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# **THE JOURNAL OF PARLIAMENTARY INFORMATION**

Editor : *S. L. SHAKDHER*

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## **General Elections to State Assemblies, March-April, 1972\***

Sixteen States and three Union Territories, divided into 2757 Assembly constituencies, went to the polls in March-April 1972 to elect representatives to their Legislative Assemblies (Metropolitan Council in the case of Delhi). The total electorate involved in these elections was about 195 million.<sup>1</sup>

Barring the newly-created Union Territory of Mizoram, which went to the polls on April 18, 1972, elections in the other States and Union Territories were held between March 5 and 11, 1972. The total number of Assembly seats involved in these 16 States and two Union Territories was 2,727. Elections to all but five of these seats were duly completed in March. The five constituencies where the elections had to be put off to a later date included the Dehgam constituency in Gujarat where the elections could not be held in March due to the death of a candidate, and four snow-bound constituencies—three in Himachal Pradesh (Bharmour, Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti) and one in Jammu and Kashmir (Leh). Elections to the Dehgam seat were held on April 16, while the four constituencies which were snow-bound in March went to the polls in June.

In seven of the States where Assembly elections were held this year, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan as well as in two Union Territories—Delhi and Goa, Daman and Diu—the elections were due in the normal course, as the outgoing Assemblies, constituted after the Fourth General Elections, held in March-April, 1967, were about to complete their normal five year term. Seven other States had been, at the time of the present elections, under President's

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\*Prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service, Lok Sabha Secretariat.

<sup>1</sup>*Seminar*, May 1972, p. 10.

rule for varying periods. These were Bihar<sup>2</sup>, Gujarat<sup>3</sup>, Manipur<sup>4</sup>, Mysore<sup>5</sup> Punjab<sup>6</sup>, Tripura<sup>7</sup> and West Bengal<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>President's rule was last imposed in Bihar on January 9, 1972, for the third time since the 1967 General Elections. Ever since the 1967 Elections, there had been continued political instability in Bihar, as no party could command a clear majority in the State Assembly and the various Coalition Governments formed from time to time could not last long, due to differences among the constituent parties and frequent changes of party affiliations by legislators. Thus, within less than five years since the 1967 General Elections, as may as nine Ministries fell in Bihar. See Also *J.P.I.*, April 1972, pp. 287-288.

<sup>3</sup>Gujarat was placed under President's Rule on May 13, 1971. This followed a spate of defections from the ruling Congress (O) Legislature Party and a report from the Governor to the President that the continued political instability in the State precluded the possibility of any party or combination of parties forming a stable Government. Also see *J.P.I.*, July 1971, pp. 125-126.

<sup>4</sup>Manipur had been under President's rule since October 16, 1969. It was elevated to Statehood only on January 21, 1972.

<sup>5</sup>President's rule was imposed in Mysore on March 27, 1971. Earlier, following a spate of defections, the Congress (O) Ministry, headed by Shri Veerendra Patil, had resigned on March 18, and the Governor had reported to the President that in view of the failure of the political parties in the State to form a popular Government Central take-over had become necessary. Also see *J.P.I.*, April 1971, pp. 171-172.

<sup>6</sup>Punjab was placed under President's Rule on June 15, 1971, for the second time since the 1967 General Elections. Earlier, on June 13, the State Assembly was dissolved by the Governor, on the advice of the Chief Minister, Shri Parkash Singh Badal (Akali Dal—Sant Group), who also simultaneously submitted the resignation of his 15-month old Ministry. On the same day (June 13), 17 Akali legislators announced that they had withdrawn their support from the Badal Government and formed a separate Akali Dal under the leadership of Shri Gurnam Singh, a former Chief Minister. Also see *J.P.I.*, October 1971, pp. 171-173.

<sup>7</sup>President's rule was imposed in Tripura—then a Union Territory—on November 1, 1971 to enable the Administration to deal with the serious situation that had arisen in the Union Territory as a result of Pakistani aggressive activities on the borders, sabotage, and influx of refugees from Bangladesh.

<sup>8</sup>West Bengal was placed under President's rule on June 29, 1971, for the third time since the 1967 General Elections. Earlier, on June 25, on the advice of the Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Mukerjee, the Governor had dissolved the State Assembly. On June 26, Shri Mukerjee submitted to the Governor, the resignation of his eight-party Democratic Coalition Ministry which was sworn in only 12 weeks earlier on April 2, 1971. Neither the 1967 General Elections, nor the two Mid-term Elections held in West Bengal in 1969 and 1971 had returned any single party with an absolute majority in the State Assembly.

The remaining two States where Assembly Elections were held in March 1972 were Haryana and Meghalaya. The term of the Haryana Assembly, constituted after a Mid-term election held in May 1968, was due to expire only in 1973. However, on the advice of the Chief Minister, Shri Bansilal, the Assembly was dissolved by the Governor on January 21, 1972. Explaining the step at a Press Conference, the Chief Minister said, "we are keen on seeking a fresh mandate from the people so that we can go ahead with renewed vigour and enthusiasm."<sup>9</sup> In Meghalaya, which attained full Statehood only in January 1972, elections had to be held to choose the new State's enlarged 60-member Assembly replacing the Provisional Assembly of 41 members. Likewise, in Mizoram, elections had to be held to the newly-created Union Territory's first Legislative Assembly.

The States which did not go to the polls in March-April this year were Kerala, Nagaland, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. In Nagaland, which attained Statehood in December 1963, the first Legislative Assembly was constituted in March 1964. The second quinquennial Assembly elections in that State were held in February 1969<sup>10</sup>, and so General Elections to the Nagaland Assembly were due again only in 1974. In the remaining four States, the Assemblies constituted after the Fourth General Elections (1967) were dissolved before completing their full term, followed by fresh elections in each case. Thus, in Uttar Pradesh and Kerala, mid-term Assembly elections were held, respectively, in February 1969 and September 1970, while Orissa and Tamil Nadu had fresh Assembly elections in March 1971, simultaneously with the mid-term Lok Sabha poll.

#### *Analysis of Election Results*

Of the 2757 seats involved in the 1972 General Elections, 33 seats were filled by uncontested returns—30 claimed by the Congress<sup>11</sup> (17 from Andhra Pradesh, 2 from Assam, 5 from Jammu and Kashmir, 3 from Maharashtra and one each from Punjab, Rajasthan and Manipur) and 3 by the All-Party Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC) in Meghalaya.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>*Times of India* (New Delhi), January 22, 1972.

<sup>10</sup>*Asian Recorder*, 1969, p. 8812.

<sup>11</sup>In the light of the Supreme Court's decision in the Congress Symbol case (A.I.R. 1972 S.C. 187), the name "Congress" or "Indian National Congress" is now used for the political party which after the 1969 Congress split came to be known as the "Congress (R)" or the "New Congress". The other Congress group continues to be referred to as "Congress (O)".

<sup>12</sup>*Hindustan Times*, February 15, 1972 and *Times of India* (New Delhi), February 12 and 15, 1972.

The comparative Table on the next page shows the number of seats secured by the main all-India parties, other parties and Independents in the different State/Union Territory Assemblies in the 1972 General Elections along with the corresponding figures for the 1967 General Elections.

The general trend of the 1972 Assembly Elections was clear. Barring two small States—Meghalaya and Manipur—and the Union Territories of Goa, Daman and Diu and Mizoram, the Congress swept the polls securing a three-fourth majority in nine States—Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra, Mysore, Rajasthan and West Bengal and also in the Metropolitan Council of the Union Territory of Delhi; a two-thirds majority in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura and an almost two-thirds majority in two other States Haryana and Punjab. In Bihar also the party was voted to power with a comfortable majority. Taking all the 16 States and three Union Territories together, out of the total 2,757 seats that were at stake in the 1972 Assembly General Elections, the Congress captured 1936 seats 513 more than the undivided Congress party's tally of 1423<sup>13</sup> (out of a total of 2610 seats) in the 1967 Elections. Thus, on an all-India basis, the Congress share of the total seats went up from 54.52 per cent in 1967 to 70.22 per cent in 1972.

In all the 14 States, save two, and the Union Territory of Delhi, where the Congress was voted to power in 1972, the party had improved its position considerably since 1967. Thus, not only had the party gained absolute majorities in the four States—Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan and West Bengal—and the Union Territory of Delhi, where it had been reduced to a minority in the 1967 Elections, it had also further consolidated its position in the eight other States—Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore. The exceptions were Jammu and Kashmir and Tripura. In Jammu and Kashmir, the Congress had obtained three seats less than its 1967 tally of 61. In Tripura, previously a Union Territory which was elevated to Statehood in January 1972, in the 1967 Elections the Congress had won as many as 27 seats in the Territory's 30—member Assembly. In comparison, in 1972 the party

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<sup>13</sup>Of the 16 States and three Union Territories involved in the 1972 Assembly Elections Meghalaya and Mizoram did not exist as separate entities in 1967. Hence, the figures '1423' and '2610' relate only to 15 States and two Union Territories.



**Party-wise Break up of Seats in State/Union Territory Assemblies After the 1967 and 1972 General Elections (a)**

States/Union Territories	Total Seats		Congress		CPI		Jana Sangh		Congress (O)		Socialist Party (d)		CPI(M)		Swatantra		Other(e) Parties		Independents	
	67	68	67(b)	72	67	72	67	72	67 (c)	72	67	72	67	72	67	72	67	72	67	72
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
<b>STATES</b>																				
1. Andhra Pradesh	287	287	165	219	11	7	3	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	9	1	29	2	1	5	68	53	
	(f)	(g)																		
2. Assam	125	114	73	95	7	3	Nil	Nil	Nil	9	4	Nil	Nil	2	1	9	6	25	5	
3. Bihar	318	318	128	167	24	35	26	26	30	86	33	4	Nil	3	2	14	13	33	12	
4. Gujarat	168	168	93	140	Nil	1	1	3	16	3	Nil	Nil	Nil	66	Nil	Nil	Nil	5	8	
5. Haryana	81	81	48	52	Nil	Nil	12	2	12	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	3	Nil	2	4	16	11	
6. Himachal Pradesh(h)	60	68	34	53	2	Nil	7	5	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	1	Nil	Nil	2	16	7	
7. Jammu & Kashmir	75	75	61	58	Nil	Nil	3	3	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	8	5	3	9	
8. Madhya Pradesh	206	296	167	220	1	3	78	48	Nil	19	7	Nil	Nil	7	Nil	2	Nil	22	18	
9. Maharashtra(i)	270	270	203	222	10	2	4	5	Nil	12	3	1	1	Nil	Nil	24	12	16	25	
10. Manipur(j)	30	60	16	17	1	5	Nil	Nil	1	4	3	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	18	9	16	
11. Meghalaya	..	60	9	..	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	..	Nil	..	32	..	19	..	
12. Mysore	216	216	126	165	1	3	4	Nil	24	26	3	1	Nil	16	..	1	6	41	15	
13. Punjab	104	104	47	66	5	10	9	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	3	1	Nil	Nil	29	24	10	3	
14. Rajasthan	184	184	89	145	1	4	22	8	1	8	4	Nil	Nil	48	11	Nil	Nil	16	11	
15. Tripura(k)	30	60	27	41	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	2	16	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	2	
16. West Bengal	280	280	127	216	16	35	1	Nil	2	14	Nil	43	14	1	Nil	47	8	31	5	
<b>UNION TERRITORIES</b>																				
1. Delhi	56	56	19	44	Nil	3	33	5	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	1	3	1	
2. Goa, Daman & Diu	30	30	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	..	..	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	28	28	2	1	
3. Mizoram (l)	..	30	..	6	..	Nil	..	Nil	..	Nil	..	Nil	..	Nil	..	Nil	21	..	3	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2610</b>	<b>2757</b>	<b>1423</b>	<b>1936</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>224</b>

(a) Sources : (i) For data relating to 1967 Elections—Election Commission's Report on the Fourth General Elections in India, 1967; Fourth General Elections an Analysis (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting); and The Overseas Hindustan Times, March, 11 1972.

(ii) For data relating to 1972 Elections—Hindustan Times, March 17, April 18 and June 10 and 13, 1972; The Overseas Hindustan Times, March 25 and April 1, 1972; Indian Express, April 23, 1972 and Hindustan Standard, April 28, 1972.

(b) The figures for the 1967 elections, relate to the seats won by the Undivided Congress.

(c) The Congress (O) came into existence only in 1969 after the split in the Indian National Congress.

(d) The Socialist Party has been formed by the merger of the P.S.P. and the S.S.P. For the 1967 elections, the PSP and the SSP figures have been added together.

(e) Other Parties—Notable gains by regional and other Parties coming under this category were :

(i) Assam : In 1967, seven seats were won by the APHLC which has now emerged as the ruling party in the new State of Meghalaya, carved out of Assam.

(ii) Bihar — 1967—13 seats were won by the Jana Kranti Dal : 1972—Jharkhand Party 7, Soshit Dal 2, P.S.P. (Dissidents) 4.

(iii) Jammu and Kashmir 1967—National Conference 8; 1972—Jamaat-e-Islami 5.

(iv) Maharashtra 1967—Peasants and workers Party 19 and Republic Party 5; 1972—PWP 7 and Republic 2.

(v) Manipur 1972—Manipur People's Party 15.

(vi) Meghalaya 1972—APHLC 32.

(vii) Punjab 1967—Akali Dal (Sant Group) 24; Republican Party 3 and Akali Dal (Tara Singh) group 2; 1972—Akali Dal (Sant Group) 24.

(viii) West Bengal 1967—Bangla Congress 34, Forward Bloc 13; 1972—Revolutionary Socialist Party 3, Gorkha League 2, Muslim League Workers' Party and Socialist Unity Centre 1 each.

(ix) Goa 1967—Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party 16 and United Goans Party 12; 1972—MGP 18 and UGP 10.

(x) Mizoram 1972—Mizo Union 21.

(f) & (g) In 1967 the total number of Assembly seats in Assam was 126. However, no nomination was filed in one Constituency. Under the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, the number of Assembly seats in Assam was reduced from 126 to 114 following the separation of certain areas which were formed into the new State of Meghalaya.

(h) In 1967—Himachal Pradesh was a Union Territory. Following its elevation to Statehood in 1971, the number of Assembly seats was increased from 60 to 68.

(i) and (k). Manipur and Tripura were Union Territories in 1967. With their elevation to Statehood in January 1972, the number of Assembly seats was increased from 30 to 60 in each case.

(j) Meghalaya, formed out of certain areas of Assam, became a full fledged State in January, 1972.

(l) The new Union Territory of Mizoram came into existence in January, 1972.

won 41 seats in the enlarged State Assembly with a strength of 60. Thus, while improving its numerical strength, in terms of seat-share the Congress had actually suffered a setback in Tripura, with its share in the total Assembly seats declining from 90 per cent in 1967 to 68.33 per cent in 1972.

Of the two States and two Union Territories which did not vote the Congress to power in the 1972 General Elections, in Meghalaya the mandate went in favour of the ruling All Party Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC) which had formed an electoral alliance<sup>14</sup> with the Congress. In Manipur, there was no absolute majority for any party. The Congress had emerged as the largest single party with a strength of 17 in the 60-member Assembly, followed by the Manipur Peoples' Party (MPP) with 15 members. However, with the support of some small parties and Independents, the MPP formed a coalition, known as the United Legislature Party, which was able to claim majority support.<sup>15</sup>

In the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, the ruling Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP) was voted back to power for another term, capturing 18 of the 30 seats in the Territory's Assembly. Of the remaining 12 seats, 10 were claimed by another regional party—the United Goans Party, one seat went to the Congress and one to an Independent. Likewise, in the newly-created Union Territory of Mizoram, the mandate went in favour of a regional party—the Mizo Union, which won 21 seats in the Territory's 30-member Assembly. The Congress emerged as the second largest party with six seats while the remaining three seats went to Independents.

Of the national opposition parties, the CPI alone improved its position, winning in all 112 seats as compared to its tally of 80 seats in 1967. However, broadly speaking, the party made notable gains only in States (like Bihar, Punjab and West Bengal) where it had an electoral understanding with the Congress and did not do well in States (like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, and Maharashtra) where it had no such understanding.<sup>16</sup>

The Jana Sangh which had made a bid to emerge as the main opposition party on a national scale<sup>17</sup>, won only 105 seats—98 less than

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<sup>14</sup>Seminar, May 1972, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup>Hindustan Times, March 17, 1972.

<sup>16</sup>Hindustan Times, March 15, 1972.

<sup>17</sup>Among the national Opposition parties, the Jana Sangh had fielded the largest number of candidates (1229) in the 1972 Assembly Elections—Hindustan Times, February 20, 1972.

what it had in 1967. The party suffered a setback in its strongholds. Thus, as compared to 1967, its strength declined in Madhya Pradesh from 78 to 48, in Rajasthan from 22 to 8, in Haryana from 12 to 2 and in Delhi from 33 to 5. In Punjab, where the party had won nine seats in 1967, it did not secure any seat in 1972. However, the party was able to maintain its position in Bihar and Jammu and Kashmir and make some headway in Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The Congress (O), which came into existence in 1969, won only 88 seats as against its strength of 218 in the outgoing Assemblies<sup>18</sup>. The party suffered severe setbacks in its strong bases in Gujarat and Mysore, where it had been in power after the Congress split. In Gujarat, it won only 16 seats as against its strength of 68 in the dissolved Assembly. Similarly, in Mysore, its strength declined from 104 to 24. However, the party was able to improve its position in two States—in Bihar from 18 in the dissolved Assembly to 30 and in Haryana from 5 to 12.

The Socialist Party (formed only a few months before the 1972 Elections by the merger of the SSP and the PSP) and the CPM fared no better. The Socialist Party won only 57 Assembly seats in all as against the SSP's and PSP's combined tally of 183 in the 1967 Elections. Of the 57 seats won by the party in this year's elections, 33 were accounted for by Bihar, seven by Madhya Pradesh, four each by Assam and Rajasthan and three each by Maharashtra, Manipur and Mysore. Similarly, the CPM was able to secure only 34 Assembly seats as against its tally of 63 in 1967. Of the party's total tally of 34 seats in the 1972 Elections, 16 were accounted for by Manipur, 14 by West Bengal and one each by Assam; Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab.

The Swatantra Party fared even worse. As against 176 Assembly seats won by the party in 1967, it could secure only 16 seats in 1972—11 of these in Rajasthan, two each in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar and one in Assam. The party suffered severe setbacks in its strongholds. In Gujarat and Mysore where in 1967 it had captured 66 and 16 seats, respectively, it could not get a single seat in 1972. Similarly, its strength declined from 48 to 11 in Rajasthan and from 29 to 2 in Andhra Pradesh.

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<sup>18</sup>For State-wise details of party-position in the Dissolved Assemblies, see *Hindustan Times*, February 20, 1972.



**SHRI GODEY MURAHARI**  
*Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha*  
**(Elected on April 13, 1972)**

## **ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES**

### **Election of Shri Godey Murahari as Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha**

On April 13, 1972 on a motion moved by the Minister of State in the Department of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Om Mehta, and adopted by the House unanimously, Shri Godey Murahari was elected as Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

After the election, the Leader of the House, Shri Umashankar Dixit, offering his congratulations and felicitations to Shri Godey Murahari said:

"I rise with great pleasure to offer my hearty congratulations and felicitations to Shri Godey Murahari on his unanimous and spontaneous election as the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. His parliamentary career has been marked by certain remarkable qualities rare in parliamentary history. His interventions, speeches and utterances have been marked by a sense of propriety and fairness.

Although he has never sacrificed the interests of his party, he has taken an attitude of detachment and fairness. These qualities, particularly the quality of clarity of thought and judgment, suit him in this position. And it is a remarkable tribute to his parliamentary career and personality that with so much enthusiasm and cheerfulness and spontaneity his unanimous election has been ensured. I congratulate him for this position.

In the present context of this country, parliamentary democracy has to function with speed and efficiency. It is remarkable that both the Houses of Parliament have from time to time established procedures which have ensured this. I would suggest that in the present situation it is necessary that not only the standards which have been established during these twenty years or more have to be cherished but also other standards and modes of conduct have to be developed and promoted. And I have no doubt that with his leadership and with his detached manner and propriety, he will be able to lead this House in promoting better standards and upholding the standards which this House has held."

The leaders of various groups in the House also joined in offering their felicitations to Shri Godey Murahari.

Shri S. D. Misra (Cong.—O) welcoming Shri Godey Murahari to the office of the Deputy Chairman said that he had been from the very beginning a symbol of national integration in the sense that he belonged to the old Madras Province, he was born in Jamshedpur, educated at Kashi and now represented the State of Uttar Pradesh.

Dr. Bhai Mahavir (Jan Sangh) said that while putting the views of his party in an effective manner, Shri Godey Murahari had always used a balanced language. His behaviour had always been graceful and his feelings were full of generosity. Though he was a member of a particular political party, he had always been above party politics. That was why he had been elected unanimously to the office of the Deputy Chairman.

Shri Thillai Villalan (D.M.K.) associated himself with the feelings and sentiments expressed by the leaders of the different parties and on behalf of his party assured Shri Godey Murahari cooperation in the proper conduct of the House.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta (C.P.I.), congratulating Shri Murahari on behalf of his party, said that Shri Godey Murahari had been in the House for a long time. He had always displayed patience, forbearance and understanding of the issues at stakes.

