and Passenger Train at an Unmanned Level Crossing

The matter regarding "collision between a police truck and a passenger train at an unmanned level crossing near Dwarkaganj in Sultanpur as a result of which 8 PAC personnel were killed and 20 other injured" was raised in the House on November 28, 1973 by Shri R. K. Sinha through a Calling Attention Notice.¹⁰

Replying the Minister of Railways, Shri L. N. Mishra said that on November 26, 1973 at about 05.00 hours, 2 AF Faizabad-Allahabad Passenger train collided with a truck belonging to the U.P. Provincial Armed Constabulary at a manned level crossing between Dwarkaganj and Sultanpur stations on the Faizabad-Allahabad section of the Northern Railway.

An *ex-gratia* payment of Rs. 6,200 had so far been made to the injured and to the next of kin of the dead. The District Magistrate,

¹⁰The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri R. K. Sinha, Madhu Limaye, Mukhtiar Singh Malik, Shrikishan Modi and Sat Pal Kapur.

Sultanpur had ordered a Magisterial inquiry to be conducted into the accident by the Sub-divisional Magistrate, Sultanpur.

Production and Supply Position of Coal

Making a statement regarding "production and supply position of coal in the country" on November 15, 1973, the Minister of Heavy Industry and Steel and Mines, Shri T. A. Pai said that subsequent to nationalisation, the community at large had expected the coal industry not only to mine coal but also to make arrangements to ensure that the coal was distributed throughout the country. A sudden change like his, where the Government had to organise the movement of coal on a basis which would be reasonable and entirely satisfy the demands of the community as a whole was an exercise which had to be continuous and called for certain investment also.

So far as Coal Mining Authority and Bharat Coking Coal Company Ltd. were concerned, they were expected to deliver the coal at fixed price. But whether in the market it was available at the same price or not was a different question. Shortages were created when transport was not upto the mark. The immediate problem of having the necessary sidings, where loading could be improved immediately, had been taken up with the Ministry of Railways.

The Government were taking up, on an emergency basis, the development of collieries. The Bengal and Bihar fields which supplied most of the coal required reorganisation even in the matter of rail movement. One-third of the railway system was involved in moving the raw materials to the steel plants and the finished products from there. The production of coal for steel industry was going to be doubled. Both Railways and coalmines were responsible to satisfy the needs of the community and they would do so by proper coordination.

Reported Shortage of Production at Bokaro Steel Plant

The matter regarding "the reported total stoppage of production at Bokaro Steel Plant as a result of strike in plant" was raised in the House on November 16, 1973 by Professor Madhu Dandavate through a Calling Attention Notice.¹¹

¹¹The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri Madhu Dandavate, S. M. Banerjee, Mukhtiar Singh Malik, Yamuna Prasad Mandal and Ram Bhagat Paswan.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Steel and Mines, Shri Subodh Hansda said that during October, 1973, the Bokaro Pragati-sheel Karamchari Sanghatan, the Central Works Committee, the Bokaro Ispat Kamgar Union and the Bokaro Operative Association served separate charter of demands-cum-strike notices to the Management of Bokaro.

On receipt of the charters of demands, the Management of Bokaro Steel Ltd. sought intervention of the State Labour Machinery. On a suggestion from the State Government, the Bokaro Management agreed to abide by the advice of the State Labour Minister regarding disputes/grievances raised by different Unions and Associations.

Notwithstanding the categorical assurance by the Management of the Bokaro Steel Plant, the Central Works Committee, the Operatives Association and the Bokaro Ispat Kamgar Union joined the strike on November 8, 1973. Those Associations also constituted a Joint Action Committee which gave a fresh charter of 27 demands for the consideration of the Management.

Due to the strike, there was no production of pig iron from November 8, 1973 resulting in loss of production of about 1950 tonnes per day—which was the average daily production during October 1973—valued at about Rs. 10.90 lakhs.

The strike was declared illegal by the State Government. It had been called off on the night of November 15-16, at the intervention of the Labour Minister of Bihar. The Plant would resume the normal operations very shortly.

Acute Shortage of Newsprint in the Country

The matter regarding “the acute shortage of newsprint in the country resulting in closure of some newspapers and cutting down of pages of all newspapers” was raised in the House on November 20, 1973 by Shri G. Viswanathan through a Calling Attention Notice.¹²

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Shri Dharam Bir Sinha said that it had not been possible to procure enough newsprint to meet the requirements of newspapers in the country for 1973-74 based on their performance in

¹²The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri G. Vishwanathan, Shyam Sunder Mohapatra, Hari Kishore Singh, Shyamnandan Mishra and Pilooy Mody.

the previous year by utilisation of newsprint authorised for that period. Government had therefore to impose on all newspapers a cut in newsprint quota of 30 per cent. Newspapers with a circulation of 15,000 copies and a page-level of 8 were enabled to seek exemption from the cut by having recourse to a provision for new newspapers made in the Newsprint Allocation Policy.

An already difficult situation had, however, been made more difficult by strikes in some Canadian Newsprint Mills and by some suppliers with whom contracts had been entered into not adhering to delivery schedules. The shortfall in supplies had resulted in the newsprint shortage becoming more acute. Vigorous efforts were being made to persuade the suppliers to speed up shipments of contracted quantities.

As a result of the world shortage and the consequent cut in newsprint quota, newspapers in the country had had to limit their performance by cutting down the number of pages they published. No newspaper in receipt of newsprint quota was so far known to have closed down for want of newsprint.

Answering questions, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Shri I. K. Gujral, said that one index of the shortage was that the prices of newsprint were shooting up very fast. The cost of newsprint had risen from 190 dollars to 300 dollars during the course of a year. The result of such a steep rise was that even those who had been entering into long term contracts had chosen to back out of them whenever there was a price rise. At present, there was no dearth of foreign exchange, but there was acute shortage of newsprint. Government would do everything that was within their means to try to get the maximum possible newsprint.

Reported Directive to Petroleum Traders by their Federation not to purchase Petrol from Oil Companies

The matter regarding the "reported directive issued by the Federation of All India Petroleum Traders to its Members not to purchase petrol from oil companies and steps taken to avert the crisis" was raised in the House on November 23, 1973 by Shri R. K. Sinha through a Calling Attention Notice.¹⁹

¹⁹The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri R. K. Sinha, Chandulal Chandrakar, Jagannathrao Joshi, C. K. Chandrappan and Pилоo Mody.

Replying, the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals, Shri D. K. Borooah said that the retail selling prices of Motor Spirit (Petrol) and High Speed Diesel Oil ex-retail outlets (pumps) of the oil companies included an element of gross commission for the retail outlet dealer. Presently, the commission was Rs. 41.80 per kilolitre (approximately 4.2 paise per litre) for petrol and Rs. 17.60 per kilolitre (approximately 1.8 paise per litre) for High Speed Diesel Oil. The above rates were fixed in 1954 and in 1955 respectively and had remained unchanged since then.

The Oil Prices Committee in its Report submitted in October 1969 did not recommend any increase in the rate of commission on petrol, but recommended that the dealers' commission on High Speed Diesel Oil might be revised from Rs. 17.60 per KL to Rs. 37.60 per KL. The Committee also recommended the merging of the service charge with the commission and further observed that thereafter the dealers should refrain from recovering the service charge.

Government considered the various recommendations made by the Committee, but did not accept the recommendation made in regard to the increase in the dealers' commission on High Speed Diesel Oil basically because of the fact that the recommendation had not been based on any cost studies of dealers' profitability.

When the Government's decision became known, the Federation resorted to agitational tactics and also persisted in continuing the recovery of service charge of 2 paise per litre on the retail sale of High Speed Diesel Oil at several locations. The Government, therefore, commissioned the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) to conduct a cost study of the profitability of retail outlets and to make recommendations in regard to the reasonableness or otherwise of the existing rates of commission. The NCAER in its Report submitted in May, 1972 had recommended that the dealers' commission on petrol might be increased from Rs. 41.80 per KL to Rs. 50.00 per KL and on High Speed Diesel Oil from Rs. 17.60 per KL to Rs. 40.00 per KL. Government were considering the recommendations and were likely to take a decision thereon shortly.

Reports of Tariff Commission regarding price structure of Synthetic Fibres etc.

A discussion under Rule 193 on a matter of general public importance "on the Reports of the Tariff Commission regarding (1)

Price Structure of Man-made Fibres and Yarns—Synthetic Fibres and Yarns (2) Price Structure of Man made Fibre Industry—Viscose and Acetate Filament Yarn and Staple Fibre (3) Price Structure of Man-made Fibres and Yarns Industry—Viscose Staple Fibre Spun Yarn and (4) Fair Prices for Rayon Tyre Cord, laid on the Table of the House on the 23rd and 25th July, 1973” was raised in the House on November 20, 1973 by Shri Madhu Limaye.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Limaye pointed out that there had been a steep rise in the prices of synthetic fibre and yarn. The prices of nylon yarn in open market went up steeply and during the year 1971-72 four big nylon yarn manufacturing companies earned 17 crores of rupees as profit, while the small weavers were left to be starved for want of yarn.

Effective steps should be taken to reduce the price of synthetic yarn so that the prices of the synthetic fibre could come within the reach of the common man.

Government should pursue an integrated textile policy in the overall interest of the consumer and the entire production of yarn should be distributed through the weavers' organisations.

The discussion continued for more than two hours in which 9 members participated.¹⁴

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of Commerce, Professor D. P. Chattopadhyaya said that it has been suggested that the public sector be inducted into the production field of yarns. Already as many as 13 State Industrial Development Corporations had been given letters of intent for the production of 2100 metric tonnes of the raw material necessary for Man-made fibre. The Government would welcome more public sector/joint sector companies coming in that field so that scarcity that was being created by some people to the detriment of spinners and weavers could be adequately met.

The Minister added that the delay in submission of the Tariff Commission's report was unintended. The reasons for the delay, however, were the methodology of the production cost calculation followed by the Tariff Commission being not conventional and there

¹⁴The members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Bhaoosahaib Dhamankar, S. M. Banerjee, Vasant Sathe, Hukam Chand Kachwal, N. K. P. Salve, E. R. Krishnan, Raghunandan Lal Bhatia, N. K. Kailas and Prasannbhai Mehta.

was very valid reason for re-examination of that methodology; secondly, complexity of exercise was involved in it. These things rather took time as they were all complicated.

It was expected that the Tariff Commission would submit its revised fair selling prices of viscose filament yarn in about two months' time.

The second important report covered the industry producing synthetic fibres and yarn. The Government had taken into account the cost data of the report of the Tariff Commission, and its decision on fair selling prices would be taken very shortly.

The first report on rayon tyre cord was accepted by Government in February, 1971 and the Government Resolution was laid on the Table. The prices of rayon tyre cord as recommended by the Tariff Commission were not accepted by the industry as at that time they were not statutorily notified. The industry had been representing that they had observed voluntary discipline in not raising the prices in 1969 and that the prices arrived at by the Tariff Commission were unrealistic. The Government were now considering the second report of the Tariff Commission recommending fair selling prices for 1972-74 supported by statistics and the formula for escalation in fair selling prices on which it was proposed to base the decision on the fair selling prices for the rayon tyre yarn, cord fabrics. The decision would be taken very soon.

Meanwhile, it would be the endeavour of the Government to see that the voluntary agreement in the field of nylon yarn worked and defaulters were brought to book.

The Government would take expeditious decision on the other reports as soon as these were received back from the Tariff Commission.

Foreign Experts working in the Cochin Division of F.A.C.T.

Raising Half-an-Hour discussion regarding "foreign experts working in the Cochin Division of F.A.C.T." on November 28, 1973, Shri Vayalar Ravi said that when the Plant after completion went into production in June, 1971, some difficulties were noticed. The Indian technocrats pointed out that the defects would be rectified only by removing the boiler shell. Instead of heeding to the Advice

of Indian technicians, the Managing Director preferred the foreign technicians, who remained in India for 22 months. The total expenditure on them amounted to Rs. 7.5 lakhs per month. The total expenditure on them far exceeded even the cost of the boiler.

Replying, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals, Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, said that 25 foreign experts had to be kept in the Plant. In view of the contract the foreign experts were supposed to be at the site throughout the erection stage so that they could be associated with the actual erection work and could accept the responsibility later on. When the erection was completed and they tried to run the plant, certain defects came to light and those defects were mostly from the imported equipment. Heavy expenditure had to be incurred on foreign experts as they had to be kept there to keep alive the guarantee that they would make the replacement of the defective parts free of cost.

Sometimes ago, some Members had submitted a memorandum containing various allegations against the Chairman and the Managing Director. The Government were looking into those allegations and had asked for their explanations. As soon as all the facts were available, any action that was called for, would be taken.

C.O.B. Licences

Raising Half-an-Hour discussion on November 30, 1973, regarding "application for C.O.B. licences from firms after the expiry of due dates", Shri Madhu Limaye demanded that stringent action should be taken against those companies which did not get C.O.B. licences. The permission given to Coca Cola to send 80 per cent of their profits to foreign countries in foreign exchange should be withdrawn. The expansion of foreign companies producing cosmetics should be checked so that the indigenous small scale companies flourished.

Replying, the Minister of Industrial Development and Science and Technology, Shri C. Subramaniam said that the areas in which the foreign companies would be allowed to participate either by way of expansion or establishing new units had been clearly mentioned in the notification issued in February, 1973. Apart from that, the Government were not going to allow new expansion programmes or establishment of new units by foreign companies. Coca Cola was

not an essential article to be encouraged. The Government were determined not only to stall any further expansion of that company but were contemplating to put curbs even on its existing activities. The Foreign Exchange Regulations Act was there to take care of all the categories of foreign companies operating in the country. As far as the foreign trading companies were concerned, there seemed to be no justification for their continuing indefinitely. The Government were contemplating to take them over.

There should be no impression that the Government was in favour of all foreign companies expanding their empire in the country and that they were not interested in safeguarding the interests of the indigenous companies. The Government were aware of the position and would give licences to foreign companies only where it became inevitable and that too in selected areas.

Reported Dislocation of Indian Airlines Services owing to Employees' Resistance to New Shift System

The matter regarding "reported dislocation of Indian Airlines services due to the employees' resistance to the new shift system" was raised in the House on November 14, 1973 by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee through a Calling Attention Notice.¹⁵

The Minister of Communications and Tourism, Shri Raj Bahadur stated that the shifts in Indian Airlines prior to November 12, 1973 were mostly on the 'balanced' pattern, so that equal numbers of workers were employed in the various shifts, though the workload involved varied from shift to shift. That created artificial shortages when the workload was high and left numbers of workers with little work at other times. The Committee on Public Undertakings had, in its Twenty-eighth Report, on the working of Indian Airlines drawn attention to the said disturbing situation and recommended remedial action.

To rationalise the shift system and eliminate wasteful practices to the extent possible, the Chairman of the Corporation had held discussions with the representatives of the Air Corporations Employees Union, the Indian Aircraft Technicians Association and the All India Aircraft Engineers Association separately. Since no agreement could be reached, the proposals were, in accordance with the agreements signed with the unions, remitted to the Regional Directors in the case of the Indian Aircraft Technicians Association and the All India Aircraft Engineers Association and to the Assistant

¹⁵ The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Vasant Sathe, H. M. Patel, Samar Guha and Nawal Kishore Sharma.

Managing Director in the case of the A.C.E.U. After due consultations with the Indian Aircraft Technicians Association and the All India Aircraft Engineers Association, the Regional Directors took final decisions in regard to the revised shift system as applicable to their categories of staff. Pursuant to the above-mentioned decisions, the Management notified, on November 10, that the revised shift pattern would come into effect from November 12.

It was regrettable that despite specific provisions in the agreements with the unions for the revision of the shift system, and the detailed discussions between the Management and the unions, the unions concerned were opposing introduction of the new shift pattern. They had resorted to action which had resulted in delays and curtailment of services causing serious inconvenience and harassment to the travelling public.

The Chairman had made it abundantly clear that if as a result of experience the new shift system needed any modifications, those would be introduced.

Lock-out in the Indian Airlines

Making a statement on November 26, 1973 regarding "lock-out in the Indian Airlines", the Minister of Communications and Tourism and Civil Aviation, Shri Raj Bahadur said that following the introduction of new shift patterns in Indian Airlines and the agitation launched in that connection by the Air Corporations Employees Union, the Indian Aircraft Technicians Association and the All India Aircraft Engineers Association, including a strike notice by the ACEU, considerable disruption and dislocation had taken place in Indian Airlines services since November 12, 1973. In the circumstances, the management of Indian Airlines had no option left but to declare a lock-out with effect from the 03.00 hrs. on November 24, 1973.

The Government hoped that the Unions concerned would quickly agree to working the new shift patterns so that services could be restored in the shortest possible time. The management of Indian Airlines had made it clear that it was always willing to consider modifications or changes in the new shift patterns if that became necessary as a result of experience gained in working the new arrangements. That position still held good.

A discussion on the matter was raised again under Rule 193 on November 27, 1973 by Shri S. M. Banerjee.

Initiating the debate, Shri Banerjee said that in the statements regarding lock-out made by the Minister of Civil Aviation, all blame had been thrown on the employees and their organisation. It was not the case. They were waiting to have a settlement. The Minister should cast off his helplessness and make another effort to have a settlement.

The discussion continued for more than 1½ hours in which 7 members participated.¹⁶

Speaking on the motion, the Minister of Communications and Tourism and Civil Aviation, Shri Raj Bahadur said that it was not correct to say that the Chairman of the Corporation wanted to revise the shift pattern in an arbitrary manner. It had been agreed between the management and the workers that the shifts could be revised to meet the variation in the workload.

The Minister had also met the Union leaders personally in order to convince them that it should not be allowed to become a question of prestige. On the other hand they should consider coolly the new pattern of shift. It was not as if the Government wanted any lock-out. They had been driven to it.

Water Supply Position in Delhi

Making a statement regarding "water supply position in Delhi" on November 23, 1973, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri F. H. Mohsin said that a strike had taken place in the Delhi Water Supply and Sewage Disposal Undertaking on the midnight of November 5, 1973. The main demand was 66 per cent increase in wages. The Commissioner, Municipal Corporation, had assured the striking workers that their demands would be put up before the Water Supply and Sewage Disposal Committee for consideration. The matter was considered by the Committee on November 13, and was to be considered again on November 22, 1973. Before it could be considered, suddenly at 8.00 A.M. on November 22, 1973, a section of the workers manning the Wazirabad Water Works struck work and as a result the entire complex of bulk production of water came to a stand-still. It was discovered that the striking workers had simultaneously caused extensive acts of sabotage in the entire production and main distribution system.

¹⁶The members who took part in discussion were Sarvashri Narain Chand Parashar, Mohd. Ismail, Vasant Sathe, Hukam Chand Kachwai, Bhagwat Jha Azad, Tha Kiruttinan and Dinesh Chandra Goswami.