Shri Gupta was glad that the ruling party had itself taken the initiative along with the Opposition parties to have a Member elected from the Opposition. He hoped that Shri Godey Murahari would show dynamism, courage, and impartiality and work with a passion for justice and progress.

Shri M. Ruthnaswamy (Swatantra Party) congratulating Shri Murahari said that the election of Shri Murahari to the office of the Deputy Chairman meant a great loss to the debating talent of the House, especially to the Opposition. Shri Godey Murahari had been a forceful speaker both in Hindi and English.

Shri Nageshwar Prasad Shahi (SP—L) congratulating Shri Godey Murahari on behalf of himself and his party hoped that he would be

able to maintain and even raise to a higher level the dignity and the traditions of the House. At a time when democracy and the democratic system were in danger, the election of Shri Godey Murahari to this office entrusted him with the heavy responsibility of seeing that the democratic system continued to exist in the country.

Shri Sasankasekhar Sanyal (C.P.I.—M) on behalf of his party, associated himself with all that had been said about the new incumbent in the Chair and said that Shri Godey Murahari had good fluency over many languages. Shri Godey Murahari would have to be fair and fearless, and his own party would always assist him in that respect.

Shri B. V. Abdulla Kova (Muslim League) on behalf of his party, extended his hearty congratulations and felicitations to the newly elected Deputy Chairman. He hoped that Shri Godey Murahari would be worthy of his new position in discharging his duties most sincerely, impartially and successfully.

Shri Shyam Lal Yadav (B.K.D.) congratulating Shri Murahari, hoped that the Opposition would now get a fair treatment in the House.

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha (Nominated) congratulating Shri Murahari, said that he was associated with Shri Murahari for a very long time and he had seen him functioning in various capacities. For the first time a young man had been elected as the Deputy Chairman of the House. Shri Murahari was a public worker in the real sense and he hoped that he would create new traditions.

The Chairman, Shri G. S. Pathak, felicitating Shri Godey Murahari on his election said:

“He has been a Member from the year 1962 and has extensive experience of the working and conventions of this House. The House will now have the benefit of that experience. I am sure his career in this office will be marked by fact and ability which he has always shown in a very ample measure. I am happy at the unanimous support that he has received in the House, and I am glad to find that the entire House has assured him of cooperation in the discharge of his duties as Deputy Chairman. I have no doubt that Shri Murahari will fill this office with great distinction.

He has my best wishes for a very successful term as Deputy Chairman."

Replying to the felicitations, Shri Godey Murahari said that he was grateful to all the Members of the House for electing him unanimously. Many Members had greater political and parliamentary experience than what he had. It created a sort of fear in his mind, but at the same time he knew that the blessings and sympathies of all the Members would be with him. He hoped that he would be able to take the healthy traditions of parliamentary democracy a step further.

Shri Murahari also said that he wanted to function as a non-party man, so that political parties and the Members did not have any chance to feel that he was sitting in the House as a representative of the Socialist Party. It was a healthy tradition which ought to be followed in future. He had begun his political career as an ordinary worker, a volunteer and hoped that with the help of the Members he would be able to maintain dignity, decorum and decency in the House.

#### **Godey Murahari—A Sketch**

Shri Godey Murahari, son of Shri G. Gangaraju was born at Jamshedpur on May 20, 1926. He received his education at the Banaras Hindu University and the Pachiappa's College, Madras.

Shri Murahari Joined the Indian National Congress in 1941 and remained in the Party till 1947. He was an active member of the Socialist Group of the Party till it separated from the Congress. He was imprisoned in 1943 in connection with the Quit India Movement in the Banaras district for nearly three years till the establishment of the Interim Government in 1946. He also underwent jail terms thrice for activities connected with the Socialist Party.

During the years 1950—57, Shri Murahari was a Member of the Institute of Social Culture and *Jana Manch*, in Madras. In 1954 he led the Indian delegation to the Congress of the International Union of Socialist Youth, held at Copenhagen and to the Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany held at Berlin. During 1958-59 he was General Secretary of the All India Socialist Party. In 1963 he became a member of the National Executive of the Socialist Party and Secretary of its Central Parliamentary Board.



Shri Murahari was elected to the Rajya Sabha in April 1962 and re-elected in April 1968. He was elected as a member of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament for the years 1966—68 and of the Committee on Public Undertakings for 1968—70. He was also a member of the National Shipping Board in his capacity as a Member of Parliament.

With a keen interest in journalism, Shri Murahari edited "*Young World*", a weekly magazine and later became publisher of "*Mankind*" (Monthly). Shri Murahari is a bachelor and has widely travelled in India and abroad.

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## **FAREWELL TO RETIRING MEMBERS OF RAJYA SABHA**

Under Article 83 of the Constitution, about one-third of the Members of Rajya Sabha retire every second year and fresh elections take place to fill their seats. On April 2, 1972, 69 Members were due to retire.

On March 30, 1972, the Chairman, Shri G. S. Pathak, expressing his appreciation of the notable services which the retiring Members had rendered to the nation and bidding farewell to them, said:

"Parting is always sad, but those Members who are retiring are entering a wider sphere of activity where the opportunities for service and constructive work are vast. The knowledge and experience of the problems of Government acquired by them during their term of membership will stand them in good stead. We will cherish the memory of their association. I wish them well and offer them our good wishes."

Supporting the sentiments expressed by the Chairman, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, said:

"We have worked together for several years and I would like to thank them all for the cooperation which they have given me. During this time there have certainly been several acrimonious moments but I think, by and large, the functioning of this House has been harmonious and smooth. Now many of these Members will not be returning here. I sincerely hope that wherever they go, they will still be taking an interest in public affairs and they go from here now as elder statesmen, with new experiences, having seen difficult periods as well as smooth times and I hope that they will, in their different States, work for the smoother functioning of our democracy, for the unity of the country and for the strengthening of the people, so that all are together able to meet all the challenges which confront us.....I give them all our good wishes."

Associating himself with the sentiments expressed by the Chairman and the Prime Minister, the Leader of the House, Shri Umashankar Dixit, said:

"The Rajya Sabha has functioned in a most unique manner in history. It has been a House of many moods, changing moods.....  
.....Sir, we have had occasions when Members had exploded in righteous anger.....These are occasions to be remembered. These are matters of which we should be proud and I think we all share this pride.....There are many other fields and occasions where we can co-operate and share the joys and sorrows and experiences of private and public life together and we need not take a tragic view of the matter."

Several other Members also spoke on the occasion.

Shri Pitamber Das said that it was natural that the Members should express varied views in the House, and they had every right to do so. What was important was that they should always try to behave in a dignified manner, and that was the greatest contribution which a Member could make. He was sure that all the Members who were retiring had made that contribution. Retire they must, but they had left a pleasant memory behind.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy said that he had been in the House for nearly twelve years. During that period, he had served in the Government too for some time and he had also served the Opposition and had fulfilled those dual roles in his own humble way. He expressed his gratitude to the Chairman in particular, who had always been very kind to him. The Leaders of the House too had been good and nice to him and he had always had good treatment at the hands of the Prime Minister. One would be failing in one's duty if one did not pay his compliments and appreciation to Shri Om Mehta. He had been very friendly and effective.

The Member also placed on record his appreciation of the manner in which the Secretariat was being run by Shri Banerjee, who was always helpful to the Members and tried to solve their difficulties and made the services of the Secretariat available for whatever work the Members wanted to do in the House. The Member expressed his appreciation of the leaders of the other Opposition parties and friends who were retiring along with him.

He further said that the Prime Minister had taken on herself the great responsibility of steering the ship of the State. She had been trying to bring about rapid social changes and economic transformation in the country. He wished her well in her efforts.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha said that the kind and generous words and feelings expressed in appreciation of the work and contribution of the retiring Members were really heartwarming. It was a matter of great satisfaction that their endeavour in the House in solving the vexed problems of the country had not only been appreciated but had been found useful by the leaders of the country.

The Members of Rajya Sabha represented the States and as such they were supposed to be the custodians of the interests of the States. But the experience that he gained was that their approach to the problems had one over-riding consideration, and that was that of national good.

He was retiring with a resolve that he would place at the disposal of the country all that he had learnt and gained during the preceding twenty years.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel, bidding farewell to the retiring Members, said that he had always been sitting in the Opposition, but that had not prevented him from making friends with many of those who had sat on the Government benches. If democracy was to succeed, it must have an effective Opposition.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta, associating himself with the sentiments expressed in the House, said that it went to the credit of the House that the conflicting social attitudes had been rightly reflected in the House at every critical stage. That did not, however, mean that they had cultivated animosity with one another. They had built up in the House a system of human affection and human sympathy, had cultivated friendship amongst themselves and that had been an enduring contribution to the House. He had no doubt that wherever the retiring Members would be, they would continue to fight for the cause of the people.

Shri A. D. Mani thanked the Chair and others who had expressed warm sentiments about the retiring Members. During the preceding twelve years of his stay he had seen Rajya Sabha grow in power, prestige, stature and influence. In 1970, when the Privy Purses Bill had not been passed on account of a fraction of a vote, it was said that

that Chamber was not necessary. But exactly that was the purpose of a revising Chamber, because it had enabled the Prime Minister to go to the country and get a massive mandate for radical changes. The purpose of the second Chamber was to put a little brake which in that case enabled the Government to get the verdict of the country on a controversial issue.

He received the greatest cooperation from the Secretary and the staff of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat. Shri Om Mehta had always been regarded not as a Government whip, but as a good friend and a counsellor of all the Members. None else could have managed a very difficult Rajya Sabha situation when the Government was in a minority.

He had the privilege of sitting in the Chair as Vice-Chairman and had received cooperation from all sections of the House.

Shri Shriman Prafulla Goswami, expressing his gratefulness to the Chair and others, said that he would remember the past years of his membership in the House because many great events had taken place during that period. They and the Prime Minister had changed the country, and a new base had been laid for democratic socialism. It was something like a bloodless revolution through Parliament.

Speaking in the end, the retiring member Shrimati Yashoda Reddy said that she had come straight from the college, and she must confess that her career as a parliamentarian had been of great experience and education for her. She was going back with great experience and a feeling of pride that in all her career of 16 years, whatever she said was with a conviction. She was going with a proud record that she had never used or misused the political power or political friendship for anything personal. She assured the Chair and the whole House that wherever she was she would serve the country with the same conviction, courage and dignity as she had been serving as a Member of the

House.



Seated from left to right in the front row are Shri A. Bakshi, newly Comptroller and Auditor General, Shri S. Ranganathan, Shri M. B. Rana, Chairman, Committee on Public Undertakings, Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri G. G. Swell, Deputy Speaker, Shri S. L. Shukdher, Secretary, Lok Sabha and Shri Avtar Singh Rikhy, Joint Secretary, Lok Sabha.

## **FAREWELL TO SHRI S. RANGANATHAN, EX-COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL OF INDIA**

[On April 5, 1972 the Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings joined together to bid farewell to Shri S. Ranganathan, who as Comptroller and Auditor-General of India was associated with the Financial Committees for six years and had just retired. We publish below the speech delivered by Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha and the other speeches made on the occasion —Editor]

Speech by Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha

I am specially happy to be present here this evening and associate myself with this function to bid farewell to the distinguished Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, Shri Ranganathan who laid down his office only the other day. The high esteem in which Shri Ranganathan has been held by the Chairman and Members of both the Committees—the Committees on Public Accounts and Public Undertakings is a measure as much of the man and his qualities—his calibre and culture—as of the invaluable help rendered by him to these Committees. It is, therefore, but appropriate that both these Committees should join to express their appreciation of the services rendered by one who has been their constant 'friend, philosopher and guide' for the past six years.

We all know that the job of the Comptroller and Auditor-General does not end with the presentation of his Reports to the President, but rather, I would say, it is only the beginning. The success of our labours in the Committees depends not a little on the help that is received from him. His careful sifting of facts, his meticulous analysis, his judicious interventions all helped to illuminate complex issues underlying Audit paragraphs. He invariably raised the horizons and focussed attention on larger issues of public interest.

If I may strike a personal note, Shri Ranganathan is no stranger to me. I have had the privilege of receiving and benefiting from his wise counsel, when I was the Chairman of the Committee on Public Undertakings during 1967-68. Since that time our mutual regard has grown and we have been in close touch with one another. I must say I have deep personal affection and regards for him. I have always admired his quiet efficiency. The innovation of the Audit Board intro-

duced during his tenure, which has made possible the presentation of comprehensive individual Reports on the working of select public undertakings every year, has greatly facilitated the task of examining and evaluating in depth the performance of the public undertakings, now numbering about 97, in which are invested Rs. 4682 crores of the nation's money.

Shri Ranganathan's qualities as a person—his simplicity, his suave manners and his graciousness in his dealings with others—have endeared him to one and all. In the Committee, as the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee recently remarked, his criticism 'has never been cold and harsh, but always warm and helpful, sober and wise'. He is one of those rare persons who bring lustre to whatever office they happen to adorn. As the Rashtrapthiji said the other day, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Public Accounts Committee, Shri Ranganathan has filled the high office of Comptroller and Auditor-General with great distinction and dignity.

As we bid farewell to Shri Ranganathan and wish him well, I fervently hope that it would be found possible to utilize his vast experience in a befitting manner.

I now take this opportunity to welcome Shri A. Baksi, the new Comptroller & Auditor-General of India. Shri Baksi belongs to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, although he remained outside the Audit Department for a long time. I am glad that he has come back to head his Department as the Comptroller & Auditor-General. Shri Baksi, as many of you know, has held various positions in public service, including the office of Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India and Secretary to the Department of Banking, which he occupied with great distinction. His contribution in the management of nationalised banks is widely known. I am sure that with his wide experience he would fully measure up to the burden and trust of his high office. While felicitating him on his elevation to this high office and welcoming him, may I add that the Committees on Public Accounts and Public Undertakings look forward to a period of close and useful cooperation with him during his tenure.

Speech by Shri M. B. Rana, Chairman, Committee on Public Undertakings

On behalf of the Chairman and Members of the Committee on Public Accounts, the Members of the Committee on Public Undertak-



ings and on my own behalf, it is my pleasant duty to place on record our high appreciation of the services rendered by Shri Ranganathan to our two Committees in his capacity as the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India.

My colleague, Shri Era Sezhiyan, Chairman, Public Accounts Committee, is at present convalescing in Madras and unfortunately is not in a position to be with us here today, although he was very keen that he should be personally present on this occasion to bid farewell to Shri Ranganathan and wish him well.

The Speaker has already echoed our feelings in his references to Shri Ranganathan and his association with our Committees.

The importance of asserting the accountability of public sector enterprises, as indeed of the Executive as a whole, to Parliament needs no emphasis. As you know, the Comptroller and Auditor-General plays a significant role in the practical enforcement of that accountability by the Audit reports that he presents to the President and the assistance he gives all the way to the two Financial Committees—the Committee on Public Accounts and the Committee on Public Undertakings.

Shri Ranganathan—and, under his inspiring leadership, his talented team of officers—have functioned with a spirit of dedication in this common quest and have generously given of themselves and their rich experience to our Committees in the task of objective appraisal of the performance of the Government Departments, organisations and public undertakings.

The hon'ble Speaker referred to the formation of the Audit Board during Shri Ranganathan's tenure of office. Separate comprehensive appraisal Report on the performance of each undertaking, now available as a result, has been greatly facilitating the work of the Committee on Public Undertakings.

Shri Ranganathan's contribution in another direction is equally worth mentioning. Shri Ranganathan has helped the Financial Committees to concentrate their attention on the examination of some of the key sectors of the economy. It would be recalled that, taking note of a chapter on Plan targets and actuals in the Audit Report on Railways, the Public Accounts Committee (1967-68) evaluated critically the performance of the Railways during the third Five Year Plan as a whole and brought out how over-investment in this sector had the effect

of depriving other sectors of the economy of the much-needed funds. As a result of this review, as you know, the Railway's Fourth Plan outlay was scaled down. This set a valuable trend and similar other Reports followed on the Defence Plan and the development of Postal and Telecommunication Services.

Speaking for myself, I have known nothing but uniform courtesy and friendliness from Shri Ranganathan. Whenever he intervened in the Committee meetings, it was invariably to shed light and help unravel complex issues and place them in true perspective. He was always objective, constructive and helpful in his approach. I hope and trust that his valuable services will continue to be available to the country in one way or the other. Need I say that he carries with him our best feelings and our very best wishes for a happy future.

I have also pleasure in welcoming Shri Baksi, who has taken over from Shri Ranganathan. I am sure that he will continue the fine tradition of close undertaking and cooperation with the two Financial Committees built up by his distinguished predecessors.

**Reply by Shri S. RANGANATHAN**

It is somewhat overwhelming for me, at the moment, to really make a suitable reply to the various points that have been mentioned in the two speeches that have just preceded. Both Mr. Speaker and Mr. Rana have been more personal friends of mine than mere official acquaintances. Therefore, much of what they have said in my favour, I hope you will all be able to appreciate in their correct perspective. But I am very much touched by the appreciation that has been voiced of whatever little work I have been able to do during the course of my tenure. I greatly valued the keen interest which the various Chairmen and the Members of the two Committees took in going through the Reports and examining the witnesses when they sought clarifications to the various points mentioned in the Reports.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the various Members of the two Committees and to publicly acknowledge that much of the credit, in fact almost the whole credit, for whatever has been done should go to the other Members of the Department, my own part in it being comparatively small. I see that there are quite a few of my senior colleagues present here and I think I might take this opportunity

to mention this, that although I did not belong to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service and I did not have, so to say, an accounting background, I had the full support and co-operation of the entire Department of the Indian Audit and Accounts. It was that which helped me to discharge my duties to the satisfaction of the Members of the two Committees and to Parliament at large.

May I, in conclusion, thank you all once again for your kindness and the honour that you are doing me in having arranged this function this afternoon.

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Seated from left to right are Shri A. Baksi, Comptroller and Auditor General, Shri Era Sezhiyan, M.P., Chairman, Public Accounts Committee, Shri G. G. Swell, Deputy Speaker, Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Shri K. N. Tiwari, Chairman Estimates Committee, Shri M. B. Rana, Chairman, Committee on Public Undertakings and Shri S. L. Shaktder, Secretary, Lok Sabha.

## JOINT VALEDICTORY MEETING OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT (1971-72)

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[A joint valedictory meeting of the three Financial Committees of Parliament viz., the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings, for the year 1971-72, was held on April 27, 1972. The Speaker of Lok Sabha, Dr. G. S. Dhillon presided over the meeting, when the Chairman of the three Committees availed of the occasion for a broad review of the working and achievements of their respective Committees during the year. We reproduce the speeches of the Chairman and the address at the end by the Speaker—Editor].

### **Speech by Shri M. B. Rana Chairman, Committee on Public Undertakings:**

On behalf of the Members of the Committee on Public Undertakings and on my own behalf, I have great pleasure in welcoming you at this valedictory meeting.

#### *Record of Work during the Year*

The present Committee took office on the 18th June, 1971. Owing to the sudden dissolution of the Fourth Lok Sabha in December 1970, the last committee could not present Reports on any of the subjects selected by them. They had completed evidence on the working of three out of the ten undertakings taken up by them. The present Committee took over from where the earlier Committee left. And during their tenure of about ten months, the Committee have finalised original Reports on nine important undertakings viz., Hindustan Steel Ltd., Bharat Earth Movers Ltd., Bharat Electronics Ltd., Food Corporation of India, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Heavy Engineering Corporation of India, Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd., Shipping Corporation of India and Bharat Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd., besides a horizontal study of 'Personnel Policies and Labour Management Relations'. In addition, the Committee have presented eleven Action Taken Reports.

*Dedicated work by Members and Conveners*

All this work has been possible, because we have continued the fine tradition set by you as the Chairman of the Committee on Public Undertakings, some years ago, to constitute Study Groups to facilitate division of work and greater specialisation amongst Members. It goes to the credit of the Members of each Study Group, more particularly the Conveners, for going deep into the working of the Undertakings entrusted to their charge and drawing up questionnaire which focussed attention on the main issues. The Members showed keen insight in examining the representatives of the Undertakings and the administrative Ministries concerned. We have been greatly helped in this work by comprehensive Audit Reports which became available after the constitution of the Audit Board and the valuable data and background material which were furnished by the Comptroller and Auditor General and his able officials.

It is because of this extensive study and dedicated work put in by Members and Conveners that we were able to collect valuable evidence on all these subjects. The draft Reports have been closely processed by the Members and I am glad to say that the recommendations reflect faithfully the consensus emerging from their deliberations.

*Some Important Recommendations*

It would not be inappropriate to recall here briefly some of the important recommendations made by the Committee in their Reports.

In the Report on Heavy Engineering Corporation, the Committee have stressed that as we have an ambitious programme of increasing production of steel from 9 million tonnes to 14 million tonnes in the next 5 to 7 years, no time should be lost in standardising the machinery and equipment so that the Heavy Engineering Corporation may gear up its manufacturing programme accordingly, in order to supply the maximum amount of machinery and equipment.