When information was received regarding stoppage of the water, the engineers reached the spot along with an adequate number of police force. With the help of the loyal workers the first pump of the raw water intake was started at about 3.30 P.M. The police had arrested 62 persons. By about 9.00 P.M. all the pumps in the intake plant were restarted. The damage which was caused to the Plant was set right. The help of the army was also sought and a batch of 30 armymen also reached the water works. By about 2.00 A.M. on November 23 all the filtration plants started working to full capacity. At about 8.00 A.M. the conditions at Wazirabad and Chandrawal and at the various reservoirs had been brought to normal.

The Union leaders had informed that the strike had been called off.

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Annual Reports of University Grants Commission
for 1970-71 and 1971-72

On November 19, 1973, the Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, Professor S. Nurul Hasan moved the following motion:—

“That this House do consider the Annual Reports of the University Grants Commission for the years 1970-71 and 1971-72, laid on the Table of the House on the 1st June, 1972 and 13th August, 1973, respectively”.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Biren Dutta said that the University Grants Commission had failed to give proper direction and guidance for the development of mother tongues. The Government had also not paid enough attention to that aspect. Unless effort was made to reorganise the present system of education from the roots, the country would be faced with an explosive situation in the near future.

The discussion continued for two days in which 18 members participated.¹⁷

¹⁷The members who took part in the discussion were Sarvashri Biren Dutta, Sudhakar Pandey, Surendra Mohanty, Y. S. Mahajan, P. G. Mavalankar, Narain Chand Parashar, Dinesh Chandra Goswami, N. Sree-Kantan Nair, Shibban Lal Saksena, S. N. Singh, M. M. Joseph, Shyam Sunder Mohapatra, S. D. Somasundaram, Chandrika Prasad, S. M. Benerjee, Rudra Pratap Singh, Bhaosahaib Dhamankar and Rajdeo Singh.

Replying to the debate on November 26, 1973, Professor S. Nurul Hasan, Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture said that the number of universities, colleges and students had been going up rather rapidly, but compared to that, neither adequate funds were available nor were there adequate jobs for those who would be taking degrees from the Universities.

There were certain constitutional limitations on the functioning of the UGC. In spite of the limitations, the UGC had been taking number of positive steps to raise the standard of higher education. The UGC, following its reconstitution, was engaged in formulating the strategies for higher education in the ensuing Plan period and the re-structuring of its programmes.

The contribution of the UGC to the growth of research in the Universities had been positive. A special reference could be made to the UGC's scheme for the Centre for Advanced Studies and of special assistance to those departments which were active in scientific research.

The Government and the Commission were deeply concerned about the position of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and of the other weaker sections of the community. Efforts were being made to re-structure the scholarship scheme so that more people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes could avail themselves of that opportunity.

The UGC had been lately devoting a great deal of its attention to the implementation of the scheme of examination reforms. It had selected 12 Universities to start with. The plan of action was under consideration and the reaction of the Universities and college teachers had been generally favourable.

The UGC had recommended to all the Universities to implement the report of the Gajendragadkar Committee so that the students could be involved in the process of decision making in the Universities.

Although, broadly speaking, agricultural education and research was the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, nevertheless, the UGC was considering a proposal to develop the non-viable colleges by giving them a rural slant so that they could attract more students and courses in which they would be imparting education would be of direct relevance and advantage to the rural community in the surrounding areas.

Reported Unearthing of an International Hashish Smuggling Racket in Delhi

The matter regarding "the reported unearthing of an international hashish smuggling racket in Delhi and seizure of contraband hashish worth Rs. 1.5 lakhs and foreign currency to the value of Rs. 4 lakhs" was raised in the House on November 13, 1973 by Shri Satpal Kapur through a Calling Attention Notice.¹⁸

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs Shri F. H. Mohsin said that on the basis of information, in the early hours of November 10, 1973, Delh Police arrested one Ashok Soloman, an Indian national at the Delhi Airport after he alighted from a domestic flight from Bombay. Various foreign currencies worth Rs. 2.5 lakhs were reported to have been recovered from his person. From the search of his house in Delhi more foreign currency worth about Rs. 1 lakh, Indian currency worth Rs. 4,970.00, some cartridges and sharp edged weapons were reported to have been recovered. From his business premises in Old Delhi 5.5 Kgs. of hashish was reported to have been recovered. Shri Ashok Soloman and his wife were arrested on the same day.

Another residential premises in New Delhi which were in the occupation of an associate of Shri Ashok Soloman were searched on the same day and 1403 Kgs. of hashish, Rs. 7,000 in Indian currency and certain forged documents were reported to have been recovered. The associate and his wife were also arrested on the same day.

On November 12, 1973, a bank locker in New Delhi in the name of the mother of Shri Ashok Soloman was searched by the Delhi Police and Customs Staff and about 2 Kgs. of gold including 16 guineas and a primary gold bar weighing 10 tolas were reported to have been recovered.

Business premises of another associate of Ashok Soloman were raided on the previous night and 4.70 Kgs. of hashish was reported to have been recovered. That associate was also arrested.

¹⁸The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri Sat Pal Kapur, Hari Kishore Singh, Hukam Chand Kachwai, Samar Guha and R. K. Sinha.

The Delhi Police had registered four criminal cases in this regard and their investigation was in progress. The interrogation of the accused was continuing.

Answering questions, the Minister of Home Affairs Shri Uma Shanker Dikshit said that if the provision regarding punishment in the law dealing with smuggling was weak the Government would consider making it strong and would also ask the Ministry of Finance to consider the matter.

It was totally wrong to say that any officer or Minister was in any way connected with the matter.

There should be no implication that the Government of Nepal was involved in the matter; smuggling took place despite the precautions taken by both the Governments.

Theft of Silver Coins from National Museum, New Delhi

Making a statement regarding "theft of silver coins from the National Museum, New Delhi," on November 16, 1973, the Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, Professor S. Nurul Hasan stated that 41 coins had disappeared from the National Museum on November 15, 1973. The theft took place from the Numismatic gallery on the second floor of the Museum. The police authorities were informed immediately after the theft was discovered and they commenced their investigations soon thereafter.

While the most valuable coins were kept in a strong room, and were not normally displayed in the galleries, other coins of historical interest were exhibited in the Numismatic Gallery. The 41 coins found missing were Persian coins of the Sassanian period (226—651 A.D.).

Government had taken an extremely serious view of the theft. A security lapse had undoubtedly taken place and an enquiry had been ordered into the matter. Immediate steps would be taken to further strengthen security measures in the Museum in order to prevent such occurrence in the future.

Death of a Harijan Satyagrahi from Haryana in Aligarh Jail

Making a statement on November 23, 1973, regarding "death of a Harijan Satyagrahi from Haryana in Aligarh Jail" the Deputy

Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri F. H. Mohsin informed the House that according to information received from the Government of Uttar Pradesh, a harijan satyagrahi of Haryana, Shri Jeeu, who had been convicted by a Delhi Magistrate under section 188 IPC, was transferred to District Jail, Aligarh on November 3-4-1973. At the time of admission he was found to be a patient of chronic bronchitis and asthma and of feeble health. No injuries in his person were, however, found by the jail authorities. On complaint of aggravation of cough trouble on November 7, the Jail AMO, who examined him, suspected that it was a case of T.B. and started necessary treatment. On further aggravation of cough trouble on November 9 the Jail AMO had him admitted in the jail hospital and arranged for necessary treatment. As however, his condition deteriorated, he was admitted to the Sadar Hospital. He died there on November 10. According to the post-mortem report, the death was due to cardio respiratory failure. As no member of his family claimed the body till the evening of November 11, the dead body was cremated by the jail authorities.

Police Firing at Sijua Coal Mine near Dhanbad

The matter regarding the "reported death of five labourers as a result of police firing at Sijua Coal Mine near Dhanbad" was raised in the House on November 19, 1973 by Shri Hukam Chand Kachwai through a Calling Attention Notice.¹⁰

The Minister of Heavy Industry and Steel and Mines, Shri T. A. Pai said that on November 15, 1973, C.I.S.F. personnel deployed to protect the office of the Area General Manager, Bharat Coking Coal Limited and adjoining B.C.C.L. properties in Sijua had had to resort to firing to disperse a violent armed mob, resulting in the death of six persons including a woman. Fifteen injured persons consisting of 5 C.I.S.F. personnel and 10 others were removed to Hospital.

A section of workers in the area covering Sijua, Angarpathra, Loyabad, Mudidih, Ghaslitand and other collieries, under the leadership of Hind Mazdoor Sabha had been agitating for sometime on the question of absorption of casual labour engaged in wagon loading into the permanent strength of Bharat Coking Coal Ltd. The

¹⁰The Calling Attention Notice was tabled by Sarvashri Hukam Chand Kachwai, C. K. Chandrappan, B. N. Reddy, Nawal Kishore Sinha and Shrikishan Mody.

management of B.C.C.L. was carrying on discussions on this and related matters with the leaders of the particular trade union which was leading the agitation.

B.C.C.L. had been instructed, in keeping with past practice, to make an *ex-gratia* payment to the next-of-kin of those who lost their lives in the unhappy episode. The matter was in the hands of the authorities responsible for law and order, and investigations were under way.

As regards the question of ordering judicial inquiry, the Government did not want to appropriate the powers of the Bihar Chief Minister to order a judicial inquiry. It was appropriate for that Government to take whatever action they wanted to take.

Obituary References

On November 12, 1973, obituary references were made in the House to Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda (Sitting Member of Lok Sabha), Shri Dharamrao Sharnappa Afzalpurkar (Sitting Member of Lok Sabha), Shri Anand Chandra Joshi (Member, First, Second, Third Lok Sabha and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting during 1959—62), Pandit Shiv Charan Lal (Member, Provisional Parliament), Syed Nazir Hussain Samnani (Member, Third Lok Sabha), Shri Krishan Kant Vyas (Member Provisional Parliament), Shri Vaddepalli Kashiram (Member, Second Lok Sabha), Shri T. H. Sonavane (Member, Provisional Parliament and Second, Third and Fourth Lok Sabha), Diwan Chaman Lal (Member Central Legislative Assembly and Constituent Assembly) and Shri Barkatullah Khan (Chief Minister of Rajasthan). The Members stood in silence for a shortwhile as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

The Eighty-sixth Session of the Rajya Sabha commenced on November 12, 1973. Some of the important discussions held and other business transacted by the House during the period from November 12 to 30, 1973, are briefly mentioned below:—

Shortage of edible oils and steep rise in their prices

On November 12, 1973, Shri Lokanath Misra called the attention of the Minister of Agriculture to the shortage of edible oils, vanaspati and ghee in various parts of the country and steep rise in their prices causing considerable hardship to the people.

Making a statement on the subject, Professor Sher Singh, Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, said that the supply position of edible oils became particularly difficult during the year 1972-73 as a result of a severe set back in oilseeds production caused by the prevalence of drought conditions in kharif season in the major oilseeds producing areas.

During the past 12 months, the net increase in oil prices had ranged from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500 per tonne in different parts of the country. While ordinarily, vanaspati prices too should have been increased by an equivalent amount, the actual increase allowed was limited to Rs. 1,900 per tonne, the difference being absorbed through the usage of imported oils. The vanaspati prices had been increased only on three occasions—by Rs. 400 per tonne on 2nd January, 1973, and by Rs. 750 per tonne each on 1st June and 16th July, 1973.

After a year of severe shortfall in production, the current year (1973-74) held the promise of bumper oilseed crops. It was hoped that with an improvement in the supply position of edible oils, it would be possible to reduce the vanaspati prices as well.

Report of the University Grants Commission for 1971-72¹

On November 12, 1973, Professor S. Nurul Hasan, Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture moved the motion for consideration of the Annual Report of the University Grants Commission for the year 1971-72.

¹Laid on the Table of Rajya Sabha on August 22, 1973.

The Minister said that during the period under review, the enrolment in higher education, including Intermediate and Pre-University education, had gone up by 2,61,000 and the number of colleges had gone up by approximately 300.

He added that while on the one hand there had been a considerable increase in the student enrolment, particularly, in the arts side on the other, the resources at the disposal of the Commission and also of the State Governments, had not correspondingly increased. The paucity of funds was causing concern to the Government and they had sought higher allocation from the Planning Commission because the Government was conscious of the need to regulate the expansion of higher education. It was equally conscious of the fact that facilities for weaker sections of the community and for the backward regions had also to be increased.

Replying to the debate, the Minister said that the higher education would have to be developed in a manner that it conformed to the growth of employment opportunities because if that was not done, frustration would be even more.

As regards the research programme, the Minister said that the Centre of Advanced Studies had been giving support to the universities to develop high quality programmes of research. He also outlined the steps to foster instructional courses in colleges situated in rural areas in a manner which would make a positive contribution to the growth of rural society.

The Commission was proposing to promote specific programme of academic exchange and collaboration between Indian universities and universities abroad in those fields which were of interest to the community and the nation at large.

Redesignation of the Secretary of the Rajya Sabha as Secretary-General

On November 13, 1973, the Chairman announced that the Speaker had in consultation with the Prime Minister, decided to redesignate Shri S. L. Shakti, Secretary Lok Sabha, as Secretary-General of Lok Sabha. Therefore, he had also decided that the Secretary, Rajya Sabha Shri B. N. Banerjee would be similarly designated as Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha.

Steep rise in the prices of petrol and petroleum products

On November 14, 1973, initiating the discussion Shri J. P. Yadav, said that the Government had increased the price of petrol presum-

ably to check its consumption but, 90 per cent of the petrol was used by the Government, public undertakings and by the private companies where its consumption would not come down even after the price-rise. The remaining 10 per cent was consumed by those using private cars and scooters etc. Thus, recent increase in the price of petrol would ultimately affect the common man because the price would further rise due to higher transport charges. The landed cost of the imported oil was only 41 paise per litre and now there was an increase of 7 paise. Thus, the actual cost of oil came to only 48 paise or so, but now it was selling at the rate of Rs. 2.80 per litre which meant that the Government was collecting as much as Rs. 2.32 per litre as excise duty.

The member also asked the Minister to enumerate the steps contemplated to make the country self-reliant so far as petrol was concerned.

Replying to the discussion Shri D. K. Borooah, Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals, said that one of the reasons why there had been a chronic shortage of kerosene either in the countryside or in the urban areas, was the price differential. Middle distillates, kerosene, diesel and LDO were interchangeable and kerosene could be profitably mixed with diesel as it was cheaper than the diesel. If the price was equalised then there would be no incentive for anybody to use kerosene for diesel the price being the same. Hence the price increase of kerosene. So far as petroleum was concerned the Government wanted to reduce the spiral of consumption of petroleum products. There were two ways of reducing the consumption. One method was its rationing. This could not be implemented immediately as majority of the States thought that it would require a lot of time. The other alternative was price-hike which was resorted to.

The Minister also announced that it had been decided that a substantial part of the money received as a result of increase in price would be used for the development of public transport and the Government was working out some kind of concession either on excise duty for tyres or on the registration fee in order to give some relief to the scooter|motorcycle owners.

Reorganisation of Indian Council of Agricultural Research

On November 15, 1973, Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur, initiating a short duration discussion on the Government's decision on the reorganisation of the I.C.A.R. said that while rejecting totally the re-

port of the Gajendragadkar Committee, the Government had stated merely that it was going to reorganise the I.C.A.R. on the pattern of C.S.I.R. The Government ought to have shown some respect to the Gajendragadkar Committee and other scientists and educationists by accepting their recommendations and decisions.

The employees of the I.C.A.R. had expected that, in view of the atmosphere prevailing in that organisation, the Government would go into their complaints. But, that was not done and the grievances of the employees were not redressed. It appeared from the attitude of the Government that the sacrifice made by Dr. Shah had had no impact.

The Gajendragadkar Committee had stated in its report that there was a crisis of confidence and character in the whole Department. It had recommended that the U.P.S.C. should be entrusted with the job of selection of candidates for five years. But, the Government did not accept that recommendation which, the Member felt strongly, should be accepted to create confidence amongst the employees.

Replying to the discussion, Shri Annasaheb P. Shinde, Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, said that there was admiration all the world over about the recent activities of the I.C.A.R., although there might be mistakes and omissions.

If the main recommendation of the Committee, that I.C.A.R. should be made a full-fledged department of the Government, had been accepted, politicians and administrators would have interfered with the scientific activity.

Another important recommendation of the Gajendragadkar Committee which the Government had not accepted was in regard to the pay scales of the scientific community. They had prescribed certain pay scales. On examination, it was found that these scales were lower as compared to the pay scales of similar scientists working in other organisations. If the scales recommended by the Committee had been accepted, the agricultural scientists would have been at a disadvantage.

The Government had accepted the recommendation in regard to the creation of a Grievance Cell. Such Cells would be set up in all the institutes which were functioning under the ICAR.

The Gajendragadkar Committee made an important recommendation that the recruitment should be done through U.P.S.C. It was

Government intention to accept it but in view of the Calcutta High Court's opinion expressed recently that the U.P.S.C. was not competent to make recruitment to I.C.A.R., it was considered desirable to constitute a High-powered authority independent of the Government to make recruitment to the different posts.

*Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes
and Scheduled Tribes**

On November 19, 1973, Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and in the Department of Personnel, moved the motion for consideration of the Twentieth Report² of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1970-71.

The Minister said that during the Fourth Plan period emphasis had been mainly on educational schemes for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The most important scheme in this field was the grant of post-matric scholarships. Today, as many as 7 lakh students belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were in colleges receiving post-matric scholarships.

Another important activity initiated by the Government was pre-examination training for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The idea behind the scheme was that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be actively helped to join in sufficient numbers the higher services like the IAS, IFS, IPS, etc. The Government had established 16 training centres for giving pre-examination training for various competitive examinations.

Apart from the educational schemes, the Government had also been devoting attention to the economic development of these classes. The major scheme in this strategy was the one relating to tribal development blocks. The Government was also proposing to set up proper machinery both at the Centre and in the States for the effective implementation of the Untouchability Offences Act. It was proposed to build in the programme suitable preferences so that in any developmental effort the Scheduled Castes would be assured of their due share.

Intervening in the debate, the Minister of Home Affairs Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit, said that it would be clear from the Report that

²Laid on the Table on May 11, 1973.

the various Departments of the Central Government and the various State Governments had undertaken a very large number of measures of social amelioration, of prevention of untouchability, of improving the economic and social conditions of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Still the feeling that one got at the end of the Report was that while quite a lot of effort was being made, the result was not commensurate with the desired objectives and the expenditure incurred to run these Departments. The Minister conceded that a much more sustained, patient and devoted labour would be necessary to achieve the social objectives to which the country was committed.

Replying to the debate, the Minister of State, Shri R. N. Mirdha, added that it was a measure of the national concern that the House had discussed the subject with the seriousness it deserved. If one saw the progress made in various spheres, economic development, educational progress and social advancement—one would find that over the past 23 years, things had changed considerably. It was really sad, the Minister conceded, that after all these years of freedom, atrocities on Harijans had taken place but, no complaint could be made that the people, who were really responsible for these atrocities, were not being properly dealt with under the law.