In the Report on Hindustan Steel, the Committee have brought out the gap of about two million tonnes which continues to exist between installed capacity and production and which has been responsible for accentuating scarcity conditions in the market in this vital industrial raw material. The Committee have spelt out con-

crete measures by which not only the production in each of the steel plants in the public sector can be improved but also how the cost of manufacture can be brought down by effecting economy in the use of raw materials.

In the Report on ONGC, the Committee have underlined the need for attaining self-reliance in this crucial fuel, as we are dependent on imports to the extent of 63 per cent. The Committee have stressed the need for speeding up the exploration and drilling operations and for closer follow-up action in order to develop more indigenous sources of oil supply. In particular, we have stressed the need for intensification of the exploration efforts in the promising off-shore areas.

The Committee have also asked Government to delegate more powers to O.N.G.C. in the interest of speedier execution of work.

In the Report on the Bharat Electronics, the Committee have drawn attention to the vast opportunities which are available both in the home and export market for labour-intensive electronic goods.

In the Report on Food Corporation, while welcoming the constructive role played by the Corporation in maintaining floor price for food-grains, we have stressed the need for larger direct procurement from the farmers and the need for effecting reduction in the handling and incidental charges, which at present account for 25 per cent of the procurement price, so as to reduce the burden of subsidy.

In the Report on Heavy Electricals, the Committee have highlighted the paradoxical situation where, on the one hand, there is a paucity of power in the country and, on the other, unutilised capacity in the two Heavy Electrical complexes to manufacture power plants. The Committee have stressed the need for integrated planning and coordinate execution in the interest of bringing up power generation in accordance with the Plan requirements.

In the Report on the Shipping Corporation, the Committee have laid stress on the development of indigenous capacity to build and deliver modern ships of latest design. We have also stressed the need for development of port facilities to match the growing trend of deploying ships and tankers of larger tonnage.

In the Report on Personnel Policies and Labour Management Relations, the Committee have suggested concrete measures for workers'

effective participation in management at various levels through elected representatives. The Committee have also suggested enactment of Central Legislation to provide for the recognition of Unions and given concrete suggestions to make the recruitment and promotion procedures fair, equitable and objective.

May I say that the Committee have throughout been imbued with a deep concern to see that the public undertakings, in which are invested precious sources of the nation, discharge creditably the responsibilities placed on them. None of the difficulties faced by the undertakings is insurmountable and we are convinced that if those put in charge of these undertakings serve them with a sense of greater dedication and involvement, then most of them can be made viable and more productive, thus vindicating the faith in public sector.

*Valuable Assistance by C. and A.G.*

As I mentioned earlier, the Committee have been greatly helped by Audit officials under the distinguished guidance of Shri S. Ranganathan, ex-Comptroller and Auditor-General, who gave shape and direction in these formative years to the Audit Reports emerging from the newly-constituted Audit Board. All of us in the Committee were greatly impressed by his vast knowledge, affable personality and his concern to lay bare the facts in an objective manner. I am sure that the Committee would continue to receive the same invaluable support and assistance from the new Comptroller and Auditor General. Shri Baksi, who has to his credit a distinguished record of service, including the stewardship of the Department of Banking in the crucial years after the nationalisation of leading banking institutions.

May I thank the Hon'ble Deputy Speaker for honouring us with his presence.

*Work done by Officers and Staff*

May I also express our heart-felt appreciation of the invaluable and ever-willing assistance, which has been rendered to the Committee by Shri S. L. Shakhder, distinguished Secretary of Lok Sabha and the able officers and staff working under him.

*Inspiring Example set by Speaker*

To you, Sir. I owe a word of special thanks, as the guidelines laid down by you as Chairman of the Committee on Public Undertakings in the earlier years have been of immense help to us.



We have been functioning in the Committee as one large family having the friendliest of relations and engaging ourselves earnestly in the common endeavour to improve the working of the public undertakings, so that they may make ever greater contribution to the nation's economy.

Speech by Shri K. N. Tewari, Chairman, Estimates Committee

It has been customary for the members of the three Financial Committees to individually meet for a valedictory meeting towards the close of their term every year. We have this year improved upon this custom by having a joint gathering of the members of all the three Committees. We are happy to have the hon'ble Speaker and the hon'ble Deputy Speaker with us this evening and are grateful to them for finding time to grace this meeting with their presence.

#### *Record of Work during the Year*

The present Committee was constituted on the 18th June, 1971, somewhat later than usual, reducing thereby the normal span of the Committee. Owing to the Indo-Pakistan war in December 1971, its sittings fixed for evidence in that month had also to be postponed to January-February this year.

It is a matter of satisfaction to us that despite these handicaps we have been able to complete and present not only six original Report on subjects carried forward from the previous Committee following the sudden dissolution of the Fourth Lok Sabha, but also on five additional subjects. May I mention that the Committee selected subjects of wide current public interests, such as Industrial Licencing, Directorate General of Technical Development, Production and Distribution of Iron and Steel, Foreign Trade, Tea Board, Directorate of Sugar and Vanaspati, Workers' Education Programme, General Social Welfare, Tractors and other Agricultural Machinery, Family Planning etc.

#### *Tribute to Members and Conveners*

The Committee were greatly helped by the active interest taken by the Members, particularly, the Conveners of the Study Groups in examining the representatives of non-official organisations, so as to identify larger issues of public importance and later in eliciting information from the official representatives of Ministries|Departments. May I pay my tribute to the hard work put in by the Members and the

skill with which they shifted the various issues in a most objective and constructive manner. I must also place on record the Committee's appreciation of the helpful cooperative and able manner in which the official representatives of the Ministries gave free and frank replies to all the questions which were put to them.

### *Some Important Recommendations*

It is because of this feeling of working as a United team in the public interest that we have been able, I believe, to make some very valuable and constructive recommendations. For example, in the Report on Industrial Licensing, we have stressed the need for drawing up a perspective plan at least for each of the industries included in the core sector, so as to provide detailed guidance for licensing. We have also recommended that incentives may be provided for developing industries in the backward areas to relieve the pressing problem of unemployment and procedures and regulations be so streamlined as to make for optimum production. In our Report on D.G.T.D., we have stressed the need for giving a helping hand in the development of industry. In our Report on Foreign Trade, we have explored the possibilities of increasing our export earnings on account of traditional and non-traditional goods and of diversifying our exports to other developing countries. In our Report on Family Planning, we have suggested that Government should make Delhi a model centre where family planning facilities are readily made available to those living in congested and slum areas, so that it could provide a successful model for other big cities to emulate and implement. We have also stressed the need for improving transport for family planning workers so that they can reach the weaker sections of the rural population in their homes.

In our report on tractors, we have correctly anticipated the difficulties which would arise from over-estimation of demand and large imports. In our Report on Tea Board, we have stressed the need for burnishing up the image of India as on exports of quality teas, while in the Report on Sugar and Vanaspati, we have stressed the need for long-term policies which would remove the uncertainties, which periodically lead to shortages in these consumer commodities. In our Report on the production and distribution of Iron and Steel we have stressed the need for making available Steel through increased production and by imports, so that the wheels of industry can be kept moving. We have also stressed that the principles governing distribution should be publicised amongst the public and

that steel should be made available to the small-scale sector at more reasonable prices.

I have mentioned but a few of the recommendations to bring to your notice how the Committee have been ceaselessly endeavouring to apply their mind to the problems of national import and give concrete recommendations which would help in the developmental effort.

#### *Action Taken Sub-Committee*

Apart from the Study Groups which are formed every year, we have also constituted this year an Action Taken sub-Committee specifically for pursuing with the Government the implementation of the Committee's recommendations in their Action Taken Reports. This new sub-Committee and the latest procedure of meticulous scrutiny either by the sub-Committee or the concerned Study Groups of the replies received from the Government at the Action Taken stage, would, I feel sure, go a long way in ensuring that the recommendations of the Committee are, in fact, implemented by the Government in letter and spirit.

#### *Assistance by Officer and Staff*

Before I conclude I would like to acknowledge the ever-ready and valuable assistance received by us from the Secretary, Shri Shakti and his team of able officers and staff who have been working ungrudgingly and with rare dedication in the day-to-day functioning of our Committee. In Shri Shakti, we have a friend, philosopher and guide whose advice has been immensely helpful to us.

#### *Valuable Guidance by Speaker*

May I say, Sir, on behalf of the Estimates Committee as well as on my behalf, how much we feel indebted to you, for the valuable guidance and ever willing help extended by you in our work from time to time. Under your direction and inspiration, the Committee have endeavoured to discharge their responsibilities as an important limb of Parliament in examining in depth and focussing attention on some important topics of wide public interest.

#### *Speech by Shri Era Sezhiyan, Chairman, Public Accounts Committee*

Our gathering today marks more or less the conclusion of our labours for the year in our respective Committees. Looking back over

the year, it has been to me—as indeed it must be to every one of you—a memorable experience, an altogether worthwhile experience.

#### *Record of Work during the year*

Last year, the Committee was formed only in the month of June. When we began, we began with accumulated work. Then came the Indo-Pakistan war over Bangla Desh. We had instructions from the Hon'ble Speaker that we should not trouble the departments with queries and reminders. But even during the short period at our disposal, on behalf of the Public Accounts Committee, I am glad to say that we have a unique record of presenting as many as 48 Reports.

The Public Accounts Committee have the unique privilege of covering during the course of their examination practically all the Departments and Ministries of the Government of India. It has been our endeavour to look beyond the mere formality or regularity of expenditure in order to focus attention on issues of public importance.

#### *Tribute to Members*

May I say that in this task, the Committee had the wholehearted and enthusiastic participation of each and every Member. In fact, as is well known in the Public Accounts Committee, we have over the recent years devised a procedure by which specific subjects are allotted to each Member and he in some cases, she, because our Committee had as many as three lady Members, very enthusiastic and able lady Members—makes himself/herself thorough with the subject and directs questions to the official representatives when they appear before the Committee. We have also been collecting written information well in advance of the sitting, so that the Committee have for reference and use, all the relevant facts. Informal discussions in the Working Groups before the formal sitting of the Committees help the Members in completely absorbing the background and determining the points on which attention should be focussed.

May I express my grateful thanks to each and every Member for participating enthusiastically in the work of the Committee and thus helping the Committee in framing recommendations which would sub-serve public interest. More particularly, my thanks, in ample measure, go to the Conveners of the respective Groups who formed the backbone of the Committee's work.

*Some Important Recommendations*

It would not be out of place to mention here some of the important recommendations which find a place in our original Reports. In the P. & T. Report, stress has been laid on fuller utilisation of the existing capacity and reviewing the ratio between OYT and non-OYT telephones, so as to give maximum public satisfaction. Need for bringing out Directories in time and of executing the important projects like laying of co-axial cables to link important cities have been stressed.

In the report on Works, Housing and Supply we have highlighted the grave shortage of paper for Government work due to lack of firm agreement for supply of specified quantity and awfully low utilisation of the existing capacities in the Government of India Presses which need to improve urgently their performance and output. In the Report on All-India Radio, delay in commissioning of transmitters and the need for cutting losses on radio journals and making them more interesting has been pointed out. In the Report on Railways, the need for a rational basis for working out the requirements of locomotives has been stressed. In Customs, the need for adding high-speed patrolling boats has been emphasised. In the Report on Excise, the problem of passing the refund of duty to the consumer has been posed. In the Report on I.C.M.R., the Committee had the satisfaction that their recommendation to Government to set up a Review Committee to go into the working of the organisation had been accepted even before the formal presentation of the Report. In the Report on Delhi Milk Scheme, the Committee have emphasised the need for making milk available through more booths to weaker sections of society. The Reports have all had a uniformly good coverage in the Press and we hope that they will have a good impact on the Administration.

*Tribute to Conveners*

As I mentioned a little while ago, we have presented as many as 48 Reports out of which 24 are Action Taken Reports. These are not merely routine Reports. Each one of them has been drafted carefully after thorough examination of Government's replies and after obtaining clarifications where necessary in the interest of implementation of the recommendations in letter and spirit. The Commit-

tee have not hesitated to reiterate the recommendations where Government's reply was unconvincing. The credit for this careful scrutiny goes to the Action Taken Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad, Mr. C. C. Desai, Mr. Ram Sahai Pandey, Mr. Thillai Villalan, and Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav. The Committee was headed by the veteran Mr. B. S. Murthy, who brought his experience and wisdom to bear upon the work and all the Members had been devoting themselves unsparingly to this stupendous task.

#### *Golden Jubilee of PAC*

The most significant event during the year was the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Public Accounts Committee. The Conference of the Chairmen of the Public Accounts Committee held on the occasion as well as the exhibition organised and the commemoration volume got up were all designed to highlight the history and role of the Committee in our parliamentary set-up.

May I take this opportunity of expressing my gratefulness to you and the Secretary, Lok Sabha, for the ready co-operation and guidance in organising the various functions in connection with the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Public Accounts Committee.

#### *Valuable Assistance by C. and A. G.*

I should also like to place on record our deep appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Shri S. Ranganathan, ex-Comptroller and Auditor General and his able officers during all these years, which contributed greatly to the success of our work. We welcome his successor, Shri Baksi and Committee look forward to a period of fruitful co-operation with him in the joint endeavour of serving the public interest.

#### *Guidance by the Speaker*

May I express my gratitude to you, Sir, for the unfailing courtesy and guidance we have been receiving all along from you in the course of our work. We thank Shri Shakhder, Secretary, Lok Sabha and his officers who had devoted themselves to the tasks assigned to them and put in a good amount of work giving their unstinted co-operation that the Committee required in preparing and presenting the

Reports. I am also thankful to the Deputy Speaker who had found time to be with us this evening.

Before concluding, may I once again thank the Conveners and Members of the Committee for the boundless enthusiasm and keen interest shown by them in the work and for all the kind consideration that they have invariably shown me.

**Address by Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker Lok Sabha**

It gives me genuine happiness to be present here this afternoon to participate in this function. I do not know whose thought it is, but it is a good idea that all the three Financial Committees should meet together at a joint meeting like this, which emphasises their complementary roles in exercising check over the activities of the Government Departments and Public Undertakings. Shri Tewariji and others referred to the premature dissolution of the Fourth Lok Sabha and the extra work load it entailed on their Committees. I realise that it has been a somewhat unusual year for the Committee, and it is gratifying to note that you have not only taken in your stride and coped with the additional burdens, but taken up new subjects and completed more than a full year's quota within your term. All of you deserve the warmest congratulations on this performance.

*Tradition of detachment and objectivity*

Parliamentary Committees function on behalf of and as a limb of Parliament. While complete freedom of opinion and free exercise of minds might characterise Committee proceedings, it is essential that the emerging voice from the Committee ought to represent the collective wisdom and consensus of the Committee. The very strength and effectiveness of a Committee lies in the unanimity of their recommendations. In our Financial Committees, we have fortunately built a tradition of detachment and objectivity in approach and this in a large measure accounts for the respect in which their recommendations are held.

*Implementation of Recommendations*

From my personal knowledge of the working of the Financial Committees, I know what an amount of painstaking study, searching analysis and close deliberations, precede the formulation of your recommendations. I have always felt strongly that unless these recommendations are implemented fully; in letter and spirit, the work of the Committees

could be rendered infructuous. It was, in this background, that I had urged in the past that we should give serious thought to devising ways and means of ensuring that the Government not only accept the recommendations but also actually implement them. I am glad that we have now a special Action Taken Sub-Committee in the Estimates Committee as well, to further follow up with the Government the recommendations reiterated by them in their Action Taken Reports and to stipulate time-limit for final replies, wherever interim replies have been furnished by the Government. I am confident that this will go a long way in getting the recommendations more fully and speedily processed and implemented by the Government.

#### *Work done by Estimates Committee*

We have just heard how exceedingly well the three Committees have performed their tasks during the year. The Estimates Committee took up a very large number of significant subjects ranging from Industrial Licensing to Family Planning, and I am glad to note that in each of the subjects they have made useful recommendations. In the Report on Industrial Licensing, for example, they have rightly stressed the need for giving priority and incentives for development of industries in backward areas and for ensuring that the grant of licences does result in increased production. The Report on DGTD appropriately emphasises the developmental rather than the regulatory functions. In the Report on Sugar, they have aptly stated that sugar is in fact grown in the fields and, therefore, there is a need for long-term price policy for sugar-cane. The Report on Family Planning focusses attention on a matter of urgent public interest and gives valuable suggestions for making available the desired facilities to the weaker sections of the society living in slum and industrial and rural areas. The Report on Foreign Trade rightly stresses the need for stepping up exports of both traditional and non-traditional goods in order to reduce our dependence on foreign aid. The Report on distribution of steel contains two significant recommendations about bringing the production of 'mini-steel plants' within the ambit of the regulatory distribution by the Iron and Steel Controller and for disposal of scrap, including condemned rails, through the Iron and Steel Controller.

#### *Work done by Public Accounts Committee*

The Public Accounts Committee have virtually covered the entire range of Government activities in their 24 original Reports. Of special



interest are, Reports focussing attention on provision of speedy petrol boats for Customs, fuller utilisation of telephone capacities established in Exchanges, need for speedier execution of works to connect main cities by co-axial cables and review of locomotive holdings on Railways in the interest of optimum utilisation of resources.

The Report on the Government of India Press brings out how woefully low is the utilisation of the existing capacities of the Government of India Presses and stresses the need for stepping up output. Of particular interest are the Committee's observations stressing the importance of printing Parliamentary Debates and Reports in time. I hope this makes the Government take some effective action in the matter. The Committee have significantly recommended in their Report on Delhi Milk Scheme that the supply of milk to the weaker sections of the society should be improved by having more distribution points.

#### *Work done by Public Undertakings Committee*

The Committee on Public Undertakings have similarly brought to notice cases of inadequate utilisation of built-up capacity, particularly in the case of Hindustan Steel and Heavy Electricals, even though grave shortages are being felt in the matter of steel and power in the country. This obviously calls for better management of the existing productive resources and integrated planning. The Committee's Report on Personnel Policy and labour Management Relations rightly stresses the need for meaningful participation by labour in management at all levels and for well-defined rules for recruitment and promotion to inspire confidence.

#### *Tribute to Chairmen and Members*

Our Financial Committees have always been fortunate in their composition and their Chairman.

#### *Tribute to Chairman, Estimates Committee*

When on the sudden and untimely demise of Shri M. Thirumala Rao in December 1970, we are faced with the problem of finding a successor to head the Estimates Committee, I am glad our choice fell on Shri K. N. Tewari, a seasoned parliamentarian, who has now proved himself an able Chairman of the Committee as well. Very few of you perhaps know that he was associated with the freedom struggle as a revolutionary in those days and was incarcerated in the Andamans.

*Tribute to Chairman, Committee on Public Undertakings*

On the Public Undertakings Committee, Shri Rana, a veteran parliamentarian of over two decades, standing, has filled the Chair with distinction. As many of you know, he was a distinguished Speaker of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly. I am glad to learn from Shri Rana that the Committee has continued the happy tradition of functioning as a friendly team imbued with a sense of common purpose to improve the working of the public undertakings.

*Tribute to Chairman, P.A.C.*

Since 1967, we have had distinguished leaders from the Opposition to head the Public Accounts Committee. Shri Era Sezhiyan, the present distinguished and affable Chairman and his equally distinguished predecessors, have established a reputation for objectivity and fairness, which has justly earned tribute from all sections.

*Tribute to Conveners and Members*

May I take this opportunity of placing on record our appreciation of the hard work put in by the Members and Conveners of the Committees in a spirit of dedication. It is this full and enthusiastic participation by Members which has helped the Committee to focus attention on matters of vital public importance. It is the able, unobtrusive and purposeful guidance of the Chairmen that has made for smooth functioning of the Committees and for turning out as many as 88 Reports in ten months.

*Golden Jubilee of PAC*

I must also place on record my appreciation of the initiative taken by Shri Era Sezhiyan, Chairman, Public Accounts Committee in organising last year useful functions in connection with the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Public Accounts Committee.

*Assistance by C&AG*

When we come to speak of the Financial Committees and their successful performance, our thought naturally turn to the Comptroller and Auditor-General, Shri S. Ranganathan, who retired only the other day and was closely associated with the Committees on Public Accounts and Public Undertakings for the past six years. By his personal qualities and his quiet efficiency, he endeared himself to one and all. The credit

for putting accent on performance rather than mere accounting and for bringing up the Audit Board to examine and present useful Reports on the working of select Public Undertakings goes to him.

While wishing him well on his retirement, we welcome his successor, Shri Baksi, who is also a man of vast administrative experience, from whom we look forward to similar assistance in the years ahead.

*Assistance by Secretariat*

I am happy to know that the Lok Sabha Secretariat officials headed by our distinguished and able Secretary, Shri Shakti, have been able to discharge their onerous responsibilities to the satisfaction of the Committees.

May I, in the end, once again say how happy I am for having come and been with you this evening.

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**SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA**  
(February 14, 1921—May 7, 1972)

## TRIBUTES TO D. SANJIVAYYA

Shri D. Sanjivayya, a former Minister of the Union Government, sitting member of the Rajya Sabha, and President of the Indian National Congress, passed away on May 7, 1972.