The Untouchability Offences Act was there and the Government was making special efforts to see that these Acts were implemented effectively. It was a national problem and the society as a whole should seek to intervene on behalf of the backward classes. Then and then only situation would improve to an appreciable extent.

Report of the Union Public Service Commission³

On November 26, 1973, Shri F. H. Mohsin, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, moved the motion for consideration of the Twenty-second Annual Report of the Union Public Service Commission for the period from 1st April, 1971 to 31st March, 1972.

Speaking on the motion, the Deputy Minister said that the Government's endeavour had been to give representation to as large a number of disciplines and professions in the U.P.S.C. as would ensure that the Commission was able to handle effectively the various duties assigned to it under the Constitution.

The Government had always attached the greatest importance to the recommendations of the Union Public Service Commission, both

³Laid on the Table on March 1, 1973.

in view of the status and the functions assigned to it under the Constitution and in the larger interest of the administration. It was, therefore, with the greatest reluctance and in rare cases that the Commission's advice was not accepted.

The Commission's Report made a reference to the cases in which consultation with them was delayed or where irregular appointments were made. There was no doubt that such cases should not be allowed to occur. However, the number of such cases was small in comparison with the large number of appointments made under the Government. The main reasons for such irregularities had been the inability to anticipate the duration of individual appointments, incorrect interpretation of the rules and delay in the finalisation of recruitment rules, and even, these instances had hardly been due to deliberate intention. Instructions had been issued to all Ministries/Departments to strictly observe the rules regarding consultation with the Union Public Service Commission and to avoid cases of delayed references and irregular appointments.

Replying to the discussion the Minister said that the Government fully realised that the Commission, its Chairman and its Members, should enjoy the status and importance that was due to them as a very important constitutional authority.

A beginning in the use of regional languages was made in 1969 when candidates appearing at the combined competitive examinations for recruitment to IAS etc. were given the option to write their answers, except in respect of two of the compulsory papers—English and General Knowledge—in any of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule, besides English. The question of extending such option to more subjects was under the consideration of the Commission in the light of experience gained so far.

The Government had decided long ago that there should be the Indian Medical and Health Services and the Indian Service of Engineers but unfortunately some of the State Governments were not agreeing to the proposal. The Centre had not given up the idea of having these Services. The matter was being pursued and it was hoped that the states would come round to this viewpoint.

Report of Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities'

On November 27, 1973, Shri F. H. Mohsin, Deputy Minister in

*Laid on the Table on August 23, 1973.

the Ministry of Home Affairs, moved the motion for consideration of the Thirteenth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period from 1st July, 1970 to 30th June, 1971.

Speaking on the motion, the Deputy Minister said that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities prepared annual reports, furnishing information about the extent to which constitutional safeguards with regard to linguistic minorities had been complied with by the State Governments. The Commissioner also received complaints from various linguistic minorities and took up the matter with the State Governments concerned to meet their grievances.

Even after the formation of the States on linguistic basis, the problems of the linguistic minorities remained and, in some of the States, very often, really important complaints were received. These were taken up by the Commissioner and after the report was presented, the Central Government also took up those grievances with the State Governments concerned.

Replying to the debate, the Deputy Minister said that by providing sufficient safeguards for the linguistic minorities, and also by redressing their grievances, the goal of national integration could be achieved in the country. The Central Government took steps on the basis of the report of the Commissioner to meet the points mentioned therein by contacting the Chief Ministers and others to see that the problems of the linguistic minorities were really solved. By and large, the cooperation of the State Governments had been forthcoming.

The Deputy Minister also said that steps had been taken to strengthen the organisation of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. Regional Assistant Commissioners had been appointed at Chandigarh, Bombay and Calcutta and some other staff also had to be appointed in these places. The idea was that these functionaries would have a liaison with the State Governments and the Central Government.

LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS

During the period under review, some of the laws passed by the Rajya Sabha are as follows:—

Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 1973⁵

On November 12, 1973, moving the motion for consideration of

⁵Introduced in the Rajya Sabha on July 30, 1973.

the Bill, Shri Niti Raj Singh Chaudhury, Minister of State in the Ministry of Law and Justice and Company Affairs, said that the Thirtieth Amendment of the Constitution had amended Article 133 as a result of which an appeal would lie to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order in a civil proceeding of a High Court in the territories of India, if the High Court certified that the case involved a substantial question of law and should be decided by the Supreme Court. With the amendment of Article 133, it had become necessary to amend sections 109 and 110 and also certain provisions of Order 45 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

The motion for consideration of the Bill was adopted and the Bill was passed on the same day.

Prevention of Water Pollution Bill, 1969^a

On November 28, 1973, Shri Om Mehta, Minister of State in the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and in the Ministry of Works and Housing, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill, said that clean water, clean air, natural beauty and other environmental needs had become a major issue of present times. It was a myth that pollution was a problem of the developed countries only. The developing countries too had their share of the menace; only the causes were different.

The pollution of rivers, tanks, streams and wells all over India was appalling. This had been revealed by sample tests in Agra, Delhi and Baroda. There was strong public opinion to control and prevent pollution of water courses, tanks and wells so that the wholesomeness of drinking water was preserved.

Recognising the need for effective legal measures in this regard, the Government had appointed an Expert Committee to go into the problem and to suggest a draft legislation on the subject. As the subject-matter of water pollution was in the State List, the concurrence of the required number of State Legislatures had been obtained before the Bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha in December, 1969. A Joint Committee of the two Houses, which was appointed to go into the Bill, had examined large volume of oral and written evidence representing all sections of society likely to be affected by the Bill, besides making on-the-spot visit to almost all the important

^aReport of the Joint Committee presented to the Rajya Sabha on November 13, 1972.

industrial centres where pollution was reported to be rampant. The recommendations of the Joint Committee have been incorporated in the Bill.

The motion for consideration of the Bill was adopted and the Bill was passed on the same day.

Obituary References

The Chairman made reference to the passing away of Shri Lalji Pendse, Shri Barkatullah Khan, Dr. Tara Chand, Shri Krishnakant Vyas and Dewan Chaman Lal, all Ex-Members. The House observed one minute's silence as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

STATE LEGISLATURES

KARNATAKA

Legislative Assembly

The Mysore Legislative Assembly held its session from August 27 to September 29, 1973. Altogether there were 21 sittings of the House.

Legislative Business

The Assembly passed 16 Government Bills during the session. The notices received for Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice Questions numbered 478, 71 and 33 respectively and those admitted numbered 437, 67 and 12 respectively.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On August 29, 1973 the Assembly adopted a resolution moved by Shri D. K. Naikar, Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs, seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by both Houses of Parliament.

MADHYA PRADESH

Vidhan Sabha

The Fifth (July-August 1973) Session of the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha commenced on July 23, 1973 and was prorogued on August 9, 1973. Altogether there were 13 sittings of the House during the period.

Legislative Business

During the session, the Vidhan Sabha passed 13 Government Bills. Out of a total of 3409 notices received, 1202 and 733 respecting were admitted as Starred and Unstarred Questions and of the 26 notices received for Short Notice Questions, 4 were admitted.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On July 26, 1973 the Vidhan Sabha unanimously adopted a resolution moved by Shri Krishnapal Singh, Minister of Law and Legislative Affairs, seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by the two Houses of Parliament.

No-confidence Motion in Council of Ministers

A motion of no-confidence in the Council of Ministers, sponsored by the Members of the Socialist Party was defeated in the Vidhan Sabha after the Chief Minister, Shri P. C. Sethi, replied to the debate.

Raising loans by M. P. Electricity Board

On July 30, 1973, the House adopted a resolution moved by the Chief Minister seeking to enhance the limit of raising loans by the Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board to Rs. 100 crores.

Bansagar Project

On August 8, 1973, a resolution moved by the Chief Minister appealing to the Central Government to sanction the Bansagar Project at the earliest was unanimously adopted by the House.

MEGHALAYA

Legislative Assembly

A session of the Meghalaya Legislative Assembly was held from July 23 to 27, 1973. Altogether there were 4 sittings of the House.

Legislative Business

The Assembly passed 2 Government Bills during the session. Notices for Starred and Unstarred Questions numbered 10 and 79 respectively. All of them were admitted.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On July 23, 1973 the Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs moved a resolution seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by the two Houses of Parliament. The resolution was adopted on July 25, 1973 after discussion.

Inter-State Boundary between Assam and Meghalaya

On July 24, 1973, Shri Lyngdoh, a member, moved a motion regarding the inter-State boundaries between Assam and Meghalaya over the (i) Jaintia-Mikir Hills border, (ii) Khanapara-Dispur area and (iii) Nongwah area and Athiabari-Hahim area.

NAGALAND

Legislative Assembly

The Nagaland Legislative Assembly held its session consisting of 4 sittings from September 4 to 8, 1973.

Legislative Business

During the session, the Assembly passed 2 Government Bills. The notices received for Starred and Unstarred Questions numbered 72 and 52 respectively and those admitted numbered 59 and 52 respectively. One notice for a Short Notice Question was also received but it was not admitted.

No-confidence Motion against Council of Ministers

On September 6, 1973, Shri Tajen Ao and 14 other Members gave notice of a no-confidence motion against the Council of Ministers. On the same day the Chair read out the motion in the House and announced that the same was in order. 16 members rose in support of leave being granted to move the motion. On being called upon by the Chair, Shri Tajen Ao moved the no-confidence motion. The Chair then announced that the motion would be taken up for discussion on September 8, 1973 as the first item under legislative business for the day.

On September 8, 1973, the motion was taken up and besides the mover, 16 members participated in the discussion. Shri Hokishe Sema, Chief Minister, replied to the debate. The motion was thereafter put up to vote but was lost.

PUNJAB

Vidhan Sabha

A session of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha was held from September 25 to 28, 1973. Altogether there were 4 sittings of the House.

Legislative Business

During the session, the Vidhan Sabha passed 10 Government Bills. The notice received for Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice Questions numbered 486, 71 and 5 respectively and those admitted unnumbered 256, 34 and 4 respectively.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On September 25, 1973, the Vidhan Sabha discussed and adopted a resolution seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Harchand Singh Committee Report

On September 28, 1973, the House discussed the Report of the Enquiry Committee of Legislators appointed by the Government to probe into the setting up of sizeable agricultural farms on evacuee lands by officers, their relatives and other influential public men, popularly known as the Harchand Singh Committee.

TAMIL NADU

Legislative Assembly

The Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly held its session from August 2 to 14, 1973. Altogether there were 11 sittings of the House.

Legislative Business

During the session, the Assembly passed 8 Government Bills. The notices received for Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice Questions numbered 2682, 30 and 12 respectively while those admitted numbered 1238, 30 and 3 respectively.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On August 4, 1973, a resolution moved by Dr. V. R. Neduncheziyan, Minister of Education and Tourism, seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by the two Houses of Parliament was adopted by the Assembly.

Unearthing of Black Money

On August 11, 1973, the Assembly adopted the following resolution moved by Dr. M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister:

“This House requests the Central Government to implement
2807 LS—8.

the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee to unearth the 'black money' which is the main cause for the economic chaos in the country, the rise in prices and the rise in the cost of living and further requests them to delegate the necessary powers to the State Governments also to take steps for such implementation."

No-confidence Motion against Ministry

On August 7, 1973, Shri B. Venkataswamy moved the following motion expressing want of confidence in the Ministry:

"That the House expresses its want of Confidence in the Council of Ministers head by Hon. Dr. M. Karunanidhi."

On the same day, Shri K. T. K. Thangamani, moved the following motion expressing disapproval of the policy of the Ministry:—

"That this House disapproves the policy of the Ministry which led to high prices of essential articles of life and to food crisis-involving widespread agitation."

When put to vote, both the motions were lost.

Tamil Nadu Legislative Council

A session of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Council was held from August 3 to 23, 1973. Altogether, there were four sittings of the House.

Legislative Business

During the session, the Council passed 8 Government Bills. The notices received for Starred and Unstarred Questions numbered 198 and 4 respectively while those admitted numbered 111 and 4 respectively.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On August 11, 1973, the Council adopted a resolution moved by Dr. V. R. Nedunchezhiyan, Minister for Education, seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Unearthing of Black Money

On August 13, 1973, the Council adopted the following resolution moved by Dr. M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister :—

"This House requests the Central Government to implement

the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee to unearth the 'Black Money' which in the main cause for the economic chaos in the country, the rise in prices and the rise in the cost of living and further requests them to delegate the necessary powers to the State Governments to take steps for such implementation."

TRIPURA

Legislative Assembly

A session of the Tripura Legislative Assembly consisting of 5 sittings commenced on October 17, 1973 and adjourned on October 21, 1973.

Legislative Business

During the session, the House passed two Government Bills. The notices received for Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice Questions numbered 593, 84 and 4 respectively and those admitted numbered 329, 108 and 1 respectively. The number of notices admitted for Unstarred Questions included 51 notices received for Starred Questions also.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On September 18, 1973, the Assembly adopted a Government resolution seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Prevention of Water Pollution

On September 17, 1973, The Assembly adopted the following resolution:—

"WHEREAS the Assembly considers that it is desirable to have a uniform law throughout India for the prevention and control of water pollution and for all matters connected therewith;

AND WHEREAS the subject matter of such a law is relatable to entry 17 read with entry 6 of List II in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India;

AND WHEREAS Parliament has no power to make laws for the State with respect to the matters aforesaid except as provided in Article 249 and 250 of the Constitution of India;

Tripura

AND WHEREAS it appears to this Assembly to be desirable that the aforesaid matters should be regulated in the State of Tripura by Parliament by law;

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 252 of the Constitution of India, this Assembly hereby resolves that the prevention and control of water pollution and all other matters connected therewith including public health and sanitation should be regulated in the State of Tripura by Parliament by law."

No-confidence Motion

On September 21, 1973, a no-confidence motion in the Council of Ministers, headed by Shri S. M. Sen Gupta, moved by Shri N. Chakraborty, Leader of the Opposition, was discussed and negatived.

WEST BENGAL

Legislative Assembly

The West Bengal Legislative Assembly commenced its session from August 26, 1973 and adjourned on September 4, 1973. The Assembly held 8 sittings in all.

Legislative Business

During the session, the Assembly passed six Government Bills. The notices received for Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice Questions numbered 144, 12 and 69 respectively and those admitted numbered 138, 44 and 11 respectively. The number of admitted Unstarred Questions included a few notices for Starred and Short Notice Questions as well.

Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

On August 27, 1973, the Assembly adopted a Government resolution seeking to ratify the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by the two Houses of Parliament.

Adjournment Motion re: Bundh

On August 27, 1973 the Assembly talked out the following adjournment motion moved by Shri Biswanath Mukherjee:—

This Assembly do now adjourn its business to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent

occurrence, namely, the situation arising out of use of force and intimidation including insult to women, loot, arson attacks with bombs and other undemocratic methods by police and armed men at many places with Congress flags to frustrate the bundh of July 27 and August 18 and 24 thus interfering with and suppressing their right to protest against actions of Government through peaceful and democratic methods such as strikes, hartals and bundhs.

Prevention and Control of Air and Water Pollution ..

On August 27, 1973, the Assembly adopted the following resolution moved by the Minister of Health:—

“WHEREAS with the progressively increasing pace of industrialisation and urbanisation the quantity of industrial and community wastes finding their way into air and water has been increasing to an alarming extent and the problems relating thereto are common to all the States;

AND WHEREAS this is a matter in respect to which Parliament has no power to make laws for the States;

AND WHEREAS it appears to the Legislative Assembly of the State of West Bengal to be desirable that the problem relating to these matters should be regulated in the States by Parliament by law;

NOW, THEREFORE, in pursuance of clause (1) of Article 252 of the Constitution of India, this Assembly hereby resolves that the Prevention and Control of Air and Water Pollution and all other matters connected therewith or incidental thereto be regulated in this State by Parliament by law.”

UNION TERRITORIES

DELHI

Metropolitan Council

The Delhi Metropolitan Council held two sessions from July 23 to 28, 1973 and from August 16 to 20, 1973 consisting of 6 and 3 sittings respectively.

Legislative Business

During the sessions, the Metropolitan Council passed 4 Government Bills. The total number of notices received for Starred and

Unstarred Questions was 587 out of which 100 were admitted as Starred and 370 as Unstarred Questions. One notice received for a Short Notice Question was also admitted.

Shortage of Essential Commodities

On July 24, 1973 the Metropolitan Council discussed a resolution regarding the situation arising out of the acute shortage of essential commodities, viz. Wheat, Cement, Coal, Kerosene oil, Maida, Suji, etc. in Delhi and consequent black marketing therein.

GOA, DAMAN AND DIU

Legislative Assembly

A session of the Goa, Daman and Diu Legislative Assembly was held from September 24, 1973 to October 5, 1973. There were nine sittings of the House during this period.

Legislative Business

During the session, the Assembly passed 6 Government Bills. The notices received for Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice Questions numbered 284, 38 and 5 respectively and those admitted numbered 195, 80 and 1 respectively. The latter figures for Starred and Unstarred Questions included 2 notices received for Short Notice Questions and 45 notices received for Starred Questions.

PARLIAMENTARY AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STATES*

(September 1, 1973 to October 31, 1973)

ASSAM

New Governor Sworn in

Shri L. P. Singh was sworn in as Governor of Assam and Meghalaya on September 19, 1973.¹

BIHAR

Expansion of Ministry

The Bihar Ministry was expanded on September 25, 1973, with the swearing-in of 6 more Cabinet Ministers and 16 Ministers of State. This increased the strength of the Ministry to 37.²

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Resignation by the Health Minister

Shri Abdul Ghani Lone, the Health and Education Minister, tendered his resignation from the State Cabinet on September 7, 1973. The resignation was accepted by the Governor on September 18, 1973.³

MANIPUR

New Governor Sworn in

Shri L. P. Singh was sworn in as Governor of Manipur on September 21, 1973.⁴

NAGALAND

Motion in the Council of Ministers

A motion of no-confidence in the Council of Ministers moved by the Leader of the Opposition (United Democratic Front),

*This feature prepared by the Research and Information Service is based primarily on newspaper reports and no responsibility is accepted for the accuracy or veracity of information or views covered.

¹Hindustan Times, September 20, 1973.

²Times of India (New Delhi), September 20, 1973.

³Hindustan Times, September 19, 1973.

⁴Times of India (New Delhi), October 22, 1973.

Shri Tajen Ao was lost by a voice vote in the State Assembly on September 8, 1973. The motion had been tabled by Shri Tajen Ao and 14 other Opposition MLAs.⁵

PUNJAB

Election of New Speaker and Deputy Speaker

Dr. Kewal Krishan was unanimously elected Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on September 25, 1973 in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Shri Darbara Singh with effect from September 3, 1973. Dr. Kewal Krishan had earlier resigned from the office of the Deputy Speaker.