On May 8, 1972, glowing tributes were paid to Shri Sanjivayya in both Houses of Parliament by the Presiding Officers and by the leaders of various Parties. After the Members had stood in silence for a short while as a mark of respect to the deceased, the two Houses adjourned without transacting any business on that day.

Informing the Lok Sabha about the sad and premature demise of Shri Sanjivayya at the age of 51, the Speaker, Dr. G. S. Dhillon said:

"He was a patriot with deep convictions and confidence in his people. He was a gentleman to the core and a man of few words—smiling and so affable and amiable—and by his virtues and qualities he had endeared himself to one and all. The country has lost in him a great leader of men who stood for the poor and the down-trodden."

"We deeply mourn the loss of this friend and I am sure the House will join me to convey our condolences to the bereaved family especially to his aged mother."

Paying tributes to the departed leader the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, said:

"... To hear in the middle of the night that Shri D. Sanjivayya, our party leader and colleague, one of the shining lights of our national life, has suddenly passed away, was a great shock. He had suffered greatly from illness, but after many months he looked, and himself felt, much better. It is an irony of fate that he should be taken away at such a moment. He has died before his time, when he still had much to give."

"For a person belonging to a community so long suppressed, one who had no advantage of birth or upbringing, to rise to the

top of our political life is a tribute to his own calibre and capacity and to the great social change that is coming about in free India."

"He was a man of dignity; he was a man of integrity and sincerity, with a modern mind, with commitment to our basic values and a vision of a future where no community or individual would be deprived. He was uncompromising in his convictions. He was a rich personality, combing serious concern for the complex problems of our society and age, with a love of literature and music. He was a compelling speaker, and I am told, one of the best in Telugu. This was apparent even to those of us who did not follow the words. His work as parliamentarian and administrator is known to this House and to the country."

"It is not often that such qualities and the holding of high office go with such an unassuming nature. In all situations, in and out of office, Shri Sanjivayya bore himself with quiet dignity.

Shri Sanjivayya's death will be deeply mourned. It is a great loss to the country and to our party."

The leaders of the various groups in the House who associated themselves in paying tributes to Shri Sanjivayya were Sarvashri S. P. Bhattacharyya (CPI-M); Indrajit Gupta (CPI); K. Manoharan (DMK); Shyamnandan Mishra (Cong. (O)); R. B. Bade (J.S.); Prof. Madhu Dandavate (SP); Tridib Chaudhuri (RSP); Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait (ML); P. Venkatasubbaiah (Cong.).

In Rajya Sabha, making feeling references to the political career of Shri Sanjivayya, the Chairman, Shri G. S. Pathak, paid tribute in the following words:

"Shri Sanjivayya was deeply interested in problems connected with labour relations. In his work as a Parliamentarian he displayed conspicuous ability. An essentially good man, he had a genial temperament and everyone who came into contact with him took an instant liking for him. It was unfortunate that the cruel hand of fate should have snatched him away in the prime of his life cutting short a brilliant career. His passing away has created a void which will indeed be difficult to fill. We deeply mourn his death."

### **Life Sketch**

Born on February 14, 1921, at Peddapadu in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, Damodaran Sanjivayya lost his father when he was just five days old. He received his early education at the Municipal High School in Kurnool and joined the Ceded District College of Anantapur in 1938. Later he graduated in law in 1948 from the Madras Law College. He was enrolled as an advocate of the Madras High Court in 1950.

As a student, Shri Sanjivayya participated in all activities in the cause of the nation's freedom struggle. His meteoric rise in the political life began with his election as a member of the Provisional Parliament in January, 1950.

He was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly from Kurnool district and became Minister for Co-operation and Housing in Shri Rajagopalachari's Ministry in 1952 and held this position till September 1953.

When the State of Andhra was formed on October 1, 1953, Shri Sanjivayya became Minister for Planning, Labour and Public Health under Shri T. Prakasam and continued to hold this portfolio till November 1954. Later under Dr. B. Gopala Reddy as Chief Minister, he was the Minister of Transport, Taxes, Law and Co-operation from March 1955 to October 1956. From November 1956 to January 1960, he was the Minister for Co-operation, Social Welfare and Religious Endowments, when Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy was Chief Minister.

On the election of Shri Sanjiva Reddy as Congress President in 1960 Shri Sanjivayya was elevated to the high office of Chief Ministership of Andhra Pradesh and continued to hold that office till March 12, 1962. He held the office of the President of the Indian National Congress from June 6, 1962 to January 6, 1964.

Shri Sanjivayya had the twin distinction of being the first Harijan to be elected as the Chief Minister in the country and also as the first President of the Indian National Congress.

On January 24, 1964, Shri Sanjivayya was sworn in as the youngest member of the Union Cabinet of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and was given charge of Labour and Employment. When Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi formed her Cabinet in January 1966, Shri Sanjivayya

became the Union Minister of Industry. On February 19, 1970 he was sworn in as the Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha in April, 1964 and re-elected in April, 1970.

Soon after the mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha in March, 1971 Shri Sanjivayya succeeded Shri Jagjivan Ram as Congress President.

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## Articles

### **GOVERNOR'S RIGHT TO ADDRESS THE LEGISLATURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS**

**M. S. Dahiya**

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According to Article 176(1) of the Indian Constitution, "At the commencement of the first session after each general election to the Legislative Assembly and at the commencement of the first session of each year, the Governor shall address the Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, both Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons." This is analogous to the speech from the Throne in Great Britain. Whereas the speech from the Throne may or may not be delivered in person,<sup>1</sup> the Governor is required to address the legislature himself except under Article 160 of the Constitution. Besides it, the Governor has the general right to address the legislature and for that purpose he may require the attendance of members.<sup>2</sup> But, for the last 20 years it has remained a dead letter. Unlike the general right of the Governor, Article 176 imposes on the Governor the Constitutional duty to deliver a special address and it should not be interpreted as merely directory. The Legislature in India cannot ordinarily be said to have met until the mandatory preliminaries under Article 176 have been gone through.<sup>3</sup>

Now, the question arises as to, to what extent it is possible on the part of the Governor to address both the Houses assembled together, at the commencement of the first session each year? It may not always be possible to do so for the simple reason that the Legislative Assembly may be in a state of suspended animation or dissolution. Under such circumstances, the Governor will have to address the Legislative

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<sup>1</sup>Sir Thomas Erskine May, *Parliamentary Practice* (London: Butterworth & Co. Ltd), Sixteenth Edition, 1957, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup>Article 175.

<sup>3</sup>*Syed Abdul Mansur Habibullah V. The Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly*, A.I.R. 1966, Calcutta 363.

Council singly that is why unlike the House of Lords in Great Britain, the Legislative Council functions even after the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly.<sup>4</sup>

Although Article 176 makes it quite clear that the Governor is bound to address the legislature, yet there are cases where the Governor did not read the address in full and left the House after reading some paragraphs and laying it on the table of the House. For instance, on August 14, 1969, 21 Congress members of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, fighting for a separate Telengana State, not only walked out of the Legislative Assembly but also sufficiently annoyed the Governor Khandubhai Desai to stop reading his address after saying that the rest of the text of his written speech be taken as read. He, too, walked out of the House.<sup>5</sup> In Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, the Governor Dr. Sampurnanand, could not read his address on account of the disorderly atmosphere created by some opposition members. He proposed that if the members so desired, they could take his address as read. The leader of the Opposition, Shri Maharawal Luxman Singh agreed with the proposal, and so did the leader of the House, Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia. When some Jan Sangh members demanded that the entire address should be read out, and that the Government had failed to take proper precautions to ensure its reading, the Governor adopted a *via-media* and after reading the last para of his speech, ended the proceedings.<sup>6</sup> The Speaker of the Assembly declared that the presence of the Governor met the Constitutional requirement under Article 176.<sup>7</sup> When this case came before the Rajasthan High Court, it declared that by the Governor reading some portion of his speech from the beginning and some portion of his concluding speech, and the House by its resolution taking the speech as read, it would be said to have been delivered.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, in West Bengal, the Governor, Miss Padmja Naidu, walked out from the joint session when the opposition parties interrupted. When the Assembly met again, Shri Basu, the opposition leader challenged the Speaker:

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<sup>4</sup>*Purushothaman Nambudiri v. State of Kerala*, A.I.R. 1962 S.C. 694 (700).

<sup>5</sup>*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 15, 1969.

<sup>6</sup>*The Hindustan Times, Weekly*, New Delhi, February 27, 1966, P. 8. See also *New Bharat Times*, New Delhi, February 27, 1966, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>*The Tribune*, Ambala Cantt., March 3, 1966.

<sup>8</sup>*Yoginder Nath Pande v. State of Rajasthan and others*, A.I.R. 1967 Rajasthan 123 (126, 27).

"You have no right to sit there". He protested to the Speaker for having attempted to continue the budget session which, he thought, never began. When the Speaker asked Shri Basu to sit down, he requested saying that the Governor had not addressed the House and hence the session had not been inaugurated. The Speaker later told newsmen what he read in the House, and his contention was that the Governor had been pleased to address the joint session of both the Houses of the State Legislature. On account of certain circumstances, she could not complete her speech, and said: "I lay the copy of the speech on the Table for the information of the members."<sup>9</sup> After an angry debate for more than an hour followed by a conference with the Speaker in his Chamber, the Opposition accepted his ruling that the unfinished address of the Governor, Miss Padmja Naidu, at the joint session of the Legislature fulfilled the provision of the Constitution.<sup>10</sup> In *Syed Abdul Mansur Habibullah vs. The Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly*, the Calcutta High Court declared:

Unless the Governor delivers a speech informing the Legislature of the causes of the summons, the Legislature cannot meet to transact legislative business. A Governor cannot decline to deliver a speech and thus refuse to perform a constitutional duty. But when the Governor makes due attempt to perform the duty under Article 176 but fails and walks out of the House and makes up the failure by publication of the address to the members of the Legislature by a well-known method, namely, by laying the address on the Table of the House, the duty is merely irregularly performed and such an irregularity cannot be called in question under Article 212(1). Unless there grows a constitutional convention that the Governor's address shall be heard with attention, respect and ceremony due to the Constitutional Head of the State, there may be occasions when members of the Legislature may indulge in loud shoutings and unruly behaviour when the Governor comes to address. To hold that Legislature must not be deemed to have met when a Governor is unable to begin or finish the address under Article 176 and is compelled otherwise to publish the address is to put a value on such disturbances which they do not deserve. (11).

Therefore, keeping in view the said judgment, it seems that the Governor, under such circumstances, can perform his constitutional duty by laying the statement on the Table of the House. But the Governor of West Bengal, Shri Dharmavira, skipped a portion of the prepared address when no body shouted slogans and there was peace-

<sup>9</sup>The *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 9, 1965.

<sup>10</sup>The *Times of India*, New Delhi, February 10, 1965.

<sup>11</sup>A.I.R. 1966 Calcutta 363.

ful atmosphere in the House.<sup>12</sup> The portions skipped over referred to the dismissal of the first United Front Ministry and the haste with which another government was installed in power.<sup>13</sup>

The problem to be tackled is: was it proper on the part of the Governor to delete a portion of his address? The various luminaries have expressed different opinions on this problem. According to the advice received by the Central Government from its legal experts, the Governor is not bound to read the whole address and he can skip some portion.<sup>14</sup> Justice Carjoo Parsad says:

In my opinion the Governor would exercise a wise discretion in leaving out of his address the irrelevant matters. The address is supposed to guide the Legislature in the pursuit of the legislative programme of the Government and it would be, therefore, unwise to incumber his address by reference to entirely irrelevant issues which have nothing to do with the policy and programme of the State Legislature and may be calculated to mislead the legislature itself. Such an omission in my view is consistent with the exercise of a wise discretion by the Governor.<sup>15</sup>

According to Professor D.N. Banerjee, the refusal by the Governor of West Bengal to read the omitted portions of the speech prepared by his Council of Ministers, was neither unlawful nor even constitutionally improper.<sup>16</sup> Shri P. Govind Menon also defended the omission of passages by Shri Dharmavira.<sup>17</sup> Shri C. Rajagopalachari has stated that he was really unable to find any authority, either in the Constitution or in the accepted conventions, for the position taken by some that the Governor should read out the entire address prepared by the Council of Ministers to the joint session of both Houses of the State

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<sup>12</sup>*The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 7, 1969. See also *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 7, 1969.

<sup>13</sup>*The Statesman*, New Delhi, March 7, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>*Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, 1969, col. 320 See also *The Statesman* March 7, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>Powers and Duties of the Governors, *The Assam Tribune*, Gauhati, March 14, 1969.

<sup>16</sup>Constitutionality of Governor's Address, *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, April 1 1969.

<sup>17</sup>*The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 18, 1969. See also *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 3, 1969.

Legislature.<sup>18</sup> The Attorney-General expressed the opinion that under Article 176 of the Constitution, the Governor had the right to delete or amend any portion of the address prepared by his Council of Ministers which cast any reflection on his conduct or made any adverse criticism of his action.<sup>19</sup> Shri A. K. Sen, the former Law Minister, while defending the action of Shri Dharmavira said:

The whole idea was to ridicule the judgment of the Calcutta High Court through the mouth of the Governor, and the Governor acted rightly in declining to be the mouthpiece for condemnation of the High Court judgment. If the High Court judgment is to be laughed at, it has to be laughed at some other forum, not on the floor of this House, because we all owe our respect to the judiciary.<sup>20</sup>

Shri Y. B. Chavan defended the action of the Governor and said that only the judiciary could pronounce on the legality of what happened in the past. The Calcutta High Court had already given its verdict and it was for the Supreme Court to decide whether this was correct, and not the legislature. For the latter to do so would amount to interpreting the Constitution and it was not competent to do.<sup>21</sup>

The arguments given by Sarvashri A. K. Sen and Y. B. Chavan seem to be sound, but the West Bengal events failed to have an echo in Punjab when the Governor, Dr. D. C. Pavate, read the full text of his address to the joint session of the legislature without omitting portions which were regarded critical of his actions. During his address the Governor said:

The Budget Session of the Legislative Assembly in March 1968 constitutes an important and painful chapter in the history of democracy in the country. Police was brought into the sacred floor of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and Constitutional rights and practices were gravely violated during the so called passage of the annual Budget. . . . My Government is of the definite view that these violations of the sacred principles and practices pose a grave threat to democracy. . . .<sup>22</sup>

In *Mahabir Prasad Sharma vs Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*, the Calcutta High Court declared the action of Shri Dharmavira as constitutional<sup>23</sup> But the United Front led by Shri Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee,

<sup>18</sup>*National Herald*, New Delhi, March 13, 1969.

<sup>19</sup>*The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 6, 1969.

<sup>20</sup>*Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, 1969, cols. 297-98.

<sup>21</sup>*The Statesman*, New Delhi, March 12, 1969, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup>*The Statesman*, New Delhi, March 15, 1969, p. 1. See also *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, March 15, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>The Court said there was no warrant in the Constitution itself to read into Article 164(1) a condition or restriction that the Governor must act on the advice of a Council of Ministers in the matter of appointment of the

who was dismissed by the Governor, secured thumping and absolute majority in the election that followed. The Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee, sent a telegram to President Zakir Hussain requesting him to recall the Governor, Shri Dharmavira, before March 6, 1969 the date on which the Budget Session of the State Legislature was to start, " but the then Home Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan rejected this demand.<sup>25</sup> According to the *Times of India News Service*, the Information Minister, Shri Bhattacharaya had already said in a statement that constitutional history would be created if the Governor was not recalled by March 6, 1969.<sup>26</sup> If the Governor was to remain in office, it was obligatory on his part to read the full address as our system resembles that of Great Britain, where the King's speech has been regarded since 1841 as a ministerial statement for which the sovereign accepts no personal responsibility. In 1881, Queen Victoria objected to a paragraph in the speech announcing the Government's proposal to withdraw from Candahar. Lord Spencer and Sir William Harcourt, who were ministers in attendance, impressed upon Sir Ponsobly, the Adviser to the Queen, that the speech from the Throne was in no sense an expression of Her Majesty's individual sentiments but a declaration of policy made on the responsibility of her Ministers.<sup>27</sup> Herbert Morrison says: "The Cabinet considers and states the draft, which goes to the palace for the consideration of Her Majesty. Of course, she cannot upset the policy, for that would be unconstitutional though she can raise questions about it. Certainly the Sovereign can and often does make suggestion for revision of wording, either because it is thought to be better for delivery or to make a sentence more appropriate and attractive. All such suggestions from the palace are given that respectful and sympathetic consideration which is their due, but the last word is with the cabinet and as regards policy the first

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Chief Minister and the right of the Governor under Article 164(1) to withdraw the pleasure is absolute and unrestricted, A.I.R. 1969, Calcutta 198 (208-09).

<sup>24</sup>*The Statesman*, New Delhi, March 3, 1969, p. 9. See also *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, Calcutta, March 2, 1969.

<sup>25</sup>*The Statesman*, New Delhi, March 4, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>*Times of India* (Delhi) March 5, 1969, See also the *Hindu* (Madras) March 5, 1969.

<sup>27</sup>*Life of William Harcourt*, I, pp. 598-600. Cited in Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government* (Cambridge, 1951) p. 373. See also B. K. Sarkar, "Governor is the Umpire Not Twelfth Man", *Patriot* (New Delhi) March 12, 1969.

word as well."<sup>28</sup> Ivor Jennings says that 1881, Lord Beaconsfield "in his capacity of irresponsible and unconstitutional advisor", informed the Queen:

The principle of Sir W. Harcourt, that speech of the Sovereign (in Parliament) is only the speech of the Ministers, is a principle not known to the British Constitution. It is only a piece of parliamentary gossip. The speech from the Throne must be approved in Council by The Sovereign, but to be so approved, it should be previously considered by the Sovereign. Ample time ought to be secured to the Sovereign for this purpose, so that suggestions may be made and explanations required and given.<sup>29</sup>

As a matter of fact, the Governor cannot alter the speech prepared by the Council of Ministers. If the view that the Governor can modify the speech is accepted, some constitutional implications are bound to arise, in case the Government is defeated on the address of the Governor. Under such circumstances, the question will arise: Should the Government resign? The answer seems to be in the negative, because the address, on which the Government was defeated, was the modified one, which had no sanction of the Council of Ministers. If it is so, there would be stagnation in the administration because the Government can do nothing without the sanction of the Legislature. There are cases, save the example of Punjab,<sup>30</sup> where the Government resigned after it was defeated on the address of the Governor." But there is difference between the two in the sense that these Governments were defeated on the original address and not on the altered one. If the Government resigns and the Governor fails in installing the alternative Government, naturally the matter would be referred to the electorate. If the same Government enters into the Legislative Assembly with a thumping majority, the position of the Governor, being the Constitutional head, is bound to be jeopardised. Shri Basu rightly observed

<sup>28</sup>Herbert Morrison, *Government and Parliament* (Oxford 1954), p. 75.

<sup>29</sup>Ivor Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-73.

<sup>30</sup>In Punjab, the Coalition Government headed by Shri Gurnam Singh was defeated on the address of the Governor on April 5, 1970. The Chief Minister told reporters, "I do not feel called upon to resign on this issue." *The Statesman*, New Delhi, April 6, 1967, p. 1. See also *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, dated April 6, 1967.

<sup>31</sup>In U.P. on April 1, 1967, the Congress Government headed by Shri C. B. Gupta was defeated because an opposition-supported amendment was carried by 215 to 198 votes to the Governor's address. Shri Gupta gracefully resigned. *The Statesman*, New Delhi, April 2, 1967, p. 1. In England, in 1924, the Baldwin Government resigned when a simple amendment on the motion of thanks was accepted by the House of Commons.

that the address of the Governor is in fact a statement of the Government and none had the right to change or delete any portion of it.<sup>32</sup> Such is the opinion of Shri Raj Narain.<sup>33</sup> On the eve of the very first address of the President of India, *the Hindu* observed:

The President's speech is analogous to the King's speech at the opening of Parliament in the United Kingdom. The responsibility for its contents will rest wholly with the Cabinet and should normally include a statement of the Government's foreign and home policies, a reference to the estimates to be presented to the House and a summary of the legislative programme for the session.<sup>34</sup>

While criticizing the action of Governor Dharmavira, Shri Surendra-nath Dwivedy observed:

Nowhere in the Constitution or in any interpretation of the Constitution published so far has it been stated that the Governor has the right to omit or say whatever he desires on the opening day. It is limited in the sense that he has to tell the House what is the cause of the summons. If you take the literal meaning, the Governor has to tell the House about the legislative programme for the coming year. . . . It is an admitted fact that apart from the legislative programme, the address makes an assessment of the political situation; what has happened in previous year; what is going to happen, and what are the repercussions etc. All these are embodied in the Governor's address. . . . Therefore, I think it is correct for the newly elected Government to tell the people on the opening day through the Governor, who is their mouthpiece, as to how they feel about the past situation and how they want to tackle the coming situation.<sup>35</sup>

Shri T. Vishwanathan accused the Governor for skipping paragraph and described the action as against the "spirit and letter of the Constitution"<sup>36</sup> Shri Bhupesh Gupta described it as an "impeachable act".<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>*The Times of India*, Delhi, March 7, 1969. See also *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, Calcutta, March 6, 1969.

<sup>33</sup>*The Times of India*, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>*The Hindu*, Madras, January 12, 1950, p. 6.

<sup>35</sup>Surendra Nath Dwivedy, *Janata*, March 16, 1969, p. 13.

<sup>36</sup>*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 11, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup>*The Hindustan Times*, March 7, 1969, p. 4.



If the Governor can omit some portion of his address, it leads to its logical corollary that he can add something in it. If he adds such a thing which is against the manifesto of the party in power, that would be the negation of party Government, meaning thereby responsible government, which has secured the confidence of the electorate on the basis of its manifesto.

In a parliamentary democracy the power resides in the Council of Ministers responsible to the people through the Legislative Assembly, and if the nominated Governors start to use their discretion in such matters, it would be against the intention of the framers<sup>38</sup> of the Constitution and the principles of cabinet government. The Supreme Court has decided that cabinet government in India has reduced the Governor to a constitutional Head like that of Great Britain.<sup>39</sup> And in England, it is a settled question that the King cannot alter the speech prepared by the Council of Ministers.

According to Article 167(c), it shall be the duty of the Chief Minister of each State "if the Governor so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been "considered by the Council." It leads to the conclusion that the Governor cannot send back a matter which has already been considered by the whole Ministry. Therefore, the Governor of West Bengal was duty bound to read the full address when the Council of Ministers wanted him to do so, and he had no right to ask the United Front Ministry to delete certain portions critical of himself and the Centre from the draft prepared by the Council of Ministers.<sup>40</sup>

In the concluding lines, it appears sound to say that our Constitution is modelled on the basis of British parliamentary democracy; therefore, we should not deviate from it. The Governor like the King in England is simply the Constitutional Head. He should follow the conventions prevailing in England. If he is unable to pull on with the Ministry, the better course for him is to resign gracefully. The address of the Governor, which contains the policies and programmes of the Government, is an important matter. Hence, the Governor should not interfere with the decisions taken by the Council of Ministers.

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<sup>38</sup>Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII, p. 467.

<sup>39</sup>Ram Jawaya Kapoor V. The State of Punjab, A.I.R., 1955 S.C. 549 (556).

<sup>40</sup>Shri Dharmavira asked the Council of Ministers to delete some portion of the address. The Hindu, Madras, March 6, 1969.

## 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 an article on "Production Management in Public Undertakings" based on the reports of the Committee on Public Undertakings—Editor.]

### PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT IN PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

The Committee on Public Undertakings in their 67th Report (Fourth Lok Sabha) examined the subject 'Production Management in Public Undertakings' and covered 38 public undertakings.

'Production Management' is one of the most important branches of Management. It aims at optimum production at the minimum cost within the shortest possible time without compromising the requirements of quality and excellence in any way. This branch of management plays a pivotal role in the efficient running of industrial enterprises. There has been criticism that industrial enterprises in the public sector were not being managed well, with the result that underutilisation of production capacities, lack of cost and quality consciousness and neglect of preventive maintenance leading to frequent breakdowns of plant and machinery, have been noticed in several enterprises. It was against this background that the Committee decided<sup>1</sup> to examine how far the modern principles and techniques of production management were being made use of by public sector enterprises with a view to achieving maximum production and profitability.

#### Planning and Control

##### Organisation

The Committee noticed that the arrangements for the planning and control of production varied from one undertaking to another. They

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\*Prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service of Lok Sabha Secretariat.

<sup>1</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 1.3.

recommended<sup>1</sup> that the planning organisation should be capable of evolving a proper concept of planning production, taking into account a realistic demand survey of the products and study of the feasibility report.

The Government stated<sup>2</sup> in their reply that the Bureau of Public Enterprises had requested the Ministries to advise the public sector enterprises under their control to examine their production control organisation and systems in the light of factors such as changes in market, standard of performance and quality, product diversification, product development and prototype manufacture. They have also been asked to evolve a proper concept of production planning taking into account a realistic demand survey of the product.

### *Planning*

Considering the need for setting up separate planning cells in order to enable the production staff to concentrate fully on production proper, the Committee recommended<sup>4</sup> that each public undertaking might examine the need for setting up a separate planning cell after taking into account the type of industry and other relevant factors.

The Government in their reply<sup>5</sup> stated that the public undertakings were being advised to review the planning organisations with a view to making improvements and evolving a proper concept of production planning. While doing so, they have been asked to take into account changes in the demand forecast and the need for changing the product-mix without impairing the long-term objectives of the enterprises. In the case of undertakings where no machinery exists for production planning they have been advised to set up a suitable planning cell after taking into account the type of industry and other relevant factors.

### *Industry-wise Planning Cells*

The Committee recommended<sup>6</sup> that public undertakings should review the arrangements for market research and assessment, so that production could be planned according to demand and expansion of production or diversification could be undertaken in time. For this pur-

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<sup>1</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 3.12.

<sup>2</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 6-7.

<sup>4</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 3.13.

<sup>5</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 3.14.

pose, they recommended that there should be industry-wise (e.g. fertilizer, steel etc.) Top Planning Cell in each Ministry consisting of executives of both the public and the private sector industry for the planning and control of production and for evaluation of the functioning of the production machinery.

The Government stated in their reply<sup>7</sup> that the public undertakings had already been urged to strengthen and improve the marketing arrangements and to set up as speedily as possible such arrangements where only a beginning had been made. Some of the public enterprises like the Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd., had entrusted the market research function to their commercial departments. In Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd. the commercial section in each product division assessed the change in the pattern of customer requirements and the demand for new products coming within the capabilities of the company was also assessed by them. Some enterprises like the Hindustan Photo Films Manufacturing Co., Ltd. engaged outside consultancy organisations for conducting the market survey.

As regards the setting up of Top Planning Cells in each Ministry, the reply<sup>8</sup> stated that under section 6 of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, the Government had powers for the establishment of Development Councils for any scheduled industry or a Group of industries. The functions of the Development Councils include *inter alia* 'recommending targets, production and co-ordinating production programmes'. Some of the Ministries had Advisory Committees which served the same purpose.

#### *Use of Computers*

The Committee recommended<sup>9</sup> computerisation in capital-intensive industries (e.g. H.S.L. H.E.L. etc.) primarily to (i) inventory and management control, and (ii) to cut down the cost of production. They suggested that the decision to instal a computer in an enterprise should be taken at the time of setting up the enterprise, so as to avoid any controversy later on. The Committee added that care should be taken to avoid retrenchment of labour and the staff, if rendered surplus, and they should be absorbed in alternative jobs in the same or allied undertakings.

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<sup>7</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 52.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>9</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 3.36.

The Government in their reply<sup>10</sup> agreed with the recommendation and stated that instructions had been issued to the public undertakings through the concerned Ministries.

### **Management Reporting**

#### *Reduction in number of Returns*

The Committee favoured<sup>11</sup> reduction in the multiplicity of reports| returns submitted to top management|Government without any way interfering with the efficiency to take effective managerial decisions by the undertakings. They recommended that the public undertakings should undertake a view of their existing reports in consultation with the administrative Ministries and reduce the number of reports|returns. They also recommended that the public undertakings should consider the advisability of setting up a special cell for the purpose of study, evaluation and follow-up of such reports.

The Government accepted<sup>12</sup> the recommendation of the Committee and stated that the work would be entrusted to an expert for preparing model systems for guidance of the public sector enterprises.

### **Management Accountability**

#### *Fixation of Responsibility*

Considering the present low level of productivity and the heavy financial losses being incurred by major public undertakings year after year, the Committee recommended<sup>13</sup> that Government should formulate a clear policy and see that responsibilities of each level of management were clearly defined in unambiguous terms and laid down in black and white, so that whenever any act of omission or commission came to light, it was possible to fix responsibility and bring the persons concerned to book. They emphasised that the policy so framed must make the top management of every public sector enterprise fully responsible for overall performance, particularly, the production performance. The Committee further desired that as soon as Government were able to formulate such a policy, it should be placed before the Parliament and its effectiveness must be kept under close watch, so as to keep Parliament informed of the results achieved.

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<sup>10</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72) p. 9.

<sup>11</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report para 4.17.

<sup>12</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 11.

<sup>13</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 5.16.

The Government in their reply<sup>14</sup> stated that the best way to ensure that an undertaking worked with efficiency was to confer on it maximum possible autonomy and to hold it accountable for its performance. The Government's policy underlying various decisions to bring improvements in the managerial and operational efficiency of the public enterprises was broadly defined as follows:

- (i) In order to enable these undertakings to work with greater autonomy, there should be sufficient delegation of powers to the public enterprises.
- (ii) Every effort should be made to assist the enterprises to secure suitable managerial talent.
- (iii) Measures should be taken and guidelines laid down for improving management techniques in all its aspects in these enterprises.
- (iv) There should be an effective machinery for periodical review and appraisal of their performance so that defects may be set right as speedily as possible.

As regards the individual enterprises, these were required to be formulated by the enterprises themselves subject to approval by Government. The administrative Ministries had been addressed by Government to take necessary action in that direction.

As regards the performance of the top management, the Government stated that it would have to be assessed taking into account the extent to which the public enterprise was able to achieve the objectives and obligations laid down for the purpose. The Bureau of Public Enterprises had taken steps to introduce the modern techniques of management by objectives in public enterprises which would help the managers of the undertakings not only in concentrating on the key results to be achieved by them individually but also in achieving the company's objectives. In the opinion of Government, when the management tool was adopted by all the public undertakings, it would provide a sound basis for assessing the performance of individual managers against the predetermined targets for them.

#### *Criteria of Profitability*

The Committee referred to the heavy financial losses incurred by major public undertakings *e.g.*, Hindustan Steel Ltd., Heavy Engineering Corporation Ltd., Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation Ltd.

<sup>14</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 12-14.

Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd., Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Ltd., and felt<sup>15</sup> that the criteria of profitability was getting gradually eroded and whittled down. In their opinion, if this drift from profitability is allowed to continue, there was every likelihood that the gains of planned economic development in India may be offset by the heavy losses incurred by the public-sector enterprises'. Viewing this development with great concern, the Committee recommended that Government should impress upon all the public sector enterprises the need to avoid losses and ensure profitability. The norm for profitability should be laid down at the time of setting up the project itself, so that the Parliament and the country know in advance the precise period during which an enterprise was expected to reach the break-even point. Should an enterprise fail to reach that stage within the stipulated period and continue to incur losses even after the gestation period was over, the Committee felt, the Government should examine whether such an uneconomic enterprise should be allowed to continue.

The Government in their reply<sup>16</sup> stated that it was impressed upon all public enterprises to become economically viable units and to increase their efficiency from the point of view of establishing profitability. In the case of enterprises incurring continuous losses, even after the gestation period was over, their performance was examined in detail in order to identify the problems faced by them and to initiate effective remedial measures which in an extreme case may even include, if in the national interest, the closing down of the plant.

#### *Managerial Cadre*

The Committee expressed<sup>17</sup> the view that unless a managerial cadre consisting of persons of proven ability, integrity, managerial talent, initiative and above all faith in the role of the public sector in national economy was established to man senior positions of responsibility in the public sector enterprises, problems arising in the realm of production management cannot be satisfactorily tackled.

The Government in their reply<sup>18</sup> stated that it was decided in principle that public enterprises should have their own managerial cadres, manned by the most competent personnel available. The Government

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<sup>15</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 5.19.

<sup>16</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 14-15.

<sup>17</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 5.25.

<sup>18</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 16.

were seriously considering schemes under which there would be some degree of mobility between public enterprises at the top and 'near-top' levels.

### **Production Capacity**

#### *Under-utilisation*

The Committee were alarmed<sup>19</sup> to find that the steel plants of the Hindustan Steel Ltd. were working at only 50 to 68 per cent of their rated capacity. They felt that for an established and experienced steel industry like the Hindustan Steel Ltd., it would be inexcusable if they failed to ensure operation of the plant at the rated capacity and to attain break-even point inspite of the existence of a great demand for steel in Indian and abroad and the rise in the steel prices. They recommended that the management of Hindustan Steel Ltd. should focus attention on their known problems such as inadequate or poor maintenance, right type of refractories, non-availability of spares etc. and run the plants at their optimum capacity.

The Government in their reply<sup>20</sup> stated that the Hindustan Steel Ltd. having identified the factors inhibiting the rapid development of production, were implementing the major changes required in the technical management of their operations, including co-ordination of supply of correct raw-materials, refractories, spares etc. and improvement of the state of maintenance. It was expected that with the completion of installation of all additional equipments and improvements in the other operating areas, the actual production would stabilise at about full capacity level 'in the near future'.

#### *Technique of Demand Projections*

The Committee expressed<sup>21</sup> the view that the Heavy Engineering Corporation Ltd., and the Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation Ltd. were finding themselves in an unhappy predicament due to inaccurate and over-ambitious demand projections made before the installation of their production capacities. They recommended that Government should examine the machinery for making demand projections.

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<sup>19</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 6.12 and 6.13.

<sup>20</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 17.

<sup>21</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 6.14.



the techniques employed for assessment of demand etc., and initiate positive steps to gear up the machinery for making demand projections so that production capacities were installed or expanded only to the extent warranted by sound and scientific assessment of demand.

The Government in their reply<sup>22</sup> accepted the necessity for a regular machinery for demand assessment and analysis of economic data and for making regular and systematic review of the machinery from the point of view of improving its reliability and efficiency.

#### *Petroleum and Chemical Industries*

The Committee recommended<sup>23</sup> that managements must regard the attainment of rated capacity as their supreme task and make strenuous efforts towards that end by rectifying design or engineering deficiencies in plants, if any, and creating optimum conditions under which the plants could work at their full rated capacity. In the opinion of the Committee, 'to regard the rated capacity as only a theoretical proposition and not a practical possibility by the undertakings is a tendency which can only result in derating the rated capacity to the lower level of the attainable capacity'. They felt that such a tendency of the undertakings had to be discouraged because if it were allowed to continue, there would be let-up in the efforts of the managements to reach the optimum capacity. Should the undertakings find it impossible to operate the plant at the full rated capacity, they should reduce their rated capacity to the attainable capacity, only with the concurrence of the administrative Ministry concerned and the Ministry of Finance, invariably. They recommended that public undertakings should acquire plants of only proven rated capacity after carrying out rigid performance tests, because once a defective plant was acquired, it became a liability for alltime to come, even if the contractor paid the penalty under the contract. Payments to the contractor should depend on his demonstrating the rated capacity of the plant and machinery.

The Government agreed<sup>24</sup> with the recommendation of the Committee and issued suitable directives to the public sector enterprises for future guidance and compliance.

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<sup>22</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 18-19.

<sup>23</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 6.33.

<sup>24</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 20.

*Under-utilisation of capacities*

The Committee had recommended<sup>25</sup> that a high level Expert Committee should be appointed by Government to make a thorough and systematic assessment of under-utilisation of capacities, to detect the causes of under-utilisation in each case and suggest remedial measures, both on long-term and short term basis to minimise the incidence of under-utilisation in various public undertakings. In their reply, Government stated<sup>26</sup> that they had 'noted' the recommendation. Government also admitted that the extent of under-utilisation of capacities was 40 per cent in the case of steel plants, 30 per cent in the case of heavy equipment manufacturing plants and 20 per cent in the case of mining and fertilizer industries. The steps taken by Government to tackle the problem of under-utilisation of capacities included improvement in the organisation and management of maintenance, improvement in supplies and quality of raw materials, including refractories, improved productivity by operator motivation, etc., in the steel plants. Besides this, steps had been taken to bring about managerial improvements such as strengthening of industrial engineering, design and development activities, laying down of standards of performance for workers, machinery and plant, planning and control of production, cost control system, etc. It had also been stated in Government's reply that the Bureau of Public Enterprises watched the performance of the enterprises by obtaining regular returns from the units. Periodic performance reviews were also carried out at the highest level in the Finance Ministry and administrative Ministries concerned with the enterprises. In conclusion, the Government had stated: "In the circumstances Government feel that no useful purpose will be served by appointing a high level expert Committee at the present moment to make an assessment of under-utilisation of capacity and suggest remedial measures. If necessary, this can be done after the results of all the steps taken fructify."

While the Committee noted that the Government had taken steps to tackle the problem of under-utilisation of capacities in the public sector undertakings, the point for consideration was how far those steps had proved effective. The Government had themselves admitted the existence of under-utilisation of capacities, which had been with

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<sup>25</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 6.46.

<sup>26</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 2-3.

the public sector for a number of years and still no satisfactory solution appeared to be in sight. The country had invested large sums of money in setting up the public undertakings with huge capacities for production. If these capacities remained under-utilised for years, the very functioning of the enterprises would tend to be uneconomical and would add to the cost of production. In view of these considerations, the Committee strongly reiterated<sup>27</sup> their recommendation that a high level Expert Committee should be appointed by Government to go into the problem of under-utilisation of capacities. The Committee were not in favour of allowing the problem to linger on any further.

### **Production Performance**

#### *Annual Targets of Production*

The Committee recommended<sup>28</sup> that annual targets of production should be fixed after taking into account all relevant factors particularly, the demand as assessed by the Planning Commission, market surveys conducted by the enterprise itself, the rated capacity of the plant and machinery etc. They expressed the view that the public undertakings should be free to fix annual targets of production so long as they were equal to or near the rated capacity. If an undertaking wanted to fix a target lower than the rated capacity inspite of there being a clear demand for the products, it should get prior approval of Government.

The Government agreed<sup>29</sup> with the recommendation of the Committee and issued necessary directives to the Ministries concerned with the administration of the public enterprises.

#### *Ancillary Industries*

The Committee found that the main difficulties faced by the public enterprises in the matter of procurement of spares and components from indigenous sources were—

- (i) Poor quality of indigenous spares;

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 7.24.

<sup>29</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 23.

- (ii) Higher price of indigenous spares as compared to imported ones; and
- (iii) Where quantities of spares and components are small or where the spares are non-standard ones, or indigenous manufacturers do not feel inclined to undertake their manufacture.

The Committee expressed<sup>30</sup> the hope that no efforts would be spared by Government to promote ancillary industries.

The Government in their reply stated<sup>31</sup> that large-scale undertakings in the public sector should set an example in the development of ancillary units, which could serve as a stimulus both to the public and private sectors. The broad lines upon which action had been suggested by Government to the Ministries for implementation by the undertakings are—

- (i) The determination of product line and components, the manufacture of which is to be offloaded to ancillary industries, should be established at the time of setting up a new product or undertaking's major expansion and included in the detailed project report.
- (ii) The public enterprises should identify and earmark particular lines or items of production/manufacture and offload their production to the ancillary industries.
- (iii) The public enterprises should offer a guaranteed off-take of 50 per cent of production of the ancillary units subject to suitable price fixation formula, quality control and timely delivery.
- (iv) The public enterprises should look after the raw materials requirement of the ancillaries, including imported materials required, and arrange to provide for the necessary foreign exchange and actual users' import licence.
- (v) The parent undertakings may also provide technical consultancy and know-how to the small units for putting up

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<sup>30</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 7.28.

<sup>31</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 24-25.

the plant and organise new and modified lines of production to fit into the changing demands of the largescale public sector units.

- (vi) The public enterprises should also look after equipment, maintenance and requirement of spares by providing a good machine-shop which will cater to the repair needs both of their own equipment as well as that of the ancillaries at reasonable cost.
- (vii) The Board of Directors of the public enterprises were also requested to review the position from time to time regarding the development of ancillary units connected with their products to make improvements.
- (viii) The public enterprises should appoint a full-time senior officer who should be entrusted with the responsibility of developing ancillary industries and submit six-monthly reports to the Director General, Technical Development; Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries and a copy to the Bureau of Public Enterprises.
- (ix) The Ministries were requested to instruct the public enterprises to draw up a time-schedule for implementing the production programme, facilities which should be made available to the ancillaries, long-term purchase contracts or price preferences, assistance in raw materials, tooling facilities etc.

#### *Product Diversification*

The Committee expressed surprise<sup>32</sup> at the way the proposal for the manufacture of tractors in the public sector was handled by Government at various stages resulting in inordinate delay and felt that such avoidable delays should be avoided in future.

The Government in their reply<sup>33</sup> stated that the establishment of a public sector project for the manufacture of 20 H.P. tractors was first considered in 1963. The Ministry of Agriculture favoured the 'Zetor' tractor as a very suitable model. Negotiations for securing credit from Czechoslovakia were taken up and an agreement was signed in 1965. In the meantime, the Production Committee of Secretaries expressed the

<sup>32</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 7.41.

<sup>33</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 55-56.

view that the manufacture of 20 H.P. tractor was feasible by utilising the spare capacity available in the engineering industry. Thus detailed expert examination had to be undertaken and a number of major considerations had to be weighed, such as the choice of the tractor model, specifications, consumer acceptance, development of indigenous design and indigenous capabilities, performance of prototype, ability to compete with other models etc. The Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. submitted an application for grant of an industrial licence and the letter of intent was issued on 25.7.1970. Their collaboration agreement was also approved and the final draft taken on record on 20-3-1971. Besides the Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., the Punjab State Industrial Development Corporation, Chandigarh, (now Punjab Tractors Ltd.) had also submitted a proposal for the manufacture of 'Swaraj-20' tractors for which a letter of intent was issued.