On September 28, 1973, the House unanimously elected Shri Nasib Singh Gill as the new Deputy Speaker. Shri Gill had earlier resigned as the Deputy Minister for Home and Industry.⁶

The Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

The Punjab Vidhan Sabha, on September 25, 1973, passed a resolution ratifying the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973 as passed by Parliament in May 1973. The Bill primarily relates to the representation of States and the Union Territories in the Lok Sabha.

RAJASTHAN

The Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

The Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, on October 10, 1973, passed a resolution ratifying the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973, as passed by Parliament in May 1973.

New Ministry Sworn in

Shri Harideo Joshi, Minister for Power, was sworn in as Chief Minister of Rajasthan on October 11, 1973, following the death of the Chief Minister Shri Barkatullah Khan on that day. On October 23, Shri Joshi was unanimously elected leader of the State Congress

⁵Ibid., September 9, 1973.

⁶Hindustan Times, September 29, 1973.

Legislature Party.⁷ On October 25, a seven-member Ministry headed by Shri Joshi assumed office. The Council of Ministers consisted of three Cabinet Ministers and four Ministers of State.

TRIPURA

The Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973

The Tripura Legislative Assembly, on September 18, 1973 passed a resolution ratifying the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973, as passed by Parliament in May 1973.

Motion of no-confidence in the Council of Ministers

A motion of no-confidence in the Council of Ministers moved by the Leader of the Opposition Shri Nripendra Chakraborty was lost in the State Assembly on September 21, 1973, 19 Members voting in favour of the motion and 39 against it.⁸

New Governor Sworn-in

Shri L. P. Singh was sworn in as Governor of Tripura on September 23, 1973.⁹

⁷*Times of India* (New Delhi), October 24, 1973.

⁸*Ibid.*, September 22, 1973.

⁹*Ibid.*, September 24, 1973.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE INDIAN ECONOMY UNDER PLANNING. By Nabagopal Das. Calcutta: World Press, 1972. 140 pp. Rs. 18.

The Indian Economy under Planning by Nabagopal Das gives a good account of post-Independence economic development of India. The book is divided into sixteen chapters, each chapter dealing with a particular aspect of the economy. The first two chapters, namely "Aspirations and Problems of an underdeveloped economy" and "constraints on Economic Growth—Some Popular Misconceptions", are general in nature. In the latter chapter, the author refutes the postulates of Western economists regarding the reasons of backwardness of the Indians. The author ably refutes these arguments one by one westerners are lack of achievement motivation, caste system with its concomitant untouchability and difference in precept and practice of the Indians. The author ably refutes these arguments one by one with such forceful logic that the reader is bound to be impressed. The third and the fourth chapters give an account of Indian Planning—its beginning and its achievement so far, respectively.

The real economic analysis starts from the fifth chapter i.e., "Unemployment and Poverty"—the monster problem of India. It is an undeniable fact that this problem is the most formidable problem in India. So far as unemployment is concerned, most estimates place the figure at anywhere between 12 to 16 million, but in reality, the figure is still higher because these estimates do not include more or less an equally unemployed number of persons in the rural areas. The author rightly observes that unemployment here is the manifestation of a much more deep-rooted malady than the mere lack of adjustment between the supply and demand for labour. Unemployment is prevalent in both rural and urban areas. In rural areas, it takes the form of disguised unemployment and in urban areas, it is rampant among educated persons. It is rather an ill luck on the part of India that it fails to provide employment to highly educated people which results in "brain-drain". The solution for this problem given by the author is to screen out the large number of people seeking admission to universities, changing the outlook of people regarding the manual work and providing more

facilities for technical and professional training. It is clear that the author is keen on a purposeful and realistic manpower planning.

The monster problem of unemployment and the appalling poverty of the masses are the direct consequence of the rapid growth of population. Population is an asset to any economic system. An increase in it is a contributory factor to economic growth, but in India, it is proving otherwise. Hands do not get work but mouths go on eating—this intensifies the problem. Need was felt to curb the rise in population and consequently family planning programme was started under the Five Year Plans. But the achievements of family planning are in no way spectacular. The author is very correct when he observes that the reason for the slow progress of family planning is that its message has not reached the common man of India. He is of the opinion that abortion should be made legal, and the message of the benefits of family planning should be inculcated among the masses.

A spurt in agricultural production after 1967-68 provided a flickering hope for solving the food problem. The 'green revolution' as it was called, no doubt provided a sigh of relief but at the same time, it introduced some dangerous tendencies inasmuch as it increased disparity in income, both inter-personal and inter-state. The general belief is that it has led to unemployment among the land labourers. The author gives the indication that it may lead to social tensions as it is indirectly resulting in the emergence of a new class of 'landgrabbers'.

Since the beginning of planning, public sector has been expanding very fast. Chapter eight has been devoted to public sector—its evolution and expansion till this day. This chapter is very interesting and informative, in the sense that it gives a very clear account of how the public sector has grown so far. The ninth chapter has been fully devoted to an examination of the performance of public enterprises. Performance of the public sector is one of the subjects of hot discussions on the public platforms. There are many who, considering the poor and uneconomic performance of the public sector, advocate its winding up. The author does not conceal that he is very critical of the performance of public enterprises, and goes to suggest that if public enterprises are to deliver goods to the people, concerted efforts must be made to increase their productivity and improve costing, pricing and research policies.

One of the reasons for the stalemate in the sphere of industrial production is labour unrest. Labour unrest pervades not only pri-

vate enterprises but also in the public enterprises. The reasons for this according to the author are: (i) trade unions and inter-trade union rivalry, (ii) lack of discipline and of a sense of dedication among workers, and (iii) the entrance and interference of politics in enterprises. It is gratifying to note that of late, some happy developments are taking place in the sphere of labour-capital relationship.

Till now the private sector is the main contributor to the net domestic production. In the eleventh chapter the author describes the history and working of this sector. No doubt, after passing many hurdles in the past and having been subjected to various controls in the present, the private sector enjoys the place of faith and pride in so far as efficiency is concerned. The author feels that the private sector would have contributed still more had it not been subjected to severe taxation. The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth chapters deal with the Business Community of India, Business-Government Relationship, and the environment in which the private sector operates in India, respectively. The fifteenth chapter deals with a very important topic, i.e. foreign aid. This chapter gives a brief account of our policy regarding foreign aid and its necessity for our development. The author also subscribes to the general feeling that the only way to get rid of foreign aid is to achieve self-reliance, i.e. to increase exports and decrease imports.

On the whole, the book reflects a good understanding of the Indian economy.

—Kartik Oraon, M.P.

PUBLIC SECTOR IN THE MIXED ECONOMY. By Merlyn Rees. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. 1973. 240 pages. £1.30.

With the growing importance of the public sector and the rapid expansion of the role of the public undertakings in India, a correct understanding of the respective roles of the public and private sectors in a mixed economy is very necessary. For this purpose, the recently published book, *The Public Sector in the Mixed Economy* by Merlyn Rees, a British M.P., is a good guide. Moreover at a time when our Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings had for the first time undertaken a 'horizontal' study and presented their report on "Role and Achievements" of public undertakings, Rees' book provides a reading of topical interest. The book seeks to correct the imbalance and the paucity of reliable

information concerning the public sector and the mixed economy and points out the irrelevance of much political discussion on both the public sector and the mixed economy.

To begin with, the author describes the emergence of mixed economy and explains how the conventional terminology of capitalism and socialism in describing the respective roles of different factors of production—land, labour and capital—is often counter-productive to the real aim of objective analysis. Such compartmental approach ignores the economic facts of the real world. In illustrating the current trends in the thinking concerning the role of government in economic life in countries with advanced economies, the author emphasises that it was Harold Macmillan, not Karl Marx, who wrote:

“The Socialist remedy should...be accepted in regard to industries and services...where it is obvious that private enterprise has exhausted its social usefulness, or where the general welfare of the economy requires that certain basic industries and services need now to be conducted in the light of broader social considerations than the profit motive provides.”

The author traces the growth of this phase of economy, enumerates the reasons for public ownership and points out that not all the arguments in favour of this type of organisation have come from socialists. The main reason for its emergence would seem to be the economic logic of the argument; the public ownership in its different forms has met a major need of the modern economy. It secures for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof, on the basis of the means of production, distribution and exchange. It simultaneously provides the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of industries and services.

In the first country to be industrialised, the nature of industrial organisations has altered. Not only has the private sector itself changed, but the State has, under the influence of unemployment, technology and war, become more and more involved in the management of the economy. In private sector, individual shareholder within the joint stock firm is now not as collectively important as in the past. A separation between ownership of capital and control of the actual running of the firm is growing. The growth in power and social significance of the expert manager and the technical specialist has resulted from the technological complexities of modern industry. Though profit motive still persists, its role has changed. The profits

are no longer 'personal' to the owners of private companies and this change makes the situation within the private firms similar to that in nationalised industry. Also, unlike in the past, the ploughing back of profits is becoming the major source of capital for industry. This has strengthened the managerial position against that of the outside provider of capital.

The author has studied the whole range of the public sector, as distinct from "Public Undertakings" of the Indian industrial organisation. The government departments and associated organisations and the local authorities are included. The Central Government, through its direct and grants-in-aid activities as well as through its control of the private sector, forms a significant part of the public sector. Though the Central Government does not carry out all its activities itself, it allocates its money to other organisations, one of the most important groups of these being the local authorities. Through the activities of a variety of local authorities, the State becomes directly involved in the provision of facilities, both social and environmental, which have become vital to the successful running of a complicated modern industrial economy. These authorities are thus an important part of the public sector. Of the important functions carried out by the local authorities, housing needs special notice. The housing problem has been wholly transformed. In 1914, nine-tenths of the eight million dwellings in England and Wales, were rented from private landlords. Today, of some seventeen million dwellings, half are owner occupied, more than a quarter are provided by local authorities and only a fifth are rented from private landlords. The responsibility of housing is thus shared by the housing corporations, the town commission and the local authorities.

Another important section of the book deals with organisations which are termed as Public Corporations. It is this section of the book that should prove of the greatest interest to Indian readers interested in understanding the working of the public undertakings in India and in appreciating their role and achievements. These public corporations are, by definition, not parts of Government but ultimately responsible to it. Their activities are often basic to the economy. They tend to differ in economic experience and behaviour from both private sector companies and government departments. The author deals with this section extensively and gives exhaustive information on the organisation, structure, finance etc. of the corporations but most of the data relate to the single year 1970-71. It would have been more interesting had a wider range been covered. Also comparative figures of the extent of the public sector in mixed

economies of other countries would have been of immense help not only to serious students of economics but to politicians and public in general.

Yet another manner in which the involvement of the government in industry is growing is the state share holdings in private industry itself. Where the Central Government has a share holding in a limited liability company, this is not regarded as change in the status of the company, which continues to be treated as within the private sector. But the ownership of shares by the government either directly or through one of its agency makes the firms concerned fully or proportionately a part of the public sector. This type of public ownership has developed over the years but it is noteworthy that this development was not preceded by, nor has it proceeded with, philosophical discussion as to its merits or demerits. It has been a pragmatic development—a reaction to events—justified by arguments for defence and security or for the maintenance of employment. Contemporary development in Indian economy shows some what similar trends and government or institutional participation in financing of industry is exercising a very healthy influence. Such development gives more relevance to public ownership.

The author mentions in conclusion that though the development of the public sector has been politically motivated in Britain as in other parts of the world, it crosses political boundaries. He points out that even in the U.S.A. the State gets more and more involved in industry and in social expenditure. The basic reason for the growth of the public sector is not political but the need to satisfy modern economic and social obligations.

The public sector is thought by some to be a temporary bureaucratic nightmare built on the aberration of mind of an ill-informed welfare dominated electorate; by others it is thought to be technologically inevitable. Others see it as the most significant political development in a technological world because of the fact that ownership is taken out of the hands of the capitalist. But with all this, the fact remains that the public sector provides a growing proportion of the mixed economy. It is not static but with changing forms and in changing directions, it continues to provide a growing proportion of a mixed economy.

The extent of the public sector is greater than generally realised. It plays a major part in the mixed economy and it would be of value

if more politicians realise this fact of life. It would be of great service to the countries if more economists took the public sector into account before formulating their basic economic theories. A change of government does not end the mixed economy: the public sector is here to stay.

U. N. Mahida, M.P.

THE MANAGEMENT OF BRITAIN'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS. Edited by Robert Boardman and A.I.R. Groom. London: Macmillan. 1973. 362 pp. £5.95.

This book is a collection of articles written by the joint editors and many other well-known professors of different British and American Universities as well as some career diplomats of Great Britain.

In his speech delivered at the United States Military Academy, West Point on the 5th December 1962, the U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson said that "Britain had lost an Empire and had not yet found a role". In his radio interview on British Broadcasting Corporation on the 24th April, 1970 he repeated that his earlier opinion was "demonstrably true to-day". In spite of this it is interesting to note that whereas there were only eight British Ambassadors in 1920 when Britain had an extended empire to administer having borders with many countries, now in 1973 there are seventy British Ambassadors (High Commissioners are of Ambassadorial rank). Also, the number of important foreign countries from the British point of view was relatively small in 1920.

Britain's international position has undergone a number of fundamental changes since 1945. The days of drawing on the prestige of an "Empire over which the sun never sets" are gone, so are the days of gunboat diplomacy. Political diplomacy has lost much of its value and importance. This is true for every country in the world. These days, the role of commercial diplomacy has assumed a new proportion for every country. The task of understanding the role of various interest groups in different countries is now more important than ever. The effect of group pressure which can exert a limiting influence on Government policy has to be understood in a much more analytical way than ever before.

The importance of 'private foreign policy' in today's world is another matter which deserves much attention. 'Private foreign policy',* that is, management of private organisations with activities abroad by the state of origin of the organisation concerned is a very serious problem in today's international relations. The importance of news media in foreign affairs has always been very great but in today's world reactions of foreign news, the manner of presentation and counter propaganda over the news media have acquired a new significance due to the swiftness with which news travels today.

All these subjects as well as the subject of the entire British diplomatic system starting with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and ending with the clerks and typists in far away consulates, the method of recruitment, promotion and daily working of each section of the system have been described and discussed within the short span of 356 pages in a very interesting and lucid manner. The book is very enlightening on the subject of management of external relations. It would prove useful to whoever is interested in the study of international relations and would throw light on the more serious aspects of diplomatic services which many people including career diplomats and officials are apparently ignorant of, having been taken away by the world-wide momentum towards maintaining the decorative, representational side of diplomacy, which is still being maintained at an enormous cost to the exchequer of every country due to a senseless attachment to old association of ideas.

—Salil Kumar Ganguli, M.P.

FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SECOND WORLD WAR. by Herbert Tint.
London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1972. 273 pp. £ 4.25.

The book *French Foreign Policy since the Second World War* by Herbert Tint is an interesting elucidation of the politico-economic relationship between France and the super powers on the one side and France and the underdeveloped nations on the other side for political, economic and military co-operation. The French nation with its consistent desire for gaining self-sufficiency and a status of an important nation salvaged its foreign policy from a stage of subservience to that of a position where she could negotiate on her own indi-

*The author has defined 'private foreign policy' as the amalgam of opinion attitude and actions concerning a foreign event or situation held, or taken by organisations which are not formally incorporated within the state foreign policy-making and executing machinery.—Editor.

viduality. The author has clearly enunciated the historical developments of French Foreign Policy, from the level of almost no foreign policy to one of entering into the international field in competition with the other super powers of the world and with its development of nuclear deterrent, and a sound internal as well as an external economy. It has been laid bare how France has contributed in an era of cold war hobnobbing with the Russians and with deliberate hostility towards England and America, and how France through its meaningful foreign policy regained her original prestige of a great nation among the European powers.

That the power of De Gaulle in the national reconstruction, consolidation and strengthening the country in all aspects had gone a long way to influence its foreign policy, has been fully recognised and France again comes to a status of an important nation both as a member of the European Economic Market, as well as among the nuclear powers. With a programme of international technical and economic assistance, France could win the confidence and leadership among the former colonial nations more specially in the African, Middle-Eastern and the Near-Eastern countries. The author has also given a useful thought as to how France lost its war in the Far East and how under pressure of American economy, France had to yield considerable ground in the field of its foreign policy to United States (a donor country) with restraint.

The author has analysed historical facts in an appropriate manner and has dealt with convincing evidence describing the French Policy from a stage of frustration and disillusionment and appeasement opportunism to a state of near dominance in its international relationship. It has been unequivocally expressed by the writer that the French nation is full of determination and capacity to work hard for regaining its lost position and in fact has, to some extent, shown arrogance in winning back its prestige in the field of international relationship. The book, besides being an interesting historical narration, is politically thought provoking.

N. K. Sanghi, M.P.

DEVELOPMENT RECONSIDERED: BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE. By Edgar Owens and Report Shaw. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. 1972.

This book sets forth a new strategy of development—a strategy in which participation by all the people is both the means and the end to development itself. The strategy is derived from the relatively successful development experience of pre-war Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Puerto Rico and Israel. It sets forth a policy under which the great mass of small producers—farmers, artisans, “tiny” entrepreneurs—can be involved in development, in contrast to the current policy of concentrating investment in a small number of capital-intensive endeavours, mainly “modern” factories in the big cities and on large farms.

Change in Development Policy

According to the authors, the most obvious reasons for considering a change in development policy are social and economic. Such a change would (i) enable small producers to increase their incomes through their own efforts; (ii) create enough jobs to employ the exploding labour force since development based on a combination of participation and a labour-intensive rather than machine-intensive pattern of investment reduces the cost of increasing GNP; and (iii) maximize economic efficiency. A policy which is more equitable and can reduce poverty and accelerate the creation of new jobs actually represents a more efficient use of economic resources than the current pattern of investment in the Third World which tends to widen the gap between the rich and the poor.

Principles of Development

The authors base their thesis on the conviction that principles of development are universal; that after two decades of development and foreign aid a number of these principles can be identified and used to explain how a handful of countries have organized relatively successful development programmes; and that other poor

countries can improve their development performance—if governments possess the political will. According to them, these principles can be useful guides to development policy only if they are applied with enormous flexibility and imagination in the great diversity of countries and cultures in the Third World.

Author's Conclusions

According to the authors, there are perhaps two principal conclusions that can be drawn. The first is simply that development is a complex, historical process which does not lend itself to simplistic, quick solutions. Secondly, the role that the resources of the industrialized countries can play in development is rather limited, though their influence on ideas and attitudes in the developing countries is substantial.

Involvement of masses essential

Looking at the first of these two conclusions, we must try to understand the depth of change involved in setting off on the road to broad-based development. If the great mass of the people is to be brought into a modern society, the relationships among different groups of people, between the rulers and the ruled, (and between the people and their institutions must, in the long run, undergo far-reaching changes. This process has been underway for many generations in Europe and North America and, of course, it never stops—it is a continuing process of innovation and adaptation to the changing circumstances.