The Government further intimated that an extract of the Committee's recommendation had been forwarded to all Ministries for guidance and future compliance.

## **Labour**

### *Labour Utilisation*

The Committee regretted<sup>34</sup> to note that the level of labour utilisation had gone down in the case of Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd., Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., Hindustan Zinc Ltd., and the Briquetting and Carbonisation Plant of Neyveli Lignite Corporation Ltd. They expressed the hope that the fall in labour utilisation in those undertakings would be investigated with a view to evolving effective measures for improving the situation.

The Committee further observed<sup>35</sup> that some of the public undertakings were not maintaining record showing the extent of labour utilisation and recommended that all undertakings should maintain labour utilisation records in suitable form, so that they may be able to locate areas of under-utilisation of labour in time and take remedial measures. They also desired that labour utilisation indices should be accompanied by indices of labour productivity in the interest of maximising production and keeping a timely check over the persistent tendency to over-staff.

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<sup>34</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 8.9.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, para 8.10.

The Government accepted<sup>36</sup> the recommendation of the Committee and directed the concerned public enterprises to complete the specific investigations relating to low labour-utilisation with a view to taking suitable action for raising the same. The public enterprises were further directed to introduce adequate system for—

- (i) recording actual labour utilisation on all activities,
- (ii) compiling indices of labour utilisation and labour productivity, and
- (iii) locating areas of under-utilisation and under-productivity of labour in terms of their indices;
- (iv) taking prompt remedial measures for improving utilisation and productivity of labour and keeping a timely check on the persistent tendency to overstaff.

#### *Labour Productivity*

During the course of examination, the Committee enquired<sup>37</sup> about the main factors responsible for low productivity in the public enterprises and the measures taken by them to promote productivity consciousness at all levels. The replies received from various public undertakings indicated that some of the important factors responsible for low productivity of labour were absenteeism, lack of motivation, lack of effective supervision, general industrial unrest, inter-union rivalries, overstaffing, industrial traditions such as provision of helpers and lack of training for improvement of skills etc.

The Committee got the impression<sup>38</sup> that Government had not taken an active interest in remedying the problem of low productivity. They suggested that the Government should arrange for a special study of man-productivity industry-wise without any loss of time.

The Government stated in their reply<sup>39</sup> that they were conscious of the need for sustained efforts by managements of enterprises to raise productivity. The establishment of industry-wise man-product-

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<sup>36</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 27.

<sup>37</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 8.12.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid, para 8.18.

<sup>39</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 28.

tivity standards among other standards was considered essential and for that purpose centrally-organised studies would be taken up at the appropriate time.

### *Over-staffing*

One of the factors of low productivity in the public enterprises was overstaffing. According to a survey conducted by the Bureau of Public Enterprises, the surplus staff employed in all the public undertakings was estimated to be 15,000 as on 30th September, 1967. Apart from that, the Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., had about 2000 surplus men and the Sindri Unit of the Fertilizer Corporation of India Ltd. had 1,324 surplus employees. The Committee expressed<sup>40</sup> the opinion that the existence of surplus staff adversely affected the productivity of an enterprise and recommended that the staff strength in the initial stages should be determined most carefully after carrying out scientific manning studies and a thorough assessment of workload. They felt that the surplus staff could be absorbed against future expansion or against future retirements.

The Government stated in their reply<sup>41</sup> that for new projects and expansion schemes, careful assessment of manpower requirements were made in advance. The enterprises were also developing their own expertise, particularly, in the industrial engineering departments for making such studies along scientific lines, with the help of external consultancies such as the Institute of Manpower Research, Administrative Staff College, National Institute of Training in Industrial Engineering, National Productivity Council etc. Specific Instructions were also issued to the public enterprises emphasising the need for taking urgent remedial steps to deal with the problem of surplus labour in the undertakings wherever they existed. They were also advised to follow the example of undertakings like Neyveli Lignite Corporation etc. who had introduced schemes for voluntary retirement or retrenchment with *ex gratia* payment.

### *Labour Management Relations*

The Committee felt<sup>42</sup> that management of public sector enterprises should continue to strive to secure the active co-operation of labour

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<sup>40</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 8.24 and 8.25.

<sup>41</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 30-31.

<sup>42</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 8.35.



towards improvement of production, since a contented labour alone could be expected to give their best. They desired<sup>43</sup> that demands received from labour unions should be considered by the management with sympathy and decisions taken expeditiously on the merit of each demand. Top Management should provide a responsible and responsive leadership, drive and initiative, besides establishing *rapport* with the workers and creating in them 'a sense of belonging'.

The Government stated in their reply<sup>44</sup> that the recommendation of the Committee had been brought to the notice of the public enterprises.

### **Plant and Machinery**

#### *Procurement and Installation*

The Committee recommended<sup>45</sup> that public undertakings should make effective use of management techniques like Programme Evaluation Review Technique, in order to guard against possible delays in the procurement, installation, and commissioning of plant and machinery. They suggested that an adequate number of their officers and engineers be specially trained in the application of that technique.

The Government stated in their reply<sup>46</sup> that the Bureau of Public Enterprises had evolved broad guidelines for the application of Network Analysis Technique (PERT|CPM) to the Projects in the public sector and laid down the necessary framework of the procedures to be adopted by them in that regard. They had also conducted a seminar on the subject for the benefit of the Chief Construction Executives of the public sector undertakings in which 41 delegates from 25 undertakings|organisations participated. The Bureau would arrange to conduct such courses and seminars in future also for the benefit of the construction engineers and Managers at all levels.

#### *Maintenance Experts Cadre*

The Committee expressed<sup>47</sup> unhappiness at the fact that the giant

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid, para 8.36.

<sup>44</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 32.

<sup>45</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 9.6.

<sup>46</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 33.

<sup>47</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 9.15.

public undertakings like the Fertiliser Corporation of India Ltd. and the Hindustan Steel Ltd., which had acquired a number of years' standing in their respective fields, should be dependent on foreign experts to advise the local technicians on major overhauls and repairs of their plant and machinery. They regretted to note that adequate attention had not been paid *ab initio* for the development of their own cadre of maintenance experts to handle major overhauls, capital repairs etc. The Committee recommended that the Government might consider the desirability of drawing up a scheme for development of a cadre of maintenance experts in all the major undertakings, so that India's dependence on foreign experts was reduced to the barest minimum and self reliance was developed in the field of maintenance of plant and machinery.

The Government in their reply<sup>48</sup> stated that a large number of enterprises had developed their own cadre of maintenance experts. However, the Committees' recommendation had been endorsed to the public sector enterprises for future guidance and compliance.

#### *Shut Down Periods*

The Committee expressed<sup>49</sup> concern at the fact that the down time of Steel, Fertiliser and Petroleum industries in the public sector was far more excessive than the norms laid down in that regard. They recommended that in future the annual reports of all the public sector enterprises should contain a paragraph indicating (i) the extent of down time each year; (ii) the loss in production suffered on account of down time; and (iii) steps taken to arrest the rising trend in downtime so that Government and the Parliament remained in touch with the standards of preventive maintenance in the plants in the public sector.

The Government accepted<sup>50</sup> the recommendation and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

#### *Plant Layouts*

The Committee recommended<sup>51</sup> that all major public undertakings should carry out studies of plant layout of comparable enterprises in

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<sup>48</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 35.

<sup>49</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report, (1969-70), para 9.25.

<sup>50</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 36.

<sup>51</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report, (1969-70), para 9.29.

India and abroad, so that the managements might acquaint themselves with new ideas on plant layouts which may not only ensure free and quick flow of materials but facilitate better production.

The Government accepted<sup>52</sup> the recommendation of the Committee and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

### **Cost Control**

#### *Cost Control Schemes*

The Committee expressed<sup>53</sup> the view that in the absence of a satisfactory cost control scheme in some of the public enterprises, it was unthinkable for any enterprise to keep an eye on the trends of cost of production and to take timely remedial measures. They recommended that all the undertakings should take early steps to instal effective cost control schemes suited to their respective industries within a specified period and furnish a report to Government.

The Government in their reply<sup>54</sup> admitted that many of the public enterprises had not developed standards or norms on the basis of which actual cost could be compared. However, the public enterprises were 'more and more being persuaded' to develop a sound system of cost accounting in their organisations.

#### *Control on Cost of Production*

The Committee recommended<sup>55</sup> that all public enterprises should make concerted efforts to bring down the cost of production to a fair level by setting right the deficiencies, if any, in the organisation and management and developing cost consciousness at various levels of management. As regards the future projects, the Committee urged that the detailed project report should be drawn up most carefully on a realistic and practical basis for assessment of the cost estimates.

The Government in their reply<sup>56</sup> stated that the need for bringing about reduction in the cost of production had been impressed on the

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<sup>52</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 37.

<sup>53</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 10.7.

<sup>54</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 37.

<sup>55</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 10.25.

<sup>56</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 39-40.

public enterprises. Instructions had also been issued in regard to the preparation of feasibility reports and detailed project estimates carefully so as to avoid later revisions.

### *Control on Rejections*

The Committee expressed<sup>57</sup> the view that public sector enterprises should evolve some permissible limit for rejections, so that whenever rejections crossed that limit, causes could be analysed and remedial measures taken.

The Government in their reply<sup>58</sup> have accepted the recommendation and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

### *Control over Materials*

The Committee recommended<sup>59</sup> that every public undertaking should fix norms for consumption of materials for every unit or even every shift, so that whenever the consumption of materials went beyond that norm, the management might know of it at once and take remedial measures. They felt that fixation of norms would have salutary effect not only in guarding against pilferage of materials but also in exercising stricter control on consumption.

The Government in their reply<sup>60</sup> accepted the recommendation of the Committee and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

### *Control on Inventory*

The Committee recommended<sup>61</sup> that the public enterprises should take positive steps and bring down their inventories to an economic level within a fixed period. They further asked the Government to evaluate the work done in that respect and furnish a report to the Committee on the progress achieved.

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<sup>57</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 10-31.

<sup>58</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 40.

<sup>59</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 10.36.

<sup>60</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 41.

<sup>61</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1968-70), para 10.40.

The Government stated in their reply<sup>62</sup> that as a result of the directives and consequent follow-up action, inventory control had been steadily improving and the progress was under constant review. The Bureau of Public Enterprises had prepared a detailed set of guidelines on developing and maintaining Materials Management Organisation and System, which was circulated to all the public enterprises for guidance.

### **Quality Control**

#### *Evaluation*

The Committee expressed<sup>63</sup> the view that top managements of public sector enterprises must regard quality control as an overall management function, the success of which depended to a large extent on the direct interest taken by the managements. They recommended that all public undertakings should evolve in plant training in quality control. The undertakings which had issued detailed instructions on the subject of quality control from time to time should codify the same in the form of a Manual, so that such instructions are available for study and reference at one place. Arrangements should also be made for the built in mechanism for periodical revision and review of the quality control manuals.

The Government accepted<sup>64</sup> the recommendation of the Committee and issued suitable instructions to the public undertakings for compliance.

#### *Consumers' Complaints*

The Committee recommended<sup>65</sup> that every public undertaking should introduce a systematic procedure for registration of consumers' complaints and recording of the action taken on each of the complaints. In addition to this, the Committee desired that all manufacturing units in the public sector should establish an adequate organisation and facilities for feed-back on consumers' reaction to their products by conducting field surveys through independent and experienced organisations like the Management Institutes, in order to find out

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<sup>62</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 57.

<sup>63</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), paras 11.15 to 11.17.

<sup>64</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 41-42.

<sup>65</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 11.20.

the reaction of consumers regarding their products and to take necessary corrective steps promptly and adequately for rectifying defects not only of the products sold but also of the future production.

The Government in their reply<sup>66</sup> stated that it would be desirable if all the public enterprises reviewed their arrangements keeping in view the observations of the Committee. Accordingly, the recommendations of the Committee had been brought to the notice of the public enterprises asking them to take necessary action in the matter.

### **Industrial Engineering**

#### *Role*

The Committee expressed<sup>67</sup> the view that industrial engineering functions like the Time and Motion Studies, Work Measurement, Manpower planning, Job Evaluation, application of PERT etc. were vital to every modern industrial enterprise in the attainment of efficiency and economy. They hoped that such of the public enterprises which did not have an industrial engineering department might consider the advisability of setting up such a department. The public undertakings in which such departments were functioning, should evaluate their work to find out how far they had been instrumental in bringing about operational efficiency and economy in the cost of production. In the opinion of the Committee, the Industrial Engineering Departments should be headed by competent, well-qualified and experienced persons, preferably, drawn from the Production Departments, whose recommendations were expected to be more practical from the point of view of inspiring greater confidence among the staff.

The Government accepted<sup>68</sup> the recommendations of the Committee and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

#### *Safety Engineering*

The Committee recommended<sup>69</sup> that safety measures in the public enterprises should be reviewed from time to time and a sustained drive

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<sup>66</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 43-44.

<sup>67</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1969-70), Paras 12.7 to 12.9.

<sup>68</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 44-45.

<sup>69</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 12.12.

to make the workers safety conscious launched. They desired that Shop Safety Committees should keep strict watch over the incidence of accidents with a view to initiating timely remedial measures.

The Government accepted<sup>70</sup> the recommendation of the Committee and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

### **Research and Development**

#### *Organisation*

The Committee expressed<sup>71</sup> regret at the non-existence of research and development organisation in major public undertakings like the Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., Indian Oil Corporation Ltd., and the National Coal Development Corporation Ltd. They recommended that there should be one research and development organisation for each group of industries in the public sector, in order to obviate the duplication of research efforts and increase in expenditure. Such an organisation should work in close coordination with the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and other related organisations in the country and attend to the basic aspects of import substitution and increased productivity with particular reference to cost reduction. It should be oriented to develop self-reliance in technology and foster a spirit of competition with the leading industrial countries of the world in the development of sound technological base for rapid industrial development.

The Government in their reply<sup>72</sup> stated that the Bureau of Public Enterprises attached great importance to the provision of research and development facilities in the industrial enterprises. In order to foster the growth of research and direct scientific application to particular needs of the enterprises, the Bureau of Public Enterprises, in consultation with the CSIR, had advised the public enterprises on the one hand and the Central Research Institutes and National Laboratories on the other to establish mutual contacts not only at the top level but also at the middle and operating levels for their day-to-day requirements. The Bureau had further brought to the notice of the public enterprises the basic aspects of import substitution and increased productivity with reference to cost reduction by way of research in technology and processes for their product-mix.

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<sup>70</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 45.

<sup>71</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 13.11.

<sup>72</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 46.47.

## **Management Development and Training**

### *Training*

The Committee recommended<sup>73</sup> that all training institutes run by the public undertakings should evolve their own modern well-equipped training programmes suited to their special requirements, and take advantage of the courses of the Management Institutes, particularly, for the senior level personnel.

The Government in their reply<sup>74</sup> accepted the importance of continuous training at the induction stage, followed by refresher courses for managers of public enterprises at various levels. It had been decided that public enterprises need not assume responsibility for basic training in general management and training in professions, the idea being that the existing training institutions in the country should be utilised for imparting that type of training. At the instance of the Bureau, selected public enterprises were conducting surveys of their managerial training needs, in order to draw up a five-year programme of training and management development. The public enterprises had thus begun to bestow adequate attention to the needs of management training.

### *Training in Multi-trades*

The Committee recommended<sup>75</sup> that every public sector undertaking should explore the possible trades in which job-combination could be attempted.

The Government have accepted<sup>76</sup> the recommendation of the Committee and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

### *Seminars and Conferences*

The Committee expressed<sup>77</sup> the view that Seminars/Conferences on production management could provide a good forum to Production Managers and Production Engineers to meet and discuss their common problems and to exchange their experiences, with a view to evolving improved techniques of operational efficiency. They recommended

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<sup>73</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 14.5.

<sup>74</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), pp. 48-49.

<sup>75</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70), para 14.8

<sup>76</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 50.

<sup>77</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 67th Report (1969-70) p. 50.



that the public enterprises should introduce a system of 'workshop discussion' at the level of the undertaking as well as the group of industries, so that concrete results emerge out of such discussions. If felt necessary, the public undertakings might even arrange visits to more profitable enterprises so as to stimulate 'action by example'.

The Government accepted<sup>78</sup> the recommendation and issued necessary instructions to the public enterprises.

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<sup>78</sup>Committee on Public Undertakings, 9th Report (1971-72), p. 50.

## PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT'S PRICE POLICY FOR COTTON AND COTTON TEXTILES\*

*[The first article in the series "Parliament and Government's Price Policy" on Sugarcane and Sugar was published in April, 1972 issue of the Journal. This is the second article in the series—Editor.]*

Cotton is one of the few agricultural commodities the prices of which are fixed and regulated by the Government. Next to food, perhaps, cloth is the most important item entering the family budget and, therefore, it is imperative that a smooth flow of the most essential raw material for cloth, viz., raw cotton, is ensured to the mills. Though the price factor is, perhaps, the most potent regulator of supplies in a predominantly agricultural economy, it is highly susceptible to fluctuation and instability.

The price of cotton in the market, like other agricultural commodities, is determined by a number of factors. The nearest, and perhaps the ideal approach to the problem is the cost of production which includes the rent for the land, labour, capital and the cost of various operations. But generally the price of cotton bears no relation whatsoever to the cost of growing it. The price that cotton fetches depends on the relative position of supply and demand. The demand is fairly inelastic while the supply, which is subject to the vagaries of the weather, is elastic. The supply of cotton is determined not only by climatic conditions but also by the changes in the general level of price movements of other agricultural commodities, particularly those which are cultivated in rotation with cotton.

Government's price policy in regard to cotton has been mainly influenced over the years by the following considerations:—

- (i) To keep a check on cotton prices so that cloth might be made available to consumers at reasonable prices.
- (ii) To ensure a reasonable return to the cotton growers for their produce.
- (iii) The need for maintaining adequate floating stocks in the country to meet the requirements of mills.

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\*Prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service of the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

- (iv) The need for maintaining adequate floating stocks with the trade with a view to achieve internal price stability necessary for stabilising the prices of mill-made cloth and yarn.
- (v) The need for maintaining exports of the qualities and quantities of cotton surplus to the requirements of the Indian mill industry.
- (vi) The need for encouraging increased growth in India of better and longer stapled cotton.

At the beginning of the Fourth Lok Sabha, the main ingredients of the cotton price policy, as announced from year to year, were the fixation of floor and ceiling prices for the basic variety 'Jarila Fine.' The basic floor and ceiling prices for other varieties of Indian cotton were fixed proportionately, with 'on' and 'off' allowances for class and staple, sometime before the commencement of the cotton season in the month of September every year. The floor and ceiling prices were reviewed every year in the light of the prevailing supply position and prices of cotton and competing crops. Prices were allowed to fluctuate within the floors and the ceilings fixed and corrective and regulatory measures were taken when prices tended to cross them.

The object of the periodical adjustments by the Government in the floors and ceilings was that while the floor should ensure a remunerative price to the cotton grower, ceilings should act as a deterrent to the rising trend of prices. Thus, the floors were intended to safeguard and the ceilings to protect the consumer and the industrialist.

In actual practice, the prices ruling prior to 1967 had been significantly above the floor level and fixation of floor prices in these conditions was not of any practical significance.

Even then, it was considered necessary to guarantee a level of minimum prices to the growers in order to counter any feeling of uncertainty and, at the same time, to enable them to decide upon investment on inputs for cotton cultivation for improving the yield per acre. On the other hand, fixation of ceilings was instrumental in preventing an abnormal rise in the prices of cotton and of cotton cloth. Although there was no statutory control on prices of cloth, the voluntary price regulation scheme adopted by the Indian Cotton Mills Federation at the instance of the Government to check rise in prices. This scheme

tended to bring an element of stability in the price structure of cotton cloth in the internal market and also strengthened the competitive position of Indian exports in foreign markets.

The question of cotton prices and supplies came up in the Fourth Lok Sabha on April 4, 1967, through a call-attention motion moved by Shri Madhu Limaye, on the 'crisis in the textile industry due to shortage of raw cotton.' Making a statement in reply, the then Minister of Commerce, Shri Dinesh Singh, said:

"Of the many problems being faced (by the textile industry), the principal factor which underlines it, will be found in the inadequacy of the supplies of raw cotton....."

"To Utilise the spinning and weaving capacity now available in the country and to meet the rising requirements of our people for cloth, it is estimated that 6.6 million bales of cotton are now required annually. The crisis to which the Hon'ble Members have called attention derives itself from the view that the total availability of indigenous and imported cotton will fall below this figure."

Detailing the steps taken by the Government to tackle the problem of equitable distribution of the available stocks of cotton amongst the mills and the related problem of closure of a number of mills and the unemployment among mill-workers, Shri Dinesh Singh Said:

"Government took counsel with the various interests concerned and launched an agreed scheme, based on sacrifices by all sections affected, in order to deal with the situation."

"In the interest of growers, selling prices were revised upwards by 5 per cent, but it was hoped that pressures for further rise would be contained."