The history of the past fifty years has shown that in the countries that have experimented with both evolutionary and revolutionary forms of social organization, the use of these new forms to involve the mass of the people in development is a gradual and painstaking business. We cannot expect instant transformation in the developing countries.

While it is true that change itself is gradual, the process of change can be introduced very quickly. What is needed most of all in the developing countries is the confidence that a better future is possible.

Despite these cautionary notes on the time perspective of development, we do not mean to suggest that little can be achieved in the foreseeable future. To the contrary, we believe the deceptively time-consuming process of organizing the people for development

is nevertheless the most effective way of setting in motion the process of evolutionary change. There are many examples of the rapid progress which is possible when the people are involved in development. There can be rapid improvements in the lives of the world's poor in their nutritional and educational levels, standards of health and housing, infant and maternal mortality, and also their incomes and organizational affiliations. However, recognition of these improvements depends on more effective measures of removing poverty and what is happening to the poor as time passes.

Role of developed countries

The second conclusion to be drawn from the experiences of the past two decades concerns the role of the rich countries in assisting the developing countries. Only a handful of the countries escaped either the colonial experience of Asia and Africa, or, in Latin America, the Spanish-Portuguese heritage of a rigid, stratified society, playing second fiddle to the United States.

These experiences have, of course, been extremely important in the creation of today's nation states, in determining the power balances within these states, in forming the ideas and attitudes of the leaders of the poor countries. In large measure, this direct role of the rich countries in the developing world has passed with the waning of colonialism and the granting of independence. In addition, the development of the post-Second World War superpower balances has imposed restraints on direct action by both sides.

However, the influence of Western ideas and advice has continued. It really is quite remarkable how many of the countries, for example, have tried to adopt constitutions and democratic forms of government as well as conspicuous modernization in the Western style. Many of these ideas have been adopted unthinkingly as fads. There are, however, more fundamental ideas which have found universal appeal. Ideas about "life liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as well as ideas denying the fatalistic belief in traditional power relationships and the inevitability of poverty have been spread by education and other forms of communication. These ideas were, first of all, the driving force of the independence movements. These ideas are now the driving force of development.

Turning from the realm of ideas to that of material assistance to the developing countries, we should try to put the significance of

outside financial aid in perspective. There has been a sort of hidden assumption behind development assistance programmes that if they did not exist there would be no progress in the developing countries, and world chaos would ensue. On the other hand, the poor countries' economies would grow rapidly if the rich countries were to provide 1 per cent, now some \$22 to 23 billion, of their gross national products.

In reality, external assistance will only contribute a small amount to development in the Third World as a whole, except in the unlikely event that assistance from the West is multiplied by several times. Development assistance transferred by the rich countries is only a small part of the poor countries' own savings or export earnings. In 1969, for example, the countries earned \$49.5 billion in trade: they received only \$6.4 million (net) in development assistance from the numerous national and international aid agencies. The impact of the assistance is however, greater than the rather small amount suggests, for two reasons. First, the distribution of export earnings among the developing countries is highly uneven. Some countries earn so much from oil and mineral exports that they do not need external financial help. On the other hand, the export earnings of some countries are so low that development assistance can raise the investment rate from low to high. Second, some significant portion of the countries' export earnings is used to import consumption goods, such as food, whereas most development assistance is used for investment.

Granting these two points, the assumption, for the Third World as a whole that progress in the countries depends heavily upon external help is unwarranted. Indeed, in the long run, the ideas of the West may be more significant than its wealth.

U.S. Policies and Programmes

We believe the United States should take the initiative in the search for better ideas about getting development to the people. Our country should explain much more explicitly than we have in the past the criteria under which we are prepared to give development assistance, namely, to support modernizing policies which will gradually bridge the gap between rulers and the ruled in a dual society.

The United States cannot, of course, act alone. The problem of development is of grave concern to all of the Western countries. It

is also of grave concern to those in the developing countries who are trying to build a more humane social order.

But neither the United States, nor the rich democracies in concert, can presume to impose their will on the developing countries, even in the form of "expert advisers". The basic decisions about the future patterns of these societies, their organization, how they combine traditional and modern values, will increasingly be made in the developing countries themselves.

The period of the mechanical transfer of North American and European techniques and solutions is almost certainly coming to an end. It is true that many of the ideas which originated in our part of the world still retain great appeal in those countries. But the countries cannot use them effectively without some considerable process of adaptation to their own cultures, a process which only they can carry out.

We should also apply another lesson from the past two decades' experience which by now is self-evident; success begins with a country's willingness to modernize. If that willingness is lacking, help from the United States and other rich democracies, on any scale, is not an adequate substitute.

Hence, in the future we would be more selective in responding to requests for assistance. When governments are willing to institute modernizing policies, then we can help (if our help is requested) with some confidence that a more humane society will gradually evolve. Where development is concentrated among the few we should not feel constrained to help, even in the name of anti-communism.

Changes in development programmes

Assuming governments decide modernizing policies are worth pursuing, what changes would be needed in existing development programmes? There are four major ones.

The first and most important change should be a shift away from "technical" and simplistic solutions—the more trained manpower, more factories, more money approach of the past two decades. Instead, the planning of development programmes should emphasize regional and especially local institutions and systems through which the people would be able to do the following:—

(i) Gain access to the economic and social system of their country;

(ii) Learn how to use modern technology in their individual occupations and lives;

(iii) Work in groups, such as their local government or their farmers' organisation, to solve the problems of their local communities;

(iv) Be linked to higher levels of the economy and the society.

Money, machines, trained manpower, and other aspects of technical solutions, though obviously necessary for development are secondary requirements.

With the second major change the planning of development programme would be based on the assumption that the poor are both willing and able to pay the cost of their own improvement.

The third major change: much of the investment would be smaller in scale and at a simpler level of technology. Paved highways, high voltage transmission lines, and modern factories in the cities will still be needed. But a higher proportion of a country's total resources should be used for organizing market towns; farm-to-market roads; small farm, labour-intensive agriculture; small-scale land improvement projects; small and "tiny" business; local consumer goods industries; and so forth.

The fourth change relates to the type of economic analysis used in planning development programmes. Economists are presently working almost entirely with statistics which represent national totals such as GNP, or national averages, such as per capita GNP. A number of topics need to be added to the conventional economic analysis of which the most important are: job creation, income distribution, the relative costs of capital and labour, and the influence of these on the pattern of savings and investment by small producers. In addition, economists should analyze development from the bottom up as well as from the top down.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET STRATEGIC THINKING SINCE 1945. By Geoffrey Jukes. Canberra: Australian National University Press 1972.

In this book, the author describes the evolution and development of Soviet strategic ideas since the end of the Second World War. In

his view the Soviet policies in this regard, likely the policies of most other countries, are shaped by outside events as much as by internal happenings and are affected by the conflicting aspirations of political and military leaders.

The Soviet Union after Second World War

For the Soviet High Command, the most important technical features of the post-1945 situation were determined by the need to plan for possible war against an entirely new type of antagonist—the United States—which was not accessible by land as Russia's previous enemies had been. This forced upon the defence planners new patterns of thought, and consequently new strategies, in which long range weapons (intercontinental bombers and missiles, and missiles capable of being fired from submarines) and nuclear warheads were gradually to become dominant, both as instruments of deterrence and as strategic weapons of war.

The evolution of new strategies of face contingencies not hitherto contemplated naturally could take place only over a period of years, and because of the inter-dependence between technological capacity and strategic options often had to wait for developments in the industrial capacity. There could be no strategic option involving atomic weapons until the Soviet Union developed them after 1949, and none involving a direct threat to America until the development of inter-continental bombers in the early and mid-1950s.

Development of the Strategic Thought

Because of these various factors Soviet strategic thought since 1945 has developed through a number of stages, and may be viewed in several lights:

Firstly, as a process by which a state hitherto almost totally dependent for defence upon its land forces came to possess, as a consequence of weapons development, a 'balanced' (though still army-dominated) defence posture. In this the air forces ceased to be mere providers of support to the ground forces, the navy developed beyond the role of defender of their coastal flanks towards an independent mission, and the army ceased to be the major factor in deterrence of attack upon the Soviet Union.

Secondly, as a consequence of increased social development, by which the mass employment of almost illiterate peasant infantry

gave place to capital-intensive forces manned by smaller numbers of troops with much higher educational and professional skills.

Thirdly, as a process by which the re-imposed Stalinist orthodoxy and dogmatism of the post-war years gave after his death to more questioning and realistic doctrines devised mainly by the leading 'first generation professionals', and later to doctrines espoused by the leaders of the 'second generation' who are less dominated by their wartime experience.

Fourthly, as a function of the development of the long-range missile and the nuclear warhead, which on the one hand put the Soviet Union into a position where it could aspire to strategic parity with the United States, but on the other rendered the 'traditional' doctrines of prolonged war fought with mass forces of diminishing credibility.

Lastly, as a by-product of the increased economic and political power of the Soviet Union.

Four phases of development of Soviet strategy

Within the overall context of these factors, Soviet strategy since 1945 falls into four distinct phases.

The First phase 1945—53:—Phase I began in 1945 and extended into early 1950s. At the outset the Soviet Union possessed a number of advantages, the main one being its very large army, which had played the major part in eliminating Germany from the strategic balance, and had as a direct consequence secured a commanding position in central, eastern, and south-eastern Europe.

In 1945 the Soviet armed forces totalled 11,365,000 men the overwhelming majority of them infantry soldiers. The army comprised some 500 divisions, and had achieved most of its major success through a combination of solid defence with the skilful use of out-flanking manoeuvres and encirclements.

The central problem faced by Soviet defence planners in the immediate post-war years was that of the two major strategic imbalances, America possessed a small number of nuclear weapons, and facilities for producing many more. It also possessed a strategic bombing force capable of delivering nuclear weapons, as well as large quantities of conventional explosives, on to Soviet targets. The Soviet Union possessed neither, and was therefore in a position of

strategic inferiority to the United States to a degree unparalleled in its relationships with the States of Europe. While these could press up against Russia's Western borders, and occasionally cross them, the existence of land frontiers at least made them accessible should the strategic balance change to Russia's advantage. But given U.S. possession of nuclear weapons, long range bombers, and airfields in Western Europe, America possessed a unique ability to devastate the Soviet Union, against which the strongest Soviet weapon, the Red Army, could not be directly employed because of the U.S. and British navies' control of the high seas. Thus despite the conquest of Germany and the advance of Soviet power into Central Europe, the Soviet Union was vulnerable to an extent which Russia had never been before in modern times.

A number of steps were taken to minimise the possible adverse effects of the strategic imbalances in the short term, and to eliminate them altogether in the longer. A nuclear weapons research programme had already been initiated in 1942, and would be continued. American proposals for a ban on such weapons, made in 1946, were rejected, because to have accepted them would have exposed the Soviet Union to possible 'nuclear blackmail' at some time in the future by an America which alone possessed the knowledge and installations for manufacture of atomic bombs. Research into and development of long range bombers were initiated, and pending the manufacture of Soviet models, the American B-29 (four of which had crashlanded in the Soviet Far East after a raid on Japan) was copied, emerging as the Tu-4 ('Bull').

As the late antagonist, Germany, was not a major naval power, and the two late allies, America and Britain, were, Soviet naval weakness had not mattered very much in the main conflict. But the replacement of Germany as a potential antagonist by the two leading naval powers gave a new importance to the navy. In the event of war, the Soviets could expect American and British fleets at the least to launch air strikes from carriers against coastal targets, military and civilian, and perhaps to escort major forces to make landings in the rear of Soviet armies certainly on the Baltic coastline, and possibly the North Sea, Black Sea and Pacific coasts as well. It could also be expected that in the event of war, Western forces in Europe would rely heavily on seaborne reinforcements and supplies from the United States, which would be conveyed to destina-

tions in the United Kingdom or France. While the Soviet contingency planning for the European theatre in global war envisaged overrunning Western Europe at a pace so fast that supplies and forces from across the Atlantic would probably arrive too late to affect the campaign, some provision was to be made for attacks upon them.

The combined effect of these requirements was to dictate a considerable expansion of the navy, especially of its submarine force and smaller surface ship forces up to destroyer size. A plan for a force of 1,200 submarines was devised, and series construction of several classes of surface warship began.

While the development of intercontinental bombers was set in train, a more urgent need was the strengthening of the air defences. The satellite status of the Eastern European states made it possible to advance the forward edge of air defence zone several hundred miles west of the Soviet borders, but new and more sophisticated interceptor aircraft were urgently required, especially as the 'jet age' had just arrived. The possibility of a serious technological lag in aero-engines was averted by purchase of some British 'Nene' turbojets, and a jet interceptor aircraft, well up to contemporary standards, was designed and built. This aircraft, the Mig-15, was in quantity production by 1950, and was turned out in large numbers. On its performance in the Korean War it appeared likely that its qualities as an aircraft were not matched by ground facilities. . . . This discrepancy between performance of the aircraft and capabilities of the system as a whole arose for a number of reasons, the main one being that the production capacity for airframes and engines outran that of the electronic industry. . . . The discrepancy was gradually removed, but at least into the early 1950s the poor capability of the air defence system, especially against night attacks, must have been seriously worrying to the General Staff.

The relative boldness of Soviet foreign policy in this period caused serious concern in the West. The communist block appeared far more monolithic than at any later time. . . . But in fact the period was one of considerable Soviet weakness.

The Second Phase 1953—60: By the second phase, which began with the death of Stalin in 1953, the major strategic imbalances had been overcome. The first atomic test explosion had taken place in 1949, and was to be followed by a thermo-nuclear weapon tested in 1954, while two designs of intercontinental strategic bomber were

sufficiently far advanced to be displayed at the 1953 Soviet Air Show. At the same time, early versions of short and medium-range missiles, and a new medium bomber (the Tu-16, labelled 'Badger' by NATO) promised to provide a speedier means of destroying the American bomber bases in Europe, once the stockpile of nuclear material was large enough to permit the provision of nuclear warheads and bombs for them.

During the second period there were various changes in emphasis, not so much changes in policy as differences of opinion within the military establishment or between it and the political leaders. The increases in yields and numbers of nuclear weapons and in the ranges and capabilities of their delivery vehicles during the 1950s rendered it far more likely that a general war, if it broke out at all, would result in the destruction of the belligerents as organised societies. With the administrative and industrial centres destroyed, and crops and water supplies contaminated by fall-out, it was unlikely that survivors of a nuclear exchange would be in any position to wage a conventional broken-backed war. This meant that armed forces maintained solely for defence against general war would have less need for conventional forces. Although this proposition was not accepted by the more conservative among the military leaders, who continued to refer to the expected high attrition rates as a justification for large conventional forces, those with the power to decide acquiesced in Khrushchev's reductions of the numbers in the armed forces in 1955 and 1958.

The thrust of policy and thought in the second period away from conventional forces and war-fighting capability towards a concept of deterrence which relied heavily on the danger of escalation for its effectiveness, had no place in it for the use of Soviet forces away from the boundaries of the Soviet block. Nor did Soviet leaders contemplate using them in conventional campaigns in Europe, beyond perhaps such spatially and temporally restricted operations as they could carry out with their existing resources. This policy received its most unequivocal exposition in a speech, made by Khrushchev on January 14, 1960, deriding the idea of a close correlation between security and the numbers of men in uniform, announcing an intention to reduce forces manpower by a further one-third by the end of 1961, and declaring that the basis of Soviet defensive power would be missiles with nuclear warheads. At the time it was made, this last statement had a strong element of bluff in it, since the number of operational ICBM's was certainly very

small (probably less than ten), but showed clearly the directions in which Khrushchev intended Soviet defence policy to move.

The Third Phase 1960—64: The third phase was noteworthy for the gradual erosion of Khrushchev's support by the military leaders, for reassertions by some of them of the importance of conventional forces, and, during the earlier years of the period, for an extensive campaign in pursuit of far-reaching measures of arms control. In terms of the actual forces and their capabilities, however, the trends were (as Khrushchev had indicated) towards increased nuclear and missile capacity. This was expressed in a number of ways. For example, Strategic Rocket Forces were elevated to the status of an Armed Service, on a par with the Ground, Air, Air Defence and Naval Forces, early in 1960, tactical nuclear weapons began to be supplied to the ground forces, a 58 megaton nuclear weapon was tested in 1961, and it was disclosed in 1963 that a 'global rocket' (a missile able to attack the United States or any other antagonist via the 'long way round' thus, it was hoped, outflanking any attempts at anti-missile defence) had been developed.

The Fourth Phase 1965—72: In the fourth period, which began with Khrushchev's overthrow in October 1964, his 'single option' strategy was jettisoned. 'Minimum deterrence' was abandoned, and a build-up in strategic weapons eventually brought about an approximate parity with the United States in landbased ICBMs, while the navy, although still receiving no aircraft carriers, was authorised to proceed with the large anti-submarine helicopter carriers, and with a true 'Polaris-type' submarine missile system, of about 1,700 n.m. range, deployed in a nuclear submarine which, like its American counterparts, carried 16 missiles, and could launch them from under water.

The fourth period saw the evolution of a more 'rounded' defence posture, which while not rejecting outright Khrushchev's insistence that deterrence must be paramount, made far more provision for a breakdown of deterrence and consequent need to fight a war. Government and military were to some extent in opposition, with the civilian leaders seeking to reach some form of agreement with the United States to regulate the pace of arms competition, and the military pressing for increased allocations. But the antagonisms were contained and minimised. The civilians avoided 'Utopian' proposals, such as Khrushchev's advocacy of general and complete disarmament in 1959-60.

The end of the period saw approximate parity in strategic nuclear weapons and defences against them, ratified by formal agreement with the United States at the Moscow Summit meeting in May, 1972.

AMERICAN MILITARY COMMITMENTS ABROAD. By Roland A. Paul. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1973.

In this book an American legal expert attempts to present a survey of the American military involvement and commitments abroad. The account is based on the author's experience as Chief Counsel to the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on United States Security Agreements Abroad and the results of his fact-finding tour of twenty-five countries in the Far East, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, where he interviewed a large number of American diplomats and military officers.

The author explains what commitment means and cites eight major treaties and numerous executive agreements, Congressional resolutions and official statements involving differing degrees of obligations. The body of the book takes up in detail United States commitments involving Nationalist China, Japan and Okinawa, Laos, the Philippine Republic, South Korea, Thailand, Ethiopia and Morocco, and the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Objectives of American Military Commitments

As part of its general programme of deterrence and defence the United States has constructed a series of alliances with Western European countries, Japan, the other nations of the Western Hemisphere, and a number of other less developed countries. As part of the policy, and particularly as a result of these alliances, American servicemen stand guard in places as diverse as the Palatinate of Germany and the crescent of Asia. The purposes served by these alliances and deployments have been (i) to deter attack by indicating with a high degree of certainty that such an act would engage enormous American military power; (ii) to bolster friendly countries in continuing their support for American policies and interests by assuring them of American willingness to use force in their defence; and (3) to provide territory and forces far enough forward to defend the interests of the United States with a minimum of risk to the American homeland.

Too many commentators use terms such as "American interests abroad" without making clear what they mean. Of course, the

United States has a variety of interests abroad. In the context of this study, the most important is to prevent important countries or regions from becoming hostile to this country and thereby increasing danger to the United States in two dimensions. The first dimension is nuclear: nuclear proliferation, nuclear blackmail, and even the danger of actual nuclear engagement. The second is the risk of serious internal problems of a psychological and conceptual nature within the United States itself. One must not overlook the danger to this country's democratic institutions that can come about through fear of and anxiety over a hostile environment beyond its borders.

This has been American policy and posture for the past quarter century. Its successes should be noted. Peace has been maintained in a number of places in the world where, under an opposite policy, this would not have been possible. Moreover, the United States has enjoyed the physical and moral security of being in a world a large part of which is congenial to its interests, aspirations, and way of life.

Forms of American Commitments

American commitments are certainly embodied in written treaties. This country has eight security treaties binding the defence of forty-three other countries to its own. The operative language in each of these treaties is, however, far from clear as to what action would be required in the event of a crisis.

Besides making these eight treaties, the United States Government has also entered into several security agreements that have never been ratified as treaties. Most notable among these are the Agreements of Cooperation signed in 1959 with the parties to the CENTO treaty and the successive defence agreements signed with Spain.

Unilateral government declarations form a third type of commitment. These may take the form of congressional resolutions or statements by high American officials. They, too, are invariably general and ambiguous, but nonetheless obligating.

A fourth form which security commitments take is the stationing of American troops in another country. The commitment through the presence of troops rests upon two fairly straightforward propositions. If American forces are attacked, some American servicemen will be killed and others will be endangered. National dignity

is likely to demand that those killed be vindicated and those endangered, saved. The second and related proposition is the belief that American forces once deployed cannot, for the sake of national honour and prestige, be withdrawn in the face of direct challenge by an acknowledged opponent of this country.

A fifth category consists of what are often called moral commitments. They arise from past sacrifices made or risks incurred by other countries on behalf of the United States or from reliance placed upon its apparent intentions.

A sixth set of commitments is composed of those obligations that arise from a general identification between this country and the governing order, broad political programme, or society of another country. In one sense, all commitments whether they arise from a specific treaty or declaration or otherwise, are based upon an identification between this country and another, but in this attempt at analysis, this sixth category is intended to refer to those broader and more amorphous types of identification not covered by the five preceding categories.

This level of commitment blends almost imperceptibly into what is actually current policy. In this category may fairly be included the commitment to Korea engendered by American sacrifices to save that country in the Korean War and our evident pride in its achievements, with United States support, thereafter; the enthusiastic American adoption, in the eye of the world, of the post-Diem regimes in Vietnam; and the close American tie with Israel ever since its creation in 1947.

A seventh type of commitment includes those that arise over the course of time as a result of the accumulation of many small contributions to the defence, survival, or well-being of another country.

Size of American military presence abroad

The size of the American military presence abroad is enormous. Until the withdrawal of ground forces from Vietnam got under way, the United States had more than 1,000,000 men stationed overseas. In 1970 about 400,000 of them were in Vietnam and military depen-

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dents abroad totalled about 330,000. The worldwide overseas figures for 1960, 1965 and 1970 are as follows:

	1960	1965	1970
Military Personnel	665,954	745,708	1,032,620
Military Dependents	460,789	474,295	332,026

In 1970 these military forces were serving on 373 major facilities (not including those in Vietnam) and more than 2,000 minor installations. Operating costs for these facilities, excluding major procurement items such as aircraft, totalled \$ 12 billion in the fiscal year 1970. Foreign exchange expenditures totalled \$ 5 billion.

Army and Marine Corp divisions stationed overseas in 1960, 1965 and 1970 were as follows:

	1960	1965	1970
Europe	5	5	4½
Korea	2	2	2
South Vietnam		1	6½
Okinawa	1 (Minus elements)	1 (Minus)	1 (Minus)

(In 1965 the Marines also had three detached brigades in the Dominican Republic, Okinawa, and Vietnam).

The Air Force had the following number of aircraft assigned overseas in 1960, 1965 and 1970:

	1960	1965	1970
Europe	1,350	1,050	800
Pacific	800	800	2,200 (of which 1,600 were in South- east Asia)

The Navy had the following number of vessels sailing abroad in 1960, 1965 and 1970:

	1960	1965	1970
Atlantic	119	121	97
Pacific	148	158	119
Mediterranean	30	18	28
Caribbean	10	11	11
Other.	4	3	4
TOTAL	311	311	259

Of these totals aircraft carriers numbered 24 in 1960, 26 in 1965 and 20 in 1970.

The written commitments

The United States has eight mutual security treaties with forty-two other countries, plus South Vietnam as a protocol, non-signatory country under the SEATO. These treaties and the parties to them are as follows:

(i) The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed in 1947 (the Rio Treaty), and the related Charter of the Organization of American States, signed the next year by the United States and the following other countries:

Argentina	Haiti
Bolivia	Honduras
Brazil	Mexico
Chile	Nicaragua
Colombia	Panama
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Dominican Republic	Peru
Ecuador	Trinidad and Tobago
El Salvador	Uruguay
Gautemala	Venezuela

(ii) The North Atlantic Treaty, signed in 1949, with the following members today, besides the United States:

Belgium	Italy
Canada	Luxembourg
Denmark	Netherlands
Federal Republic of Germany	Norway
France	Portugal
Greece	Turkey
Iceland	United Kingdom

(iii) The Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and the Philippines, signed in 1951.

(iv) The Security Treaty among Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, signed in 1951 (the ANZUS Treaty).

(v) The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, signed in 1960, superseding a similar treaty signed in 1952.

(vi) The Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and South Korea, signed in 1953.

(vii) The Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty, signed in 1954 (the SEATO Treaty), with the following membership, in addition to the United States: Australia (also under ANZUS), France (also under NATO), New Zealand (also under ANZUS), Pakistan, Philippines (also under a bilateral treaty), Thailand, and the United Kingdom (also under NATO), (The free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam, i.e. South Vietnam, is covered by the security guarantee of SEATO as a protocol country.)

(viii) The Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and the Republic of China (Nationalist), signed in 1954.

The fundamental commitment in all of these treaties is to resist an armed attack.

Other Types of Commitments

The United States has entered into commitments not only by treaty but also through other documents and expressions of national

intention—congressional resolutions, executive agreements, and declarations by High Officials.

Congress has adopted five resolutions, dealing with Formosa, the Middle East, Cuba, Berlin, and Vietnam (the Gulf of Tonkin resolution), the last of which was rescinded on January 13, 1971. Each of these purported to authorize the use of American armed forces in the area and circumstances referred to in that particular resolution.

There are also numerous written and oral statements made by the executive branch without explicit congressional approval that tend to commit the United States to the defence of another country.

Other executive agreements and declarations serve in lieu of treaties. They exist with countries that for one reason or another fail to receive a treaty commitment from the United States but whose defence is thought important by the executive branch.

Among the most significant commitment-making documents entered into by the executive branch without specific Senate ratification were (i) the Declaration of June 19, 1968, in the U. N. Security Council with respect to safeguarding non-nuclear weapon states that ratify the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and (ii) the Declaration of July 28, 1958, and the Agreements of March 5, 1959, by which the United States associated itself with the Central Treaty Organisation, or CENTO.

DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. Edited by Peter Drysdale. Canberra: Australian National University Press. 1972.

This volume brings together papers by leading economists from North America, Australia and Asia on the policies in regard to direct foreign investment in the Asian-Pacific region. The papers shed light on the economics of countries which encourage foreign investment or invest considerably outside their own shores. The book covers four broad subjects: general issues raised by direct foreign investment (Chapters 1—4); foreign investment among advanced countries in the Pacific, i.e. U. S. investment in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, direct foreign investment in post-war Japan and Japanese investment abroad (Chapters 5—7); case studies in foreign investment in developing countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, Korea, the Philippines and Mexico (Chapters 8—12); and balance of payments and policy issues in the region (Chapters 13-14).

Characteristics and Principal effects of direct foreign investment flow

Giving an assessment of policies towards direct foreign investment in the Asian-Pacific Area, Helen Hughes, one of the contributors, observes that it is extremely difficult to discuss the characteristics of the flow of direct foreign investment in the Asian-Pacific region because of the paucity of statistical data. Limited data are available for the inflow of capital from the principal investing countries, and, despite the very great difficulties of valuation, these at last give some indication of the extent of direct foreign investment both by selected host countries, and for Japan, United Kingdom and the United States, by types of industry. Unfortunately such figures can rarely be matched against inflows into host countries. With few exception collection of statistics by the developing countries has been extremely poor and data are not comparable from country to country.

The developing countries of the Asian-Pacific area for which data are available have shown a slightly increasing share of total direct investment abroad by the United States, United Kingdom and Japan. It also appears that among developing countries those that are most developed and growing fastest have received the highest relative share of direct foreign investment. This includes such countries as Hong Kong, the Republic of China (Taiwan) and Singapore while at the other extreme, investment in countries such as Laos has been very small.

The ownership form of direct foreign investment

The ownership form of direct foreign investment has undergone considerable change in the last twenty years. At the beginning of this period branches or wholly-owned subsidiaries were typical and local participation was negligible. This situation has changed considerably, so that, in many countries, the bulk of direct foreign investment both by the number of projects and volume has at least some local participation, even if it forms only 10 to 20 per cent of the total.

Role in developing countries

In a number of developing countries, direct foreign investment plays a very important role in the economy as a whole and particularly in some of its sectors. In the traditional areas, in mining and petroleum development, foreign investment predominates in most developing countries, and this is also true of some plantation agriculture. In forestry, foreign investment may be important in the export trade but it is rarely of importance in timber industry as a whole. In agricultural development other than plantations, foreign invest-

ment has only played a small role and this is also true of livestock and fishing. In the latter, however, there is an important area of relatively large-scale fishing, particularly for freezing and canning for export, which is sometimes dominated by foreign firms.

In many countries the bulk of direct foreign investment since World War II has gone into manufacturing and in this sector the share of direct foreign investment in total manufacturing output may be quite high, ranging from about a sixth in Mexico to 20—30 per cent in most of the countries of South-East Asia. Foreign investment has, however, been much more important in new, usually technologically complex industries, than these estimates would indicate. Such industries include a variety of non-durable consumer goods (such as soaps, toothpastes and cosmetics, flour milling, reconstituted milk manufacture and textiles), most durable consumer goods (where foreign investors generally dominate in electronic and electrical products and motor vehicles), some intermediate products (such as petrochemicals and sheet glass) and most of the few capital goods which are produced in the developing countries of the Asian-Pacific area. In these industries direct foreign investment generally accounts for upto 50—60 per cent of total output, and in some cases reaches 100 per cent.

Impact on manufacturing industry

On both sides of the Pacific, therefore, the greatest impact of direct foreign investment in the last twenty years has been in manufacturing. Briefly, the direct foreign investment package of technology, management and capital has often been critical to the industrialisation process; without direct foreign investment it would have cost more to introduce new industries or processes, or it may not have been possible to introduce them at all. In countries industrialising with foreign exchange constraints, and this includes most of the developing countries on both the Pacific shores, the foreign exchange component of direct foreign investment has also been important to the industrialisation process in a broader balance of payments context. For outward-oriented industrialisation, foreign investors' markets have frequently been equally important. The impact of industrialisation on the rest of the economy spreads the effects of direct foreign investment more broadly than investment in primary production.

The structure of the tax system

The contribution of foreign investment to the revenues of developing countries depends on the structure of the tax system, the host

country's taxation agreements with lending countries, and the revenue expenditures on infra-structure. If taxes are higher than those in developed countries, that is, generally above 45 per cent or so, they appear to deter investors; on the other hand, if taxes in the host country are lower than they are in the investing country and if there are double tax arrangements, there will be a transfer of revenue from the host country to the investing country's revenue. This may also occur with income tax exemptions. Unless host countries have clear agreements with investing countries that the taxes exempted in the developing country will also be exempt from taxation in the lending country, tax exemptions will not benefit the investor, but his country's revenue. Japan is the only country which, as a matter of course, includes 'tax sparing' arrangements in double tax agreements with developing countries. In other cases, the inclusion of 'tax sparing' clauses depends on a developing country's negotiating ability, and if it is not included in double taxation agreements, it will depend on case by case decisions by the lending country. Although foreign investors have sometimes in the past been accused of tax evasion, in recent times a foreign firm's exposed position generally means that it is a better tax-payer than local firms unused to modern business mores. Foreign investment, moreover, tends to spread the attitude that taxes are a reasonable call on a firm's gross profits, particularly through local partnerships.

In the long run, the foreign investor's contribution to revenue will usually exceed the government's expenditure on infra-structure and social services, specifically for foreign firms, even if at first such expenditures are high. However, if a substantial construction programme for facilities such as industrial estates and factory buildings which are not charged at market prices is accompanied by considerable exemptions from tax revenues, then revenue gains will be small for some time.

The profitability

The profitability of direct foreign investment does not vary so much by countries and by industries as by firms. To some extent this reflects the range of efficiency among firms, but it is mainly the result of the market structure. High profits are usually due to monopolistic situations created by protectionist policies, and the remedy does not lie in moral exhortations but in policy change. Foreign firms, of course, also enjoy some quasi-rent profit elements arising out of their superior technical managerial, and sometimes financial resources, and this tends to lead to higher profitability and a more rapid rate of growth than local firms, lacking these advantages, can achieve. This

is usually the reason why in an oligopolistic grouping the local firms are the marginal firms, while the foreign firms are intra-marginal. It makes policy changes particularly difficult because an increase in competition would injure the local firm. The encouragement of reinvestment of profits by taxation incentives differentiating between reinvested and paid-up profits exacerbates the problem rather than relieves it. Most countries, far from wishing to discriminate against local firms, of course desire to encourage their growth, so that the local firms at least maintain, but preferably increase their share of manufacturing activities. The principal long-run problems associated with direct foreign investment in manufacturing are thus those which affect the competitiveness of local manufacturers.

Investment in service Industries

Investment in service industries—trade, commercial services such as advertising, tourism and banking—has mainly affected the modern service sector associated with new developments in mining and manufacturing. Traditional service sectors have been little affected, but in some services such as advertising and insurance, foreign investment plays a very important role. Investment in service industries tends to be more visible than in other industries and therefore provokes more political controversy, and in some areas, notably banking, it poses some additional problems.

Monetary Controls

Many countries, including developed countries, fear that the exercise of monetary controls over the banking system would be weakened by the presence of foreign financial institutions with large foreign resources. There is some evidence that this tends to be the case. Some of the large South-East Asian banks operate as international units, and it is only countries like Singapore and Hong Kong, able to eschew monetary instruments because of their unique situation as city states, which remain unconcerned by their presence. Developing and developed countries therefore tend either to exclude foreign banks altogether, or restrict their activities in effect to international transactions.

Contribution to savings

Foreign investment can make a substantial contribution to savings by institutional savers and the growth of capital markets by making well known and backed shares available in local issues. Investors, particularly institutional ones, reluctant to invest in unknown shares,

frequently welcome the opportunity to purchase the local issues of internationally reputable companies, and it is common, in Singapore and Malaysia for example, for such issues to be oversubscribed.

On the other hand, problems may arise if foreign investors seek to borrow the bulk of capital for a new venture in a developing country on fixed loan terms. Foreign firms tend to be favoured borrowers because they present less risk than smaller, local companies, but this limits loan to local borrowers. Developing countries therefore tend to discourage this type of lending. A great deal depends on the circumstances in which such loans are requested and made. Some foreign companies seek local funds, particularly from official sources, to ensure the government's involvement with their enterprise so that the firm's interest will be secured in times of economic or political upheaval, and such loans may be justified in a country struggling to attract foreign investors. In most cases, however, a country will be advised to seek competing foreign investors, who may be willing to bring a similar package of technology and management and contribute substantial financial resources as well.

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APPENDICES

- I. Statement showing the work transacted by the Fifth Lok Sabha during the period 1st September, 1973 to 31st October, 1973.
- II. Statement showing the work transacted by Rajya Sabha during the period 1st September, 1973 to 31st October, 1973.
- III. Statement showing the activities of the State Legislatures during the period 1st July, 1973 to 30th June, 1973.
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- VI. Ordinances issued by the Central Government during the period 1st September, 1973 to 31st October and State Governments during the period 1st July, 1973 to 30th September, 1973.
- VII. Party Position in Parliament and State Legislatures:—
 - A. (i) Lok Sabha (State-wise)
(ii) Lok Sabha (Party wise)
 - B. (i) Rajya Sabha (State-wise)
(ii) Rajya Sabha (Party-wise)
 - C. State Legislative Assemblies.

APPENDIX I

*Statement showing the work Transferred by Lok Sabha
during the period 1st September, 1973 to 31st October, 1973*

N.B.—The Ninth Session of Lok Sabha commenced on November 12, 1973. The details about its activities during the session will be published in April, 1974 issue of the 'Journal'. The information relating to the sittings of Committees of Lok Sabha during the period 1st September, 1973 to 31st October, 1973 is given below:

Name of the Committee		Meetings Held
1	2	3
	Business Advisory Committee	2
	Committee on Government Assurances	—
	Committee on Petitions	1
	Committee on Private Members Bills and Resolutions	2
	Committee on Privileges	4
	Committee on Public Undertaking	9
	Committee on Subordinate Legislation	4
	Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	2
	Estimates Committee	18
	General Purposes Committee	—
	Public Accounts Committee	—
	Railway Convention Committee	2
	Rules Committee	1
	<i>Joint/Select Committees</i>	
	(i) Joint Committee on Offices of profit	1
	(ii) Joint Committee on Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament	1
	(iii) Joint Committee on the Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1972	4
	(iv) Joint Committee on the Disturbed Areas (Special Courts) Bill, 1972	2
	(v) Joint Committee on the Mines (Amendment) Bill, 1972	—
	(vi) Joint Committee on the National Library Bill, 1972	3

1	2	3
(vii) Joint Committee on the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections (Amendment) Bills, 1972.		4
(viii) Joint Committee on the Untouchability (Offence) Amendment and Miscellaneous Provisions Bill, 1972		3
(ix) Select Committee on the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1973		12

APPENDIX II

Statement showing the work trasacted by the Rajya Sabha during the period September 1, 1973 to October 31, 1973.

N.B.—The Eighty-Sixth session of Rajya Sabha commenced on November 12, 1973. The details about its activities during the session will be published in the April 1974 issue of the *Journal*. The information relating to the sittings of the Committees of Rajya Sabha during the period 1st September 1973 to 31st October 1973 is given below.