"In the interest of labour, it was agreed that, instead of a closure continuously for a period of fifteen days, one extra days' closure per week would be enforced and 50 per cent of normal daily wages would be paid as compensation."

"In the interest of consumers, the mills were persuaded not to press their demand for a rise in the prices of controlled cloth but were assured that in fixing prices from April onwards the increases in the cost of production would be taken into account."

Replying to the criticism that cotton was being procured from the farmers at a low price by middlemen who cornered the entire stocks, Shri Dinesh Singh said the Government would arrange to purchase the entire stocks of raw cotton offered by the farmers at the ceiling prices

fixed for it. If anyone cheated the farmers, he said, the fact should be brought to the notice of the Government.

The new Cotton Price Policy for the year 1967-68 marked a great shift from the policy in the preceding years. Statutory control on the ceiling and floor prices of raw cotton was abolished and, instead, minimum support prices for the different varieties of raw cotton were fixed. Announcing the new policy in Lok Sabha on August 10, 1967, the then Minister of Commerce, Shri Dinesh Singh said:

"... From many point of view, the Cotton Year, which is about to close, has not been a satisfactory one. The crop turned out to be much smaller than originally expected, and Government had to take various steps to augment available supplies by larger imports, to restrain consumption through reduction in machine activity and to secure equitable distribution through controls over stocks and movements and curbs on credits."

"The policy to be pursued in the forthcoming year has been considered against the background of the experience of last year and in the light of the recommendations made by the Agricultural Prices Commission. The two principal objectives Government have kept in view are, firstly, to assure to the grower a fair remuneration for his produce and, secondly, to assure to the consumer supplies of controlled varieties of cloth at current prices."

"I should also like to... assure the farmers that Government would be prepared to buy whatever quantities are offered for sale at the minimum support prices. The minimum support prices for the 1967-68 season are proposed to be fixed for the standard variety of raw-cotton, namely, Vidarbha, M. P. Virnar 27/32" Fine, at 5 per cent above the present level (the revised price being Rs. 279 per quintal or Rs. 990 per candy), and for other important varieties, including ISC-67 (but excluding Bengal Deshi) at levels ranging between 5 and 10 per cent, according to qualities, over the corresponding floor prices for the current year."

"In view of this, it has been decided that the statutory control on the ceiling and floor prices for raw cotton will be discontinued with effect from the 1st September, 1967. Government expect that, having regard to the improvement in the supply position, prices will rule in the forthcoming cotton year at reasonable levels to facilitate the sale of cotton by farmers and its purchase by the cooperative marketing societies, the trade and the mills in an orderly manner. With a view to maintaining stable price and trading conditions, thus avoiding hoarding and profiteering, Government propose to strengthen and, wherever necessary, intensify measures for control over the sale, purchase, stocking and movement of raw cotton... Further, curbs on credit are proposed to be intensified until the new crop starts arriving in market in substantial volume... When market arrivals improve, restrictions

on purchase, provision of credits, etc., will be progressively relaxed; similarly, if prices tend to rise unduly, curbs on purchases, movement and credit will need to be made more stringent."

"I hope that with the cooperation of all concerned and having regard to the expected improvement in the supply position of both indigenous and imported cotton, it will be possible for the users to obtain the bulk of their requirements at reasonable prices."

"In the unlikely event of this hope being belied, Government would be compelled to adopt appropriate measures."

"The House will appreciate the need for taking every possible step in the interest of the economy as a whole to ensure that prices of controlled cloth do not rise above current levels. It is my belief that cotton prices in the coming season will rule at a level below those attained in the latter half of 1966-67. I am, therefore, of the view that the industry should find it possible to discharge their obligations to the consumer. Government do not, accordingly, propose to make any changes in the control measures relating to the production and pricing of cloth."

On April 29, 1968, initiating an half-an-hour discussion in Lok Sabha on 'Cotton Prices', Shri Shivajirao S. Deshmukh said that the price of raw cotton for the last twenty years had been much below the so-called floor price. He said that every year the mills and the traders were making huge profits at the cost of the cotton cultivator. The ceiling price of cotton, he said, had been raised a number of times during the last twenty years but the floor price continued to remain at the same level. Shri Deshmukh demanded that the support price of raw cotton be fixed at atleast 10 to 15 per cent above the prevailing market price. He also suggested the purchase of cotton by the Government at the support price in a big way in order to avoid cornering of stocks by profiteers.

Shri Sradhakar Supakar, participating in the discussion, also pleaded for price support to the cotton cultivators and for having some control so far as production and sale of raw cotton was concerned.

Replying to the discussion, the then Minister of Commerce, Shri Dinesh Singh, said:

"I am entirely one with the views expressed by the Hon. Members in favour of the farmers in our country... On a number of occasions when I have had the opportunity to discuss this matter in the House, I have said that the Government will make every effort to reorientate the policy in such a manner as to see that the maximum benefit will go to the producers."

"The whole point is that in cotton, as in any other agricultural commodity, we have not yet been able to establish the institutions which will give to the grower a stable price over a period of time. When there is a shortage of a particular agricultural commodity the agriculturist rushes to grow that. By the time he has grown it, as others have followed his example, there are surpluses. Because there are surpluses, he gets less price for it and because he gets less price for it, he tends to move to other agricultural commodities which have fetched better prices. By the time he has moved, this commodity in the next year has improved, while the commodity to which he had moved has not improved. Therefore, the agriculturist is in this difficulty and that is the real point to emphasize."

"... Government are considering the question of setting up of commodity corporations which will, with the assistance of the necessary buffer stocks, go into the question of giving stable prices to agricultural commodities. That will be the real answer... The Government is addressing itself to the basic fundamental question of price stabilisation of agricultural products, specially of jute and cotton..."

"But may I say again in this House that it is a very difficult problem. It will not be of easy solution immediately and we shall have to go into the question of sufficient resources to build up the buffer stocks, to acquire the necessary machinery, to acquire the product and to distribute it."

"May I say my Ministry of Commerce, in cooperation with other Ministries that are dealing with this matter, are examining the possibility of setting-up these two corporations, the corporation for jute and the corporation for cotton, so that the farmers can get the best price for their produce."

On May 1, 1968, making a statement in Lok Sabha on the 'production and marketing of cotton textiles', the then Minister of Commerce, Shri Dinesh Singh, said:

"... Although there has been a fall in the prices of cotton from the levels prevailing in November/December, 1967, yet the price of the principal raw material of the industry has been ruling above last year's ceiling prices. At the same time, in the interest of the consumer, it was not possible to sanction any increase in the prices of controlled varieties of cotton textiles over the levels fixed over a year ago. As a result of various factors, the profitability of the industry has declined and more particularly, some of the units which produce coarse and lower medium varieties of cloth have had to face considerable difficulties."

"... The textile industry has been pressing for increasing the price of controlled varieties of cloth based on present multipliers. It has not been possible for the Government to agree to this. However, with a view to restoring financial viability, particularly of

weaker section of the industry, and also keeping in mind the interest of the consumer, it has been agreed to allow a 2 per cent increase in ex-mill prices of controlled varieties of cloth except grey dhoties and sarees. At the same time, certain adjustments are being made in excise duties with a view to ensuring in the interest of the consumer, that almost all of the increase in ex-mill prices allowed in respect of controlled varieties of cloth in the coarse and lower medium categories is absorbed by the Exchequer, and is not passed on to the consumer."

"As for the decentralised sector, a corresponding reduction is being made in the processing surcharges applicable to coarse and lower medium handloom and powerloom cloth so that their competitive position vis-a-vis the mill sector is maintained."

The price policy for the year 1968-69, announced on August 31, 1968 did not mark any change on the previous year's policy, except that support prices for the raw cotton were raised by 2 to 5 per cent. The Government announcement said:

"With effect from September 1, 1967, statutory price control on raw cotton was withdrawn after it had been in operation for several years. This step was taken in response to the unanimous demand from the growers, trade and industry. However, with a view to ensuring orderly marketing of cotton, other measures including stock control and credit control were taken. To assure the grower a reasonable return on cotton, support prices were fixed at levels 5-10 per cent above the floor prices for the year 1966-67."

"The policy during the cotton year 1967-68 has, by and large, worked satisfactorily. Government have, therefore, decided to continue, in the cotton year 1968-69 (starting from 1st September, 1968), the existing policy in regard to the decontrol of the prices of cotton."

"Government have also decided to fix for the year 1968-69 support prices for different varieties of cotton at levels 2-5 per cent above the support prices for the year 1967-68. This graded increase in support prices in respect of all varieties of cotton is expected to make for a balanced development of cotton production."

"Government would make arrangements for the purchase of whatever quantities are offered for sale at the respective minimum support prices."

On December 20, 1968, the question of the steep fall in the prices of raw cotton was raised in Lok Sabha by Shri Shivaji Rao S. Desmukh under Rule 377 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha. He said that the market prices for raw Cotton had risen so



much as to reduce the support prices by 40 per cent than before. On the basis of the 1952-53 prices, he said, the rise in the price of cotton in the last twenty years was only 60 per cent as compared to the other agricultural commodities, which had risen by about 140 per cent. This, he said, was the result of Government's policy which had not favoured the cotton cultivator and had also caused reduction in the cotton acreage as a by-product. He pleaded for fixation of the raw cotton price at a level which would have some relation to the general textile prices.

Replying to Shri Deshmukh, the then Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, Shri A. P. Shinde, said:

".....The point which has been agitating many people is that the price of ginned cotton should not be fixed but, instead, the raw cotton should be fixed....that is one of the points which we are trying to go into....The experts have advised that it is very difficult to fix the price of raw cotton unless we have a grading system all over the country in important *mandis*. But a suggestion was made to my Ministry that we may consult Members of Parliament who know the subject. I have assured them that we shall do that."

On May 12, 1969, raising an half-an-hour discussion on the 'cultivation of long staple cotton', Shri S. R. Damani referred to the low yields of cotton in the country and the need to produce more cotton to meet the demand. In this context, he advocated, amongst other measures, the need to give some kind of incentive to the farmers to produce more.

Shri Devrao Patil participating in the discussion, said that when the farmer produced more, he did not get a fair price, but the price increased as soon as he parted with his produce. In this way, he said, the farmer was being cheated by the middleman or the cotton trader. He urged the Government to fix a support price for raw cotton so that the farmer did not have to suffer, irrespective of the fact whether the crop was good or bad.

Replying to the discussion, the then Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, Shri A. P. Shinde, said:

".....It is the policy of the Government, and in fact, we have been announcing every year the support prices. It is a matter

of argument whether this particular price is reasonable or whether it can be 10 per cent more. That can be a point for argument, but as far as the Government's approach to this matter is concerned, we try to help the farmers by fixing the support prices .... We would like to have a support price. This is our approach not only in regard to cotton but in regard to many other commodities also."

The policy for the year 1969-70 did not mark any departure over the previous year's policy in regard to the support prices. Announcing the new policy in Lok Sabha on August 30, 1969, the then Minister of Foreign Trade and Supply, Shri B. R. Bhagat, said:

"...As the hon. Members are aware, statutory controls on prices of cotton were removed with effect from 1st September, 1967. During the cotton years 1967-68 and 1968-69, an attempt was made to influence the prices of cotton by regulating credit and stock controls and marketing practices. At the same time, with a view to assuring the grower a minimum economic return, support prices were announced in each of these years, and an assurance was given that Government would be prepared to make purchases of all quantities of cotton offered for sale at the support prices. However, the prices of cotton ruled at a level considerably above the level of support prices and it did not become necessary to make any purchases at the support prices. On the whole, the policy worked fairly successfully during the two years."

"It has been decided to continue the existing policy for the year 1969-70. As at present, there will be no control on the prices of cotton. On the advice of the Agricultural Prices Commission, support prices for the cotton year 1969-70 have been fixed at the same level as for the year 1968-69. It may, however, be pointed out that the actual prices of cotton are determined by market conditions and the responsibility of the Government is to ensure that in case of fall of prices to uneconomic levels, Government would make purchases of the quantities offered to it at the support prices."

The persistent demand made by Members for purchase of cotton by the Government at the support prices with a view to safeguarding the interests of the cotton grower was conceded by the announcement of the creation of a public sector agency for the purpose. Making a statement in Lok Sabha in this regard on July 31, 1970, the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra, said:

"...In its report...for the 1969-70 season, the Agricultural Prices Commission recommended, *inter alia*, the setting up of an agency in the public sector for the purchase, sale and equitable distribution of domestic cotton and also to serve as a vehicle for the canalisation of import of cotton."

"Accordingly, a new framework has been evolved and it has been decided to establish the cotton Corporation of India as a public sector agency. The Corporation will take over the entire import trade in cotton from a date which will be notified shortly. From that date the practice of issuing import licences to user mills will be discontinued. Instead, import licences will be issued to the Cotton Corporation, with an endorsement in favour of the user mills for which the imported stock is intended. The Corporation will consult the user mills in regard to their requirements and conclude contracts in consultation with them. In effecting purchases and concluding contracts, the corporation will draw upon the experience of those who have been engaged in this trade in the past. In order to be able to provide such services, the Corporation will enroll the private indenting houses as its Associates and will work out with them the terms and conditions on which their services will be utilised. The Corporation will gradually develop its technical competence so that its dependence on Associates is reduced over a period of time."

"...In the field of domestic trade, the Corporation will make a beginning with undertaking purchases for certain specific objectives. The growers of cotton will be assured of an agency which will give them the necessary price support. The more enterprising cultivator growing the new varieties will have an agency to buy the extra long staple cotton at fair prices. In the process, we will also be setting up an agency with the necessary expertise for procuring the cotton for the mills under the purview of the National Textile Corporation. The Corporation would also be prepared to assist private sector mills in their programme of cotton purchases. I am sure the House will welcome this yet another positive step in the pursuance of the policy of our Government to give the necessary stability and support in regard to one of our vital agricultural commodities."

On August 27, 1970, a short-duration discussion under Rule 193 regarding the 'establishment of the Cotton Corporation of India' was raised in Lok Sabha by Shri Sri Chand Goyal. Moving the motion, Shri Goyal said that the nationalisation of the cotton trade would result in a serious unemployment problem, as nearly three lakh traders were engaged in it. He said that instead of engaging itself in trading activity, the proposed Cotton Corporation should devote itself to the task of the development of cotton growing, so that the crores of rupees at present spent on that import of cotton could be saved. In his opinion the argument that the Corporation was intended to offer support prices to the producer did not hold good, in view of the fact that the ruling market prices in the last four or five years had been 60 to 80 per cent higher than the support prices declared by the Government.

Another Member, Shri M. R. Masani said that the first victim of the monopoly-buying of cotton by the Government would be the farmer. A second consequence of the take-over of the cotton trade, Shri Masani said, would be that the prices of cotton and, consequently, of cloth would go up as a result of destruction of the mechanism of the trade, perfected over generations by the bureaucratic machinery which would replace it.

Welcoming the formation of the Cotton Corporation, Shri Deorao Patil said that a machinery on the lines of the Food Corporation and the Jute Corporation was needed for Cotton as well if the support price policy was to be implemented effectively.

Replying to the discussion on December 9, 1970\*, the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra, said:

".....The entire import trade has been canalised through the Cotton Corporation. It has been the endeavour of the Corporation since its very inception to so organise its operations that no inconvenience is caused to any sector connected with imported cotton."

".....So far as domestic Cotton is concerned, the Cotton Corporation has been assigned only a limited role for the time being. It will undertake purchase by way of price support and to meet the requirements of mills under the purview of the National Textile Corporation and of the private mills on being approached."

"The decision to set up the Corporation has been taken after mature deliberations and considerations. There can be no two opinions about the need for protecting the legitimate interests of growers and the Corporation's operations will doubtless be directed towards the achievements of this objective."

"While serving the interests of the growers, the Corporation will also endeavour to render useful service to the industry by supplying foreign cotton and also domestic cotton at economic prices.....I am sure that once the Corporation develops adequate expertise, the expected benefits will ensue not only to the grower and the industry but ultimately to the consumer and the general public."

On June 2, 1971 making a statement in Lok Sabha in reply to a call-attention notice tabled by Prof. Madhu Dandavate on the question

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\*The discussion on the motion was held on August 8, 1970, December 2 and 9, 1970.

of the 'reported threat of closure of cotton textile mills', the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Shri A. C. George, said:

"The sharp rise in the prices of cotton during the current year and the credit restrictions accompanied by accumulation of stocks have adversely affected the liquidity position of the cotton textile industry in general. To meet the situation, substantial imports of cotton and staple fibre have been authorised and suggestions regarding credit relaxation have been made to the appropriate authorities....."

"The Central Government, in consultation with the State Governments, are constantly watching the situation and not hesitating to take prompt measures to avert threatened closure by any mill or group of mills....."

Answering a question by Prof. Dandavate whether in view of the recurring nature of the crisis in the textile industry, Government would review its overall policy in the matter, the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra, said:

".....We are aware of the situation obtaining in the textile mills. It is a fact that the situation in many of the mills is not good or healthy or heartening.....Our mills have to be modernised. We have made a provision in the Plan for modernisation of mills but that amount is not being utilised. I would request the hon. Member to prevail upon the mill-owners to take advantage of this facility."

On March 22, 1972, replying to a call-attention notice by Shri Prasannabhai Mehta regarding the 'situation arising out of the reported lack of sale of cotton in Gujarat and some other States due to imposition of stock credit and contract controls', the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri A. C. George, said:

"Cotton prices reached their peak levels in January, 1971 as a result of a short crop of 53 lakh bales. Due to the acute shortage of cotton the annual production of both cloth and yarn was the lowest in 20 years....As a result of favourable weather conditions in most of the cotton growing areas, excluding Maharashtra, the production in 1971-72 will be around 59 lakh bales. It cannot, therefore, be expected that the unprecedented levels which prevailed during the last season can be sustained during the current season. The prices have been declining since the last two months with the increased arrivals of cotton from Gujarat, Mysore and Punjab. The present prices ruling in 1969-70 which was a normal year....."

"The Government has been watching closely the situation. The programme of import of foreign cotton has been curtailed by about 2.5 lakh bales."

"The Cotton Corporation has already opened a large number of purchase centres in various States and have already purchased more than 40,000 bales. Purchases in larger volume are continuing."

"In order that the grower may be given higher prices to act as incentive to grow cotton next year, the Government has further under consideration several measures, some of which are:

- (a) securing suitable relaxation in credit restrictions;
- (b) extending period of delivery in respect of non-transferable specific delivery contracts."

"I assure the House that the Government is constantly keeping a watch on the situation and proper remedial steps will be taken shortly to protect the interests of the growers."

Replying to a suggestion by Shri Piloo Mody that the Government should make use of whichever trade channels were available, particularly the large and reputable traders, and appoint them as their agents to purchase cotton in view of the fact that neither the Government were equipped nor the Cotton Corporation had the necessary expertise for large-scale purchase operations in cotton, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade, Shri A. C. George, said:

".....The Cotton Corporation as a commercial corporation in the public sector stepped into the field only for stabilising the prices .....the normal trading operation is also there. The public sector is moving in only to boost it and stabilise it.....if the situation so warrants, we can move in a massive way. Nobody prevents that Government are aware of the situation.....We have already relaxed the stock limits. We will give more credit facilities. More purchase points will be opened."

"Again I assure you that we are quite aware of the prevailing situation and every measure will be taken to see the difficulties of the farmers are overcome to a great extent."

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## **Short Notes**

### **I. PARLIAMENTARY EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES**

#### **Yugoslav Parliamentary Delegation**

In response to an invitation from India, a 15-member Yugoslav Parliamentary Delegation led by H. E. Mr. Mijalko Todorovic, President of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, visited India in March-April, 1972.

Besides Delhi, the delegates were taken to some places of cultural and industrial interest viz. Agra, Bombay, Bangalore, Mysore, Madras and Calcutta.

They watched the proceedings of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on March 28, 1972 and had discussion with the Speaker and some Members of Parliament on that day. A meeting between the delegation and Members of Parliament was held on March 29, 1972.

The Speaker, Lok Sabha hosted a dinner in their honour on March 29, 1972.

#### **Spring Meetings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union**

Spring Meetings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union were held in Yaounde (Cameroon) in April, 1972. The delegates from India were:—

- (i) Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi, M.P.—Leader
- (ii) Shri H. K. L. Bhagat, M.P.
- (iii) Shri H. N. Mukerjee, M.P.
- (iv) Shri P. K. Patnaik, Joint Secretary, Lok Sabha—Secretary to the Delegation.

The Indian delegates attended the meetings of the five Study Committees of the Inter-Parliamentary Union as well as the meetings of the Inter-Parliamentary Council held there. Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi also attended the meetings of the Executive Committee of the Inter-Parliamentary Union as a substitute for Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha who is a Member of the Executive Committee.