Name of Committee	No. of meetings held
Committee on Government Assurances.	6
Committee on Petitions	3
*Committee on Subordinate Legislation	4
Joint Committee on the Adoption of Children Bill, 1972	4
Joint Committee on the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 1972	5
Privileges Committee	—
Rules Committee	—

*A sub-Committee of this Committee also held three sittings.

APPENDIX III

STATEMENT SHOWING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE STATE LEGISLATURES
DURING THE PERIOD 1st JULY, 1973 TO 30th SEPTEMBER, 1973

*Bihar Vidhan Sabha**

1. No. of Sessions held Nil
2. Committees at work :

Name of the Committee	No. of Sittings held	No. of reports presented
Committee on Government Assurances	52	
Committee on Petitions	64	
Committee on Public Undertakings	54	
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	8	
Estimates Committee	76	
House Committee/Members' Accommodations Committee	2	..
Library Committee	35	..
Public Accounts Committee	32	..
Rules Committee	12	..

Delhi Metropolitan Council

1. No. of sessions held Two
2. Period of Sessions (i) 23-7-73 to 28-7-73
(ii) 16-8-73 to 20-8-73
3. No. of sittings held (i) 6
(ii) 3
4. No. of Government Bills passed 4
5. Starred Questions:
Notices received 587**
Notices admitted 100
6. Unstarred Questions:
Notices admitted 370
7. Short Notice Questions:
Notices received 1
Notices admitted 1

*Relates to the period 1-4-1973 to 30-6-1973.

**Includes notices received for Unstarred Questions also.

8. Committees at work :

Name of the Committee	No. of sitting held	No. of reports presented
Business Advisory Committee	3	3
Committee on Government Assurances	3	1
Committee on Private Members Bills and Resolutions	1	1
Rules Committee	3	1
Select Committee	24	1

Goa, Daman and Diu Legislative Assembly

1. No. of sessions held One
2. Period of the session 24-9-73 to 5-10-73
3. No. of sittings held 9
4. No. of Government Bills passed 6
5. Starred Questions:
 - Notices received 284
 - Notices admitted 195*
6. Unstarred Questions:
 - Notices received 38
 - Notices admitted 80**
7. Short Notice Questions:
 - Notices received 5
 - Notices admitted 1
8. Committees at work:

Name of the Committee	No. of sittings held	No. of reports presented
Business Advisory Committee	3	2
Committee on Government Assurances	3	—
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	2	1
Estimates Committee	4	1
Library Committee	2	..
Public Accounts Committee	5	2
Rules Committee	4	1
<i>Select Committee</i>		
Select Committee on Chit Funds Bills, 1972	7	1

*Includes 2 notices received for Short Notice Questions.

**45 notices for Starred Questions were treated as Unstarred.

Gujarat Legislative Assembly

1. No. of Sessions held	Nil
2. Starred Questions:	
Notices received	1078
Notices admitted	715
3. Unstarred Questions:	
Notices received	133
Notices admitted	101
4. Short Notice Questions:	
Notices received	52
Notices admitted	2
5. Committees at work:	

Name of the Committee	No. of sittings held	No. of reports presented
Committee on Government Assurances	3	
Committee on Public Undertakings	6	
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	2	..
House Committee/Members' Accommodation Committee	1	1
Public Accounts Committee	8	

Haryana Vidhan Sabha

1. No. of Sessions held	Nil
2. Starred Questions:	
Notices received	89
Notices admitted	42
3. Unstarred Questions:	
Notices received	26
Notices admitted	26

4. Committees at work

Name of the Committee	No. of sittings held	No. of reports presented
Committee on Government Assurances	9	..
Committee on Privileges	2	
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	7	..
Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	4	..
Estimates Committee	9	
House Committee/Members' Accommodation Committee	1	..
Library Committee	7	
Public Accounts Committee	19	..

Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha

1. No. of sessions held Nil
 2. Committees at work:

Name of the Committee	No. of sittings held	No. of reports presented
Committee on Government Assurances	16	..
Committee on Petitions	5	..
Committee on Privileges	3	
Committee on Public Undertakings	20	
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	18	..
Committee on Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	15	..
Estimates Committee	21	
Public Accounts Committee	28	
Rules Committee	1	

Meghalaya Legislative Assembly

1. No. of Sessions held One
 2. Period of the Session 23-7-73 to 27-7-73
 3. No. of Sittings 4
 4. No. of Government Bills passed 2

5. Starred Questions :

Notices received	10
Notices admitted	10

6. Unstarred Questions :

Notices received	79
Notices admitted	79

7. Short Notice Questions :

Notices received	1
Notices admitted	1

8. Committees at work :

Name of the Committee	No. of sittings held	No. of reports presented
Business Advisory Committee	1	
Committee on Government Assurances	1	
Committee on Petitions	1	
Committee on Privileges	3	
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	1	
Estimates Committee	2	
Public Accounts Committee	2	

Mysore Legislative Assembly

1. No. of sessions held	One
2. Period of the Session	27-8-73 to 29-9-73
3. No. of sittings	21
4. No. of Government Bills passed	16
5. Starred Questions :	
Notices received	478
Notices admitted	437
6. Unstarred Questions :	
Notices received	71
Notices admitted	67
7. Short Notice Questions :	
Notices received	33
Notices admitted	12

8. Committees at work :

Name of the Committee	No. of sittings held	No. of reports presented
Business Advisory Committee	4	—
Committee on Government Assurances	3	—
Committee on Petitions	1	—
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions	2	2
Committee on Public Undertakings	8	1
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	2	—
Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	10	—
Estimates Committee	9	—
House Committee/Members' Accommodations Committee	1	—
Public Accounts Committee	9	1
<i>Joint/Select Committees</i>		
(i) Joint Select Committee on Mysore State University Bill, 1973	3	
(ii) Joint Select Committee on Mysore State Agricultural Universities Bill, 1973	8	1

Mysore Legislative Council

1. No. of sessions held	.	Nil
2. Starred Questions :		
Notices Received	.	204
Notices Admitted		188
3. Unstarred Question :		
Notices Received		20
Notices admitted		18
4. Short Notice Questions :		
Notices received		2
Notices admitted		2

5. Committee at work :

Committee on Government Assurances	2	..
Committee on Public Undertakings	8	
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	2	
Committee on the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	10	..
House Committee/Members' Accommodation Committee	1	
Public Accounts Committee	9	

Joint/Select Committees :

(1) Joint Select Committee on the Mysore State Universities Bill, 1973	3	
Joint Select Committee on the Mysore State Agricultural Universities Bill, 1973	8	..

Nagaland Legislative Assembly

1. No. of Sessions held	One
2. Period of the session	4-9-73 to 8-9-73
3. No. of sittings held	4
4. Government Bills passed	2
5. Starred Questions :	
Notices received	72
Notices admitted	59
6. Unstarred Questions :	
Notices received	52
Notices admitted	42
7. Short Notices Question :	
Notices received	1
Notices admitted	
8. Committees at work :	

Name of the Committee	No. of Sittings held	No. of Reports presented
Business Advisory Committee	1	—
Committee on Government Assurances	1	2
Public Accounts Committee	2	—

Punjab Vidhan Sabha

1. No. of Sessions held	One
2. Period of the session	25-9-73 to 28-9-73
3. No. of sittings held	4
4. Government Bills passed	10
5. Starred Questions :	
Notices received	486
Notices admitted	256
6. Unstarred Questions :	
Notices Received	71
Notices admitted	34
7. Short Notice Questions :	
Notices received	5
Notices admitted	4
8. Committees at work :	

<i>Name of the Committee</i>	<i>No. of sittings held</i>	<i>No. of reports presented</i>
Business Advisory Committee	1	1
Committee on Government Assurances	20	—
Committee on Petitions	2	—
Committee on Public Undertakings	13	—
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	24	—
Estimates Committee	5	1
House Committee/Members' Accommodation Committee	2	—
Library Committee.	10	—
Public Accounts Committee	10	—
Rules Committee	1	—

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly

1. No. of Sessions held	Nil
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2. Committees at work :

<i>Name of the Committee</i>	<i>No. of sittings held</i>	<i>No. of reports presented</i>
Committee on Government Assurances	24	
Committee on Petitions	17	
Committee on Privileges	17	..
Committee on Public Undertakings	31	..
Committee on Subordinate Legislation	29	..
Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	22	
Estimates Committee	33	
House Committee/Members' Accommodation Committee	6	
Library Committee	13	
Public Accounts Committee	34	
Select Committee	10	..

Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly

1. No. of Sessions held	One
2. Period of the Session	2-8-73 to 14-8-73
3. No. of sittings	11
4. No. of Government Bills passed	8
5. Starred Questions :	
Notices Received	2682
Notices admitted	1238
6. Unstarred Questions :	
Notices received	30
Notices admitted	30
7. Short Notices Questions :	
Notices received	12
Notices admitted	3

8. Committees at work :

<i>Name of the Committee</i>	<i>No. of sittings held</i>	<i>No. of reports presented</i>
Committee on Government Assurances .	3	1
Committee on Public Undertakings	7	
Estimates Committee	5	
Public Accounts Committee .	9	2
Rules Committee	4	1
<i>Joint/Select Committees</i>		
1. The Tamil Nadu Recognised Private Schools Regulation Bill, 1973	2	
2. The Tamil Nadu Private Electricity Supply Undertakings (Acquisition) Bill, 1973	4	..

Tamil Nadu Legislative Council

1. No. of Sessions held One
2. Period of the session 3-8 73 to 23-8-73
3. No. of sittings 4
4. No. of Government Bills passed 8
5. Starred Questions :
 - Notices received 198
 - Notices admitted 111
6. Unstarred Questions :
 - Notices received 4
 - Notices admitted 4
7. Committees at work :

<i>Name of the Committee</i>	<i>No. of sittings held</i>	<i>No. of reports presented</i>
Business Advisory Committee	2	..
Committee on Government Assurances	3	..
Committee on Privileges . . . . .	..	1
House Committee/Members' Accommodation Committee	1	..
Rules Committee	8	1

Tripura Legislative Assembly

1. No. of sessions held	One
2. Period of the session	17-10-73 to 21-10-73
3. No. of sittings	5
4. No. of Government Bills passed	2
5. Starred Questions :	
Notices received	593
Notices admitted	329
6. Unstarred Question :	
Notices received	84
Notices admitted	108*
7. Short Notices Question :	
Notices received	4
Notices admitted	1
8. Committees at work :	

<i>Name of the Committee</i>	<i>No. of sittings held</i>	<i>No. of reports presented</i>
Business Advisory Committee	1	1
Committee on Government Assurances	3	1
Committee on Petitions	7	
Committee on Absence of Members	1	
Committee on Privileges	1	
Committee on Legislation	2	..
Estimates Committee	9	4
House Committee/Members' Accommodation Committee	2	..
Library Committee	2	..
Public Accounts Committee	11	2

*Includes 51 notices received for starred Questions.

<i>Name of the Committee</i>	<i>No. of sittings held</i>	<i>No. of reports presented</i>
Rules Committee	2	1
<i>Select Committees :</i>		
1. Select Committee on the Tripura Board of Secondary Education Bill, 1973	3	1
2. Select Committee on the Tripura Co-operative Societies Bill, 1973	6	..

West Bengal Legislative Assembly

1. No. of sittings held	One
2. Period of the session	26-8-73 to 4-9-73
3. No. of sittings	8
4. Government Bills passed	6
5. Starred Questions :	
Notices received	44
Notices admitted	138
6. Unstarred Questions :	
Notices received	12
Notices admitted	44*
7. Short Notice Questions :	
Notices received	69
Notices admitted	11
8. Committees at work :	

<i>Name of the Committee</i>	<i>No. of sittings held</i>	<i>No. of reports presented</i>
Business Advisory Committee	2	2
Committee on Government Assurances	8	
Estimates Committee	8	..
Public Accounts Committee	13	..
Select Committee	1	1

*A few Starred and Short Notice Questions were admitted as Unstarred Questions.

APPENDIX IV

*List of Bills Passed by the Houses of Parliament and Assented to
by the President during the period 1st September, 1973
to 30th November, 1973.*

Sl. No.	Title of Bill	Date of assent by the President
1	2	3
1.	The Customs, Gold (Control) and Central Excises and Salt (Amendment) Bill, 1973	1-9-73
2.	The Agricultural Refinance Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 1973	1-9-73
3.	The Appropriation (Railways) No. 3 Bill, 1973	1-9-73
4.	The Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Bill, 1973	1-9-73
5.	The Employees' Provident Funds and Family Pension Fund (Amendment) Bill, 1973	6-9-73
6.	The Coking and Non-Coking Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Amendment Bill, 1973	6-9-73
7.	The Orissa Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1973	7-9-73
8.	The Manipur Appropriation (No. 2) Bill 1973	7-9-73
9.	The Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Bill, 1973	15-9-73
10.	The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill, 1973	15-9-73
11.	The Foreign Exchange Regulation Bill, 1973	19-9-73
12.	The Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1973	17-10-73
13.	The Foreign Awards (Recognition and Enforcement) Amendment Bill, 1973	26-11-73
14.	The State Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1973	26-11-73
15.	The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 1973	29-11-73

APPENDIX V

List of Bills passed by the State Legislatures during the period
1st July, 1973 to 30th September, 1973

Delhi Metropolitan Council

1. Proposal for extension of Punjab Industrial Establishments (National and Festival Holidays and Casual and Sick leave) Act, 1965 to the Union Territory of Delhi.
2. Delhi Rent Control (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
3. Delhi Arts Commission Bill, 1973.
4. Delhi Private Coaching Institutions (Regulation) Bill, 1973.

Goa, Daman and Diu Legislative Assembly

- *1. The Goa, Daman and Diu Shops and Establishments Bill, 1973.
- *2. The Goa, Daman and Diu Chit Funds Bill, 1972.
- *3. The Goa, Daman and Diu Irrigation Bill, 1973.
4. The Goa, Daman and Diu Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 1973.
5. The Goa, Daman and Diu (Protection from Eviction of Mundcars, Agricultural Labourers, and Village Artisans) (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
6. The Goa, Daman and Diu Protection of Rights of Tenants (Cashewnuts and Arecanuts Gardens) (Amendment) Bill, 1973.

Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha

1. The Madhya Pradesh Prevention of Beggary Bill, 1972.
2. The Madhya Pradesh Municipalities (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
3. The Madhya Pradesh Municipal Corporations (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
4. The Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha Proceedings (Immunity from Publication) Bill, 1973.
5. The Madhya Pradesh Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment) Bill, 1973.

* Bills awaiting assent.

6. The Madhya Pradesh Registration of Societies Bill, 1973.
7. The Madhya Pradesh Motor Vehicles (Taxation of Goods) (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
8. The Madhya Pradesh Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1973.
9. The Madhya Pradesh General Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
10. The Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code (Second Amendment) Bill, 1973.
11. The Madhya Pradesh Irrigation (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
12. The Madhya Pradesh Audit of Social Funds Bill, 1973.
13. The Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya (Amendment), Bill, 1973.

Meghalaya Legislative Assembly

1. Meghalaya Appropriation (No. III) Bill, 1973.
2. Meghalaya Board of School Education (Amendment) Bill, 1973.

Mysore Legislative Assembly

1. The Municipal Taxation (Mysore Extension) Bill, 1973.
2. The Mysore Co-operative Societies (Second Amendment) Bill, 1973.
3. The Motor Vehicles (Mysore Amendment) Bill, 1973.
4. The Mysore Urban Water Supply and Drainage Board Bill, 1973.
5. The Mysore Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Bill, 1973.
6. The Mysore Agricultural Produce Marketing (Regulation) (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
7. The Renuka Yellamma Devasthanam (Administration) Bill, 1973.
8. The Mysore Agricultural Lands (Prohibition of Alienation) Bill, 1973.
9. The Mysore Prohibition of Beggary Bill, 1973.
10. The Mysore Prevention of Cow Slaughter and Cattle Preservation (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
11. The Mysore Lifts Bill, 1973.
12. The Mysore Sheep and Sheep Products Development Bill, 1973.

13. The Mysore Seed Farms Bill, 1973.
14. The Mysore Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1973.
15. The Mysore Private Educational Institutions (Discipline and Control) Bill, 1973.
16. The Mysore Public Service Commission (Conduct of Business and Additional Functions) (Amendment) Bill, 1973.

Nagaland Legislative Assembly

- *1. The Nagaland Jhumland Bill, 1970.
- *2. The Nagaland Board of School-Education Bill 1973.

Punjab Vidhan Sabha

1. The Punjab Contingency Fund (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
- *2. The Punjab Municipal (Second Amendment) Bill, 1973.
- *3. The Punjab Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
- *4. The Public Wakfs (Extension of Limitation) (Punjab Amendment) Bill, 1973.
5. The Northern India Canal and Drainage (Punjab Amendment) Bill, 1973.
6. The Punjab Excise (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
7. The Punjab General Sales Tax (Third Amendment) Bill, 1973.
8. The Punjab Land Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
- *9. The Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
10. The Punjab Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1973.

Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly

1. The Tamil Nadu Payment of Salaries (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
2. The Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Bill, 1973.
3. The Tamil Nadu Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation and Entertainments Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
4. The Indian Stamp (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Bill, 1973.
5. The Tamil Nadu Local Authorities Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1973.

* Bills awaiting assent.

6. The Tamil Nadu Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1973
7. The Holdings (Stay of Execution Proceedings) (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Bill, 1973.
8. The Tamil Nadu Private Electricity Supply Undertakings (Acquisition) Bill, 1973 as amended by the Joint Select Committee.

Tamil Nadu Legislative Council

1. The Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill, 1973.
2. The Tamil Nadu Payment of Salaries (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
3. The Tamil Nadu Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation and Entertainments Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
4. The Indian Stamp (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Bill, 1973.
5. The Tamil Nadu Local Authorities Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
6. The Tamil Nadu Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
7. The Tamil Nadu Private Electricity Supply Undertakings (Acquisition) Bill, 1973.
8. The Holdings (Stay of Execution Proceedings) (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Bill, 1973.

Tripura Legislative Assembly

1. The Tripura Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1973.
- *2. The Tripura Board of Secondary Education Bill, 1973.

West Bengal Legislative Assembly

1. The West Bengal Vaccination Bill, 1973.
2. The Calcutta Tramways Company (Taking over of Management) (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
- *3. The West Bengal Panchayat Bill, 1973.
4. The West Bengal Medical and Dental Colleges (Regulation of Admission) Bill, 1973.
5. The West Bengal Official Language (Amendment) Bill, 1973.
- *6. The Prevention of Adulteration of Food, Drugs and Cosmetics (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1973.

* Bills awaiting assent.