## II. PRIVILEGE ISSUES

### RAJYA SABHA

#### **Alleged imputation of motives to a member by a newspaper for being absent from the House during voting on a Bill**

On April 7, 1971, Shri A. P. Chatterjee, a member, raised<sup>1</sup> a question of privilege against the editor, printer and publisher of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, a Bengali daily of Calcutta, for reproducing a photograph of a wall poster in its issue dated the 19th February, 1971, allegedly imputing motives to Shri Chatterjee for not being present in the House on September 5, 1970, when the Constitution (Twenty-fourth Amendment) Bill, 1970, to abolish the privy purses, was voted upon by the House. Shri Chatterjee alleged that it was stated in the photograph that the Constitution (Twenty-fourth Amendment) Bill, 1970, was defeated due to one vote and that vote was of Shri A. P. Chatterjee. He said that allegation was false and incorrect as many other members were also not present on that day. He, therefore, contended that by publishing this photograph, the paper had committed a breach of privilege and contempt of the House.

Shri A. P. Chatterjee then moved the following motion which was adopted<sup>2</sup> by the House:—

“That the complaint by Shri A. P. Chatterjee of breach of privilege against the editor, printer and publisher of *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, for publishing a cartoon on the 19th February, 1971, be referred to the Committee of Privileges, with instructions to report to this House before the end of the next Session.”

#### *Findings and Recommendations of the Committee*

The Committee of Privileges, in their Fourteenth Report, presented to the House on June 17, 1971, reported, *inter alia*, as follows:—

“(i) The photograph.....in fact reproduced five wall posters and the poster at the top left was the one to which objection has been taken. This photograph of the poster which forms

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<sup>1</sup> R.S. Deb., April 7, 1971, cc. 209—214.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, c. 214.



the subject matter of the complaint indicates prince being carried in a palanquin by four bearers describing the two at the left as "Arun Prakash" and "Jyoti" and the two at the right as 'Nijalin-gappa' and "Atulya". The poster also contains the following descriptive words and it is to these words that Shri Chatterjee has drawn particular attention in his notice:-

<i>Words appearing at top left</i>	<i>Words appearing at top right</i>
Do you know ?	For only one vote the privy purse abolition bill was not accepted. Whose vote was it ? C.P.M's M.P. Arun Prakash Chatterjee.

*Words appearing at the bottom of the poster*

Secret Love between agent and agent —

Syndicate and C.P.M. (New Congress)

The following inscription has been added to the photograph by the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*:—

Walls in Calcutta are also full of cartoons and couplets. Top left, New Congress; top right C.P.(M); cartoons and couplets of S.U.C., R.S.P. and Forward Bloc respectively are at the bottom.

(ii) Shri Chatterjee's contention was that by publishing the aforesaid photograph of the wall poster in the *Patrika* a 'sordid motive' had been attributed to him for not being present in the Rajya Sabha on the day of the voting on the Constitution (Twenty-fourth Amendment) Bill, 1970, to abolish the privy purses and that a false statement had been made that the one vote that sealed the fate of that Bill was his vote, though there were other Members besides himself who could not be present. He, therefore, urged that by publishing the photograph of the wall poster with the aforesaid descriptive words the Editor and the Printer and Publishers of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* committed a breach of privilege and contempt of the House.

(iii) After considering the matter in detail the committee noted that the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in its issue dated February 19, 1971 published a photograph of five posters purported to have been displayed on the walls of Calcutta by various political parties while campaigning during the recent elections to the Lok Sabha and West Bengal Legislative Assembly held in March, 1971. Considering the circumstances in which the impugned poster had been reproduced in the *Patrika* and recognising that freedom of the Press, to express

itself without fear or favour on matters of public import, has to be cherished in a democratic society like ours, the Committee came to the conclusion that there was no breach of privilege or contempt of the House involved in the complaint of Shri A. P. Chatterjee and that it was too trivial a matter to be taken notice of by the House.

(iv) The Committee accordingly recommends to the House that no action is called for on Shri Chatterjee's complaint."

### *Action taken by the House*

No further action was taken by the House in the matter.

## ORISSA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

### **Alleged non-intimation of reasons for arrest of members by police**

On January 13, 1972, the Speaker, Shri Nanda Kishore Mishra, read<sup>3</sup> out to the House some communications received by him from the local police authorities intimating the arrest of certain members of the House. Shri Banka Behary Das, a member, thereupon sought to raise a question of privilege against the police authorities for not intimating the reasons for the arrest of the members concerned as required under the Rules of procedure of the House.

After some discussion, the Speaker reserved his ruling on the matter.

On January 19, 1972, disallowing the question of privilege, the Speaker observed as follows<sup>4</sup>:—

The other day (13.1.1972), a point was raised that the intimations regarding arrest and detention of members, received from the respective executive authorities and Magistrates did not contain the reasons for their arrest. I have carefully examined the questions. I am of the opinion that the sections indicating the offences, mentioned in the intimations, are enough for the purpose. For example, if section 302 is mentioned what more should have been stated? What is the necessity of writing committal of murder? Similarly, section 143 indicates the offence for being a member of an unlawful assembly.

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<sup>3</sup>Orissa L.A. Deb., January 13, 1972 (Original in Oriya).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, January 19, 1972, (Original in Oriya).

## RAJASTHAN VIDHAN SABHA

**Shouting of slogans and throwing of leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House**

On March 22, 1971, at 13.10 hours, three persons shouted slogans and threw leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House<sup>5</sup>. They were immediately removed from the Visitors' Gallery by the Watch and Ward Officer and taken into custody.

Later, the Chief Whip, Shri Girdhari Lal moved the following motion:—

"This House resolves that the persons calling themselves (1) Nazir Bharti (2) Prem Ram and, (3) Tulsi Das, who threw leaflets and shouted slogans from the Visitors' Gallery at 1.10 P.M., and who were immediately taken into custody by the Watch and Ward Officer, have committed a gross contempt of this House and are guilty of contempt of this House.

This House further resolves that these three persons be sentenced to fifteen days' simple imprisonment."

The Chief Minister, Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia, suggested that the Speaker might first hear the persons concerned and, if they apologised, the Speaker might set them free. The House agreed.

On March 23, 1971, the Speaker informed the House that he had examined the three offenders in his Chamber and recorded their statements.<sup>6</sup> The three offenders had confessed their offence but were not prepared to apologise for their conduct. The Speaker also observed that the three offenders who had been sent to judicial custody under his orders<sup>7</sup>, were present before the House then.

A member drew the attention of the House to the provisions of Article 22 of the Constitution of India and suggested that the persons either be released from the judicial custody or their case be decided before the expiry of 24 hours.

<sup>5</sup>Raj. Vidhan Sabha Deb., March 22, 1971 (Original in Hindi).

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, March 23, 1971 (Original in Hindi).

<sup>7</sup>The following Warrant of Commitment to judicial lock-up was issued by the Speaker in respect of each of the three offenders:—

(contd. on next page)

After a lengthy debate the Speaker put the following question to the House:—

“That the period spent by these persons in the judicial custody be treated as a punishment and they be set free”.

The House agreed and the offenders were set free.

“WARRANT OF COMMITMENT TO JUDICIAL LOCK-UP”

To

The Superintendent,  
Central Jail, Jaipur,

Whereas.....\*.....son of .....shouted slogans and threw leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery at 1.10 P.M. and interrupted the proceedings of the House which directed an enquiry to be made against them;

And whereas the enquiry is not yet complete, this is therefore, to authorise and require to receive the said Shri..... into judicial custody and produce the same Shri..... before me on 23rd March, 1971, at 11 A.M.

Given under my hand and seal of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly this 22nd day of March, 1971.

(Niranjan Nath Acharaya)  
Speaker,  
Rajasthan Legislative Assembly,  
Jaipur.”

\*1Shri Prem Ram Bharti

\*2Shri Nazir Bharti

\*3Shri Tulsidas.

### III. PROCEDURAL MATTERS

#### LOK SABHA

#### **President's Address—Interruption by Members—Guidelines for maintenance of order, dignity and decorum on the occasion**

On March 13, 1972 as soon as the President occupied his seat, Shri A. K. Gopalan, Leader of C.P.I. (M) Group in Lok Sabha, made a submission regarding recent elections. Some Members asked him to sit down. A number of Members of both the Houses (19 of Lok Sabha and 8 of Rajya Sabha), belonging to C.P.I. (M) Group, then standing in their places, started interrupting the President by shouting slogans and continued to do so throughout his Address.

The President (sitting) read his Address in English. Soon after the President started his Address, Shri Raj Narain and two other Members of the Rajya Sabha belonging to Socialist Group walked out in protest against the President delivering the Address in English.

When the Vice-President (standing) started reading the President's Address in Hindi, Members belonging to C.P.I. (M) Group, who had been interrupting the Address till then, walked out shouting slogans.

On March 14, 1972 when the matter was raised in the Lok Sabha by a Member, Shri Chintamani Panigrahi, the Speaker observed that the Committee which had been set up to examine a similar incident during the President's Address last year, would examine the incidents of the current year also before they presented their Report.

#### *Incident of 1971*

It may be recalled that on March 23, 1971, when the President started reading his Address in English, Shri Ram Deo Singh, a Member of the Lok Sabha, interrupted the President saying that he should read his Address in Hindi or in his mother tongue. The President thereupon said that a Hindi version of his Address would be rendered by the Vice-President of India.

The interruptions however, continued and after some time, Shri Ram Deo Singh and some Members of Rajya Sabha left the Central Hall.

On April 2, 1971, the House after some discussion adopted a motion resolving that a Committee consisting of 15 Members be constituted by the Speaker to go into the matter in all details and suggest suitable action and also lay down guide-lines for the future. The Speaker thereupon appointed the Committee on April 5, 1971 under the Chairmanship of Shri R. D. Bhandare, M.P.

The Committee in their First Report<sup>1</sup> presented to the House on November 15, 1971 expressed the opinion that the conduct of Shri Ram Deo Singh, M.P. was improper and inconsistent with the dignity of the occasion and the standards of conduct which the House expected of its Members. The Committee were of the view that the conduct of Shri Ram Deo Singh, M.P. on that occasion should be viewed with disapproval.

The Second Report<sup>2</sup> of the Committee on the guide-lines for maintenance of order, dignity and decorum on the occasion of the President's Address to Members of Parliament was presented to Lok Sabha on April 14, 1972.

#### *Findings and recommendations of the Committee*

The Committee called for the opinion of the Ministry of Law and Justice (Department of Legal Affairs) on the legal and constitutional aspects of the matter. The Committee also invited the Secretary of the Department of Legal Affairs and heard his views in the matter. The Committee also heard the views of the Minister of Law and Justice.

The Committee appointed a sub-Committee consisting of four members to consider whether any amendment to the Constitution was necessary to provide for the maintenance of order, dignity and decorum on the occasion of the President's Address to Members of Parliament.

The Committee were of the view that there was a lacuna in the constitutional provisions relating to the President's Address to the

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<sup>1</sup>For Summary of First Report of the Committee, see '*Privileges Digest*' Vol. XVII, No. 1, April, 1972.

<sup>2</sup>Two members of the Committee did not agree with the Report of the Committee and appended their separate notes to the Report.

House(s) of Parliament under Article 86 or Article 87 of the Constitution, inasmuch as there was no specific provision designating the person who was to preside on that occasion and maintain order, dignity and decorum at such a formal and solemn occasion.

The Committee noted with concern that there had been an increasing number of incidents during the preceding few years, both in Parliament as well as in State Legislatures, where during the Address of the President|Governor to the House(s) of Parliament|State Legislatures, Members created disturbances by interrupting the President|Governor, staging walkouts or by other forms of misconduct. The Committee were of the opinion that effective measures must be taken to check and prevent recurrence of such incidents in future in Parliament|State Legislatures.

The Committee were greatly distressed by the recent incident in Parliament which occurred on March 13, 1972. They expressed their strong disapproval of the incident and the action of all those Members who misconducted themselves and created disturbance during the President's Address.

The Committee felt that the incident underlined the need to take effective measures for preventing the recurrence of such incidents in future, as in their view, "such incidents tended to undermine the dignity and authority of the institution of Parliament itself by lowering the Parliament and its Members in the eyes of the public."

The Committee felt that it was the duty of all political parties and others, both inside and outside Parliament, to create a strong public opinion which alone could effectively check such incidents.

At the same time, the Committee considered that the constitutional lacuna in that regard must also be removed by making specific provision in the Constitution for the maintenance of order, dignity and decorum during the President's Address to House(s) of Parliament under Article 86 or Article 87 of the Constitution and during the Governor's Address to a State Legislature under Article 175 or 176 of the Constitution.

Agreeing with the conclusions of the sub-Committee the Committee recommended that a new Article 87A may be inserted in the Constitution so as to expressly provide that the President shall preside on the occasion of his Address to the House(s) of Parliament under Article 86 or Article 87 of the Constitution. An amendment may also be

made to Article 118 of the Constitution to provide that the President, after consultation with the Chairman, Rajya Sabha, and the Speaker, Lok Sabha, may make rules as to the procedure for maintenance of order, dignity and decorum on the occasion of the President's Address. The Committee also recommended that similar constitutional provisions may be made in respect of the Governor's Address to a State Legislature under Article 175 or Article 176 of the Constitution.

### *Guide Lines*

The Committee also formulated the following guide-lines for the conduct of Members and maintenance of order, dignity and decorum on the occasion of the President's Address to the House(s) of Parliament under Article 86 or Article 87 of the Constitution:—

- (1) When the President Addresses either House of Parliament or both Houses of Parliament assembled together, he delivers his Address in his capacity as the Head of the State and as part of Parliament and in pursuance of his constitutional duty. It is as much a constitutional obligation on the part of the Members to listen to the President's Address with solemnity, dignity and decorum as it is on the part of the president to address Members of Parliament. Therefore, observance of solemnity, dignity and decorum by each and every Member or any other person present on the occasion of the President's Address is of utmost importance.
- (2) Any action on the part of a Member or any other person which mars in any form or manner the dignity or solemnity on the occasion of the President's Address or creates disturbance shall be tantamount to an act of discourtesy and disrespect to the President as well as contempt of the House.
- (3) When Members of either House or of both Houses assemble under Article 86 or Article 87 of the Constitution, they do so for the specific and only purpose of listening to the President's Address. This occasion is neither a sitting of either House nor a joint sitting of the two Houses. No business or proceedings other than the President's Address is permissible under either of these two Articles. Therefore, any interruption, point of order, speech, demonstration or walk-out etc., by any Member or other person on that occasion, is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution.
- (4) No Member shall, therefore, interrupt or obstruct the President's Address by any point of order, debate, discussion or in any other manner or otherwise mar the dignity of the occasion by walk-out or by any disorderly conduct or in any other manner, either before or during or after the Address, while the President is in the Hall.



- (5) The President is in charge of the proceedings and fully competent to preserve order on the occasion of his Address. If any Member or other person interrupts or obstructs the President's Address or mars the dignity of the occasion in any other manner, the President may give such directions as he may consider necessary to preserve order, solemnity and dignity of the occasion.
- (6) If any Member or other person interrupts or obstructs the President's Address to either House of Parliament or both Houses of Parliament assembled together, either before or during or after the Address, while the President is in the Hall, with any speech or point of order or walk-out or in any other manner, such interruption, obstruction or show of disrespect may be considered as a grossly disorderly conduct on the part of the concerned Member or other person and a contempt of the House which may be dealt with by the House subsequently on a motion moved by a Member.

The Committee recommended that these guide-lines may be adopted by the House.

#### **Expunction of Remarks about the Behaviour of the President**

On March 14, 1972, during his speech on the President's Address, a Member, Shri Piloo Moddy, referred to the President's behaviour. The Chairman, Shri R. D. Bhandare, observed that the Member could not refer to the President in a derisive manner. On a point of order raised by another Member, the Chairman expunged the remarks made by Shri Piloo Moddy.

#### **Presence of Ministers is not necessary for the purpose of constituting a sitting of the House . . . .**

On March 16, 1972 when the House re-assembled after lunch, a Member Shri S. M. Banerjee, drew the attention of the Deputy Speaker, who was in the Chair to the absence of Ministers from the House. The Deputy Speaker observed that it was most unfortunate that not a single Minister was present in the House. Shri Banerjee then, raising a point of order, expressed his doubt whether the House could proceed with the business, *i.e.* discussion on President's Address when no Minister was present. The Deputy Speaker, referring to Rule 11 of the Rules of Procedure, observed that when the requisite number of Members and a person competent to preside were present, the House was properly constituted and business could be transacted. Absence of Ministers did not mean that the business could not be transacted.

**Chair does not decide whether a Bill is ultra vires of the Constitution or not**

On March 28, 1972, after lunch hour, when discussion on the motion for consideration of the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Bill, 1972 was resumed, a Member, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, referred to Article 355 of the Constitution and contended that the Bill was *ultra vires* of the Constitution as, according to him, the powers which were hitherto available to State Governors to declare an area as disturbed, were being sought to be given to the Central Government also. The Deputy Speaker, ruling out the point, observed that it was not the duty of the House or the Chair to pronounce a verdict whether a Bill was *ultra vires* of the constitution or not. It was the function of the Supreme Court.

## TAMIL NADU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

**(i) Expunction and De-expunction**

On March 6, 1972 the Deputy Speaker ordered the expunction of certain portions of the proceedings. Later, when the Speaker was in the Chair, reference to the expunged portions was allowed despite objection by the Leader of the Congress Party. Thereupon, the Leader of the Congress Party made certain observations and staged a walk-out from the House with his Party Members. Later, at the suggestion of the Hon. Chief Minister the Chair expunged the entire relevant proceedings including the reference to the walk-out.

On March 7, 1972 the Leader of the Congress Party rose on a point of order and enquired whether expunction of reference to walk-out on the previous day was in order inasmuch as only words spoken in the House could be expunged and not walk-out, which was only an act done in the House. The Leader of the Swatantra Legislature Party endorsed the point raised by the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party.

The Leader of the Communist Legislature Party observed that inasmuch as the Chair's ruling was final, there was no appeal against a ruling and if the ruling given the previous day was to be re-opened and another ruling sought on the same matter, the Chair would have to give a second ruling.

A lady Member in her letter had stated that as only recorded proceedings could be expunged, the order of expunction of walk-out.

which did not form part and parcel of the recorded proceedings, amounted to a breach of privilege.

The Chief Minister observed that as the subject-matter which had been ordered to be expunged the previous day had been indirectly raised under the pretext of point of order and as reference to the walk-out had been made, the entire proceedings ordered to be expunged the previous day might be retained in the proceedings. Otherwise, there would be some suspense about the walk-out staged the previous day. This suggestion was objected to by some Members who questioned the propriety of de-expunging portions which had already been expunged.

After some discussion the Chair held as follows:

"One Speaker's ruling is not binding on the other.

As per the dictionary meaning, 'action' and 'piece of conduct' would also form part of proceedings.

The House has an absolute privilege to prohibit the publication of its proceedings entirely or such part of its proceedings as has been directed to be expunged. Such part of the proceedings as has been directed to be expunged does not form part of the 'proceedings' of the House and a publication thereof without the authority of the House constitutes contempt.

According to *May's Parliamentary Practice*, "Proceedings" covers both the asking of a question and the giving written notice of such question, and includes everything said or done by a Member in the exercise of his functions as a member in a committee of either House, as well as *everything said or done in either House in the transaction of Parliamentary business.*"

Rule 242 of the Assembly Rules enables the Speaker to regulate the conduct of the Business of the Assembly in all matters, not provided for in the Constitution or in the Rules. Under these Rules, the Hon. Speaker is empowered not only to order the expunction of a word or words which are undignified or grossly irregular, but also prohibit the publication of walk-out which in the present case was staged by the Congress Party and formed part of the proceedings.

As for the lady Member's contention that the order of expunction of 'walk-out' constituted a breach of privilege, no breach of privilege would lie against the Speaker. Only a substantive No Confidence Motion could be raised against the Speaker.

As 'walk-out' staged the previous day had been referred to, and as in a democratic Assembly there was nothing to hide and

there was no secrecy about its proceedings which were open to comment, the relevant proceedings which were ordered to be expunged the previous day would form part of the proceedings.

(ii) **Minister's Resignation**

On March 8, 1972 the Leader of the House made a statement that the Agriculture Minister had resigned and a new Minister had been appointed in his place. Thereupon points of order were raised on the grounds that this information should first have been furnished to the House whereas the news had already appeared in the Press, the Chief Minister had not made the statement and that no reasons had been given for the Minister's resignation.

The Leader of the House explained that the acceptance of the Minister's resignation and the appointment of a new Minister had all been done as per the Rules of Procedure on the afternoon of the previous day when the House was not sitting. So, it had been announced the next day. He added that as Leader of the House, he could make the announcement to the House and it was not necessary to give the reasons for the resignation.

The Chair held as follows:

"Inasmuch as there was joint responsibility of the Cabinet, any Minister could make the announcement.

As pointed out by the Leader of the House, the announcement had been made at the earliest opportunity.

It was the prerogative of the Chief Minister to make any changes in his Cabinet.

It was the will and pleasure of a Minister to resign his Ministership. It was open to him to make a statement in the House or not. It was just a right on his part and not a duty. He could not be compelled to make any statement on his resignation.

Points of order could therefore not be raised on these matters."

#### IV JOINT COMMITTEE ON AMENDMENTS TO ELECTION LAW

During the course of supplementaries in Lok Sabha on March 18, 1969 arising