APPENDIX VI

Ordinances issued by the Central and State Governments under the period 1st July, 1973 to 30th September, 1973

Sl. No.	Title of Ordinance	Date of Promulgation	Date on which laid before the House	Date of Cessation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Central*</i>					
1.	The Press Council (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973.	27-9-1973	12-11-1973		
2.	The Central Excises and Salt (Amendment) ordinance 1973.	2-11-1973	12-11-1973		
3.	The Konkan Passenger Ships (Acquisition) Ordinance, 1973 .	7-11-1973	12-11-1973		
<i>States</i>					
<i>Bihar**</i>					
1.	Anugrah Narain Sinha Institute of Social Studies (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	7-4-73	9-7-73	25-8-73	New Ordinance came into force from 26-8-73
2.	The Bihar State Universities (Patna, Bihar, Bhagalpur, Ranchi and Magadh Universities) (Control and Management) Ordinance, 1973 .	"	"	"	"
3.	The Bihar Primary Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973 . .	"	"	"	"
4.	The Bihar Board of School Examinations (Amendment) Ordinance 1973 . . .	"	"	"	"

*Relates to the period 1st September 1973 to 30th November, 1973.

**Original in Hindi. The information relates to the period 1-4-73 to 30-6-73.

1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	The Bihar State University Laws and School laws (Amendment and Repeal) Ordinance, 1973	7-4-73	9-7-73	25-8-73	New ordinance came into force from 26-8-73
6.	Mithila University Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
8.	The Bihar Hindu Religious Trusts (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
9.	The Bihar Health Cess Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
10.	The Bihar Institute of Medical Sciences (Regulation and Control) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
11.	The Patliputra Medical College (Taxing and Management) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
12.	The Bihar Salaries and Allowances of Ministers (Amendment) Ordinance 1973	"	"	"	"
13.	The Bihar Salaries and Allowances of Deputy Ministers (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
14.	The Bihar Legislature (Pay and Allowances of Officers) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
15.	The Bihar Land and Forest Conservation and Land Development Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
16.	The Chotanagpur Tenancy (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"

1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	The Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	7-4-73	9-7-73	25-8-73	New Ordinance came into force from 26-8-73
18.	The Bihar State Housing Board Ordinance, 1973	"	k,	"	"
19.	The Bihar Panchayat Raj (Amendment and Validation) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
20.	The Bihar Panchayat Raj (Validation) Second Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
21.	The Bihar Sales Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
22.	The Bihar Shops and Establishments (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	8-4-73	"	"	"
23.	Rajendra Agricultural University (Second Amendment, Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
24.	The Bihar Subsidy to Industries (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
25.	The Bihar Khadi and Gramodyog (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
26.	The Bihar District Board (Control and management) (second Amendment), Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
27.	The Bihar Child Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
28.	The Bihar Marketing of Agricultural Products (Amendment) Ordinance 1973	"	j	"	"

1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	The Bihar Houses (Control of Lease, Rent and Eviction) (Amendment) Ordi- nance, 1973	8-4-73	9-7-73	25-8-73	New Ordinance came in force from 26-8-73
30.	The Bihar Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Ordi- nance, 1973	"	"	"	"
31.	The Patna Municipal Corporations (Am- endment) Ordi- nance, 1973	"	"	"	"
32.	The Bihar Excise (Am- endment) Ordinance 1973.	"	"	"	"
33.	The Bihar Public Pro- curement of Bhang (Amendment) Ordi- nance, 1973	"	"	"	"
34.	The Bihar Municipa- lities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
35.	Chota Nagpur and Sant thal Pargana Autono- mous Development Authority (Amend- ment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
36.	The Bihar Industries Area Development Authority Ordi- nance, 1973	"	"	"	"
37.	The Bihar Cooperative Societies (Amend- ment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
38.	The Bihar Gramdan (Amendment) Ordi- nance, 1973	"	"	"	"
39.	The Bihar Land Re- forms (Validation and Amendment) Ordi- nance, 1973	"	"	"	"
40.	The Bihar Kendu Leaves (Control on traffic) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"

1	2	3	4	5	6
41.	The Bihar Sugarcane (Regulation of Supply and Purchase) Ordinance, 1973	9-4-73	9-7-73	25-8-73	New Ordinance came into force from 26-8-73 "
42.	The Motor Vehicles (Bihar Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
43.	The Bihar Irrigation & Lift Irrigation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	10-4-73	"	"	"
44.	The Bihar Ceiling on Urban Property (Interim Restrictions on Transfer) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	Replaced by a Bill
45.	The Bihar Tenancy of Follow land by Privileged Persons (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	26-5-73	"	"	New Ordinance came into force from 26-8-73
46.	The Bihar (Transportation by Public Carriers) Passenger and Goods Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	7-5-73	"	"	"
47.	The Bihar Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads (Amendment and Validation) Ordinance, 1973	9-5-73	"	"	"
48.	The Bihar Lokayukta (Second) Ordinance, 1973	11-5-73	"	"	"
49.	The Bihar Contingency Fund (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	16-5-73	"	"	"
50.	The Bihar Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	25-5-73	"	"	"
51.	The Bihar State Universities (Bihar, Bhagalpur and Ranchi) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	4-6-73	"	"	"

1	2	3	4	5	6
52	The Bihar Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	12-6-73	9-7-73	25-8-73	New Ordinance came into force from 26-8-73
53	The Bihar Public Procurement of Bhang (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	14-6-73	"	"	"
54	The Bihar Parishads and Vehicles (Acquisition) Ordinance, 1973	16-6-73	"	"	"
55	The Bihar Money Lenders (Regulation of Transactions) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	"	"	"	"
56	The Bihar Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	20-6-73	"	"	"
57	The Bihar Contingency Fund (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	28-6-73	"	"	"
58	The Bihar Land Reforms (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	29-6-73	"	"	"
<i>Gujarat</i>					
1	The Gujarat Ministers' Salaries and Allowances (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973 . . .	21-7-73	1-10-73		Replaced legislation
2	The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands (Gujarat Amendment) Ordinance, 1973 . . .	31-7-73	"		"
3	The Gujarat Vacant Lands in Urban Areas (Prohibition of Alienation) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973 . . .	10-8-73	"		"
4	The Gujarat University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973. . .	4-9-73	"		"

1	2	3	4	5	6
5	The Gujarat Contingency Fund (Temporary Increase) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	10-9-73	1-10-73		Replaced by Legislation
6	The Gujarat Secondary Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	29-9-73	3-10-73		Do.
<i>Haryana</i>					
1	The Haryana Municipal (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	20-7-73	12-11-73		Replaced by Legislation.
2	The Haryana Land Holdings Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	27-9-73	12-11-73		Do.
<i>Himachal Pradesh</i>					
1	The Himachal Pradesh (Transferred Territory) Tenants (Protection of Rights) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	30-8-73	15-10-73	Six weeks after the commencement of the session i.e. 25-11-73	Replaced by Legislative.
2	The Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	26-9-73	15-10-73	Do.	Do.
<i>Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha</i>					
1	Madhya Pradesh General Sales Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	10-7-73	24-7-73	9-1-74	Replaced by legislation.
2	Madhya Pradesh Homeopathic Biochemic Practitioners (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	17-9-73			Do.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Mysore</i>					
1	The Mysore Private Educational Institutions (Discipline and Control) Ordinance, 1973	1-8-73	27-8-73		Replaced by legislation.
2	The Mysore Agricultural Produce Marketing (Regulation Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	18-8-73	Do.		Do.
<i>Punjab</i>					
1	The Punjab Municipal (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	17-5-73	25-9-73		Replaced by legislation
2	The Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	13-6-73	Do.		Do.
3	The Punjab General Sales Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	4-7-73	Do.		Do.
4	The Punjab Land Reforms (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	28-7-73	Do.		Do.
5	The Punjab Excise (Amendment) Ordinance 1973	30-7-73	Do.		Do.
<i>Rajasthan</i>					
1	The Rajasthan Essential Services Maintenance (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973.	16-7-73	3-10-73		Replaced by legislation
2	The Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	8-8-73	3-10-73		Do.
3	The University of Rajasthan (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	9-8-73	-10-73		Do.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Tamil Nadu</i>					
1	The Tamil Nadu Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation and Entertainments (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	26-6-73	11-8-73		Replaced by legislation
2	The Indian Stamp (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	28-6-73	11-8-1973		Do.
3	The Tamil Nadu Prohibition (Suspension of Operation) Ordinance 1973	30-8-73			
4	The Tamil Nadu Excise (Amendment) Ordinance 1973	30-8-73			
5	The Tamil Nadu General Sales Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	1-10-73			
6	The Madras City Municipal Corporation and Tamil Nadu District Municipalities (Amendment and Extension of Term of Office) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	6-10-73			
<i>West Bengal</i>					
1	The Calcutta Tramways Company (Taking over of Management) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	18-7-73	27-8-73		
2	The West Bengal Medical and Dental Colleges (Regulation Admission) Ordinance, 1973	7-8-73			Do.
3	The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	24-9-73			
4	The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	24-9-73			
5	The Bengal Motor Spirit Sales Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1973	9-9-73			

APPENDIX VII
A. PARTY POSITION IN LOK SABHA

(1) State-wise
(As on December 1, 1973)

Name of the State	Seats	Cong.	CPI(M)	CPI	J.S.	DMK	Other Parties	Unattached	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Andhra Pradesh	41	37	1	1	..	..	2(a)	..	41
Assam	14	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	13 (1 vacant)
Bihar	53	38	..	5	2	..	6(b)	1	52 (1 vacant)
Gujarat	24	12	..	..	..	..	9(c)	2	23 (1 vacant)
Haryana	9	7	..	..	1	..	..	1	9
Himachal Pradesh	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Jammu and Kashmir	6	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Karnataka	27	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	26 (1 vacant)
Kerala	19	6	2	3	..	..	7(d)	1	19
Madhya Pradesh	37	21	..	..	10	..	5(e)	..	36 (1 vacant)
Maharashtra	45	39	..	..	..	..	2(f)	1	42 (3 vacant)
Manipur	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Meghalaya	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Nagaland	1	..	..	..	..	..	1(g)	..	1
Orissa	20	14	..	1	..	..	5(h)	..	20
Punjab	13	9	..	1	..	..	..	1	11* (1 vacant)
Rajasthan	23	15	..	..	3	..	4(i)	1	23
Tamil Nadu	39	9	..	3	..	19	7(j)	..	38 (1 vacant)
Tripura	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Uttar Pradesh	85	73	..	5	4	..	..	2	84 (1 vacant)
West Bengal	40	15	20	3	..	..	2(k)	..	40
Union Territories									
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Arunachal Pradesh	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1(l)
Chandigarh	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Delhi	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Goa, Daman and Diu	2	1	..	..	..	..	1(m)	..	2
Lakshadweep	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Mizoram	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Pondicherry	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 (1 vacant)
Anglo-Indian	2	..	..	..	..	..	2(n)	..	2
TOTAL	524	358	25	22	20	19	53	14	511* (excluding Speaker and 12 vacancies)

*Excludes the Speaker, who is not a member of any Party.

(a) Telengana Praja Samiti	2	(h) Swatantra UIPG	3
(b) Socialist Party	2		2
Congress (O)	3	(i) Swatantra UIPG	2
UIPG	1		2
(c) Swatantra Congress(O)	2	(j) Muslim League Forward Bloc Congress(O) Ann. D.M.K.	1
	7		1
(d) Muslim League	2	(k) Socialist Party	1
Revolutionary Socialist Party	2	Revolutionary Socialist Party	1
Kerala Congress	3		1
(e) Socialist Party	1	(l) Nominated by the President	
UIPG	4	(m) UIPG	1
(f) Socialist Party	1		
Forward Bloc	1	(n) UIPG	2
(g) UIPG	1		(Nominated by the President)

A. PARTY POSITION IN LOK SABHA

(ii) Party-wise

(As on December 1, 1973)

<i>Name of the Party</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Congress Party	358
C.P.I.(M)	25
C.P.I.	22
Jan Sangh	20
D.M.K.	19
<i>Other Parties :</i>	
Congress(O)	11
U.I.P.G.	13
Swatantra	7
Socialist Party	5
Anna D.M.K.	4
Muslim League	3
Revolutionary Socialist Party	3
Kerala Congress	3
Forward Bloc	2
Telengana Praja Samiti	2
Unattached	14
Vacancies	12
	523
TOTAL	(excluding Speaker)

B. PARTY POSITION IN RAJYA SABHA

(I) State-wise

(As on Dec. 1, 1973)

States	No. of Seats	CONG.	CONG(O)	JS	DMK	CPI	SWA	CPI(M)	M	S.P.N.(L.)	IND	SP	AKALIDAL	APH LC	FB(M)	MPP	PSP	REP	SMS	RSP	MUP	ADMK	IND	nominated	Vacancies.	
A.P.	18	14	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	
Assam	7	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bihar	22	13	1	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	
Gujarat	11	9	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Haryana	5	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Himachal Pradesh	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
J. & K.	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Kerala	9	1	—	—	2	—	3	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	
Madhya Pradesh	16	11	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	
Maharashtra	19	14	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	
Manipur	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Meghalaya	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Karnataka	12	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	
Nagaland	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Orissa	10	4	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Punjab	7	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Rajasthan	10	6	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	
Tamil Nadu	18	1	1	—	9	—	1	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	
Tripura	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
U.P.	34	15	7	5	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	
W. Bengal	16	7	—	—	3	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	
Arunachal Pradesh	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	
Delhi	3	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mizoram	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	
Pondicherry	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Nominated	12	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	
	243	127	14	14	10	10	9	8	4	2	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	2	15	11	1

B. PARTY POSITION IN RAJYA SABHA

(ii) Party-wise

(As on June 1, 1973)

<i>Name of Party</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Congress	127
Congress (O)	14
Jan Sangh	14
D.M.K.	10
C.P.I. .	10
Swatantra	9
C.P.I. (M) .	8
<i>Other Parties :</i>	
Muslim League	4
B.K.D. .	4
S.P. (L).	2
Akali Dal	2
S.P. .	3
A.P.H.L.C. .	1
R.P. .	1
M.P.P. .	1
F.B.(M)	1
R.S.P. .	1
S.M.S. .	1
P.S.P. .	1
A.D.M.K.	2
Independents	15
Others .	11
Vacancies	1
TOTAL	243

C. PARTY POSITION IN STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

States	Seats	Cong.	Cong(O)	Swat.	JS	CPI	CPI (M)	SP	PSP	Other Parties	Inf.	Nom.	DMK	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Andhra Pradesh (as on 31-3-73)	288	216				8	1			39(a)	18	1		288(h)
Assam (as on 31-3-73)	114	94						4		15(c)				114(i)
Bihar (as on 22-7-73)	319	181	24	1	24	35		34		9(e)	14	1		319(f)
Gujarat (as on 30-9-73)	168	139	16		3	1					8			168(g)
Haryana (as on 30-9-73)	81	52	5		2					6(h)	16			81
Himachal Pradesh (as on 30-9-73)	68	53			5		1			2(i)	6			68(i)
Jammu and Kashmir (as on 7-12-73)	75	57			3					5(k)	9			75(l)
Kerala (as on 30-3-73)	134	33	3			16	32	8	2	35(m)	3			134(n)
Madhya Pradesh (as on 1-11-73)	297	228			42	5		4			12	1		297(o)
Manipur (as on 21-4-73)	60	17				5		3		14(p)	20			60(q)
Meghalaya (as on 30-9-73)	60	12								47(r)	1			61
Mysore (as on 30-9-73)	217	165	23		3	1	2			1(s)	18			217(t)
Nagaland (as on 30-9-73)	52									51(u)	1			52
Orissa (as on 3-3-73)	139	54				4	2			76(v)	3			139(w)
Punjab (as on 30-9-73)	104	67				10	1			25(x)				104(y)
Rajasthan (as on 26-5-73)	184	144	1	11	7	4		4			11			184(z)
Tamil Nadu (as on 1-11-73)	235	6	13	5		5				29(aa)	1	1	173	235(bb)
Tripura (as on 30-9-73)	60	41				1	16				2(cc)			60
Uttar Pradesh (as on 31-3-73)	426	273	38		38					73(dd)				426(ee)
West Bengal (as on 30-9-73)	281	214	2			35	13			8(ff)	4(gg)	1		281(hh)
*Delhi (as on 31-10-73)	61	48	2		5	3				1(ii)	1			61(jj)
Goa, Daman and Diu (as on 30-9-73)	30	1								27(kk)	1			30(ll)
Mizoram (as on 16-4-73)	33	6								21(mm)				33
Pondicherry (as on 5-5-73)	30	7	3			3					1		16	30

*Refers to Delhi Metropolitan Council.

(a) Swatantra-Telegana Praja Samiti Front—3; Socialist Democratic Front 11; Andhra Progressive Democrats 8; Progressive Front 7; Peoples' Democrats 6; Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen 3; RPI—1

(b) Vacant—5.

(c) United Legislature Party 10; Progressive Front—5.

(d) Vacant—1.

(e) Includes All India Jharkhand—3; HUL Jharkhand—2; Progressive Jharkhand—1; Jharkhand (N.E. Horo Group)—1; Hinustani Soshit Dal—2.

(f) Vacant—1; Includes Hon. Speaker.

(g) Vacant—1.

(h) Includes Vishal Haryana Party—3; Progressive Independent Party—2.

(i) Lok Raj Party—2.

(j) Vacant—1.

(k) Jamat Islami.

(l) Vacant—1.

(m) Includes Kerala Congress—13; Muslim League—11; Revolutionary Socialist Party—6; Kerala Socialist Party—2; Praja Socialist Party—2; Karshak Tozhilali Party—2.

(n) Vacant—2; Includes Hon. Speaker.

(o) Vacant—4; Includes Hon. Speaker.

(p) Includes M.P.P.—14.

(q) Vacant—1.

(r) Includes A.P.H.L.C.—39; H.S.P.D.P.—8.

(s) Janata Paksha.

(t) Vacant—3; Includes Hon. Speaker.

(u) Includes Nagaland Nationalist Organisation—31; United Democratic Front—20.

(v) Pragati Legislative Party—73; Janta Congress—1; Jharkhand—2.

(w) Excludes Hon. Speaker.

(x) Shiromani Akali Dal—25.

(y) Vacant—1.

(z) Vacant—2.

(aa) Tamil Arasu Kazhagam—1; Forward Bloc—7; Muslim League—6; Anna Dravida Munetra Kazhagam—12; Tamil Nadu Communist—3.

(bb) Vacant—1; Includes Hon. Speaker.

(cc) Independent supported by CP(M).

(dd) Includes B.K.D.—42; Unattached—2; (Speaker & Deputy Speaker) Other parties and independents—28.

(ee) Vacant—4.

(ff) Includes R. S.P.—3; Socialist Unity Centre—1; Workers Party—1; Gorkha League—2; Muslim League—1.

(gg) Includes Speaker.

(hh) Vacant—4.

(ii) Muslim League.

(jj) Vacant—1.

(kk) Includes Maharashtra ti Gomantak Party—17; United Guans—10.

(ll) Includes Hon. Speaker.

(mm) Mizo Union—21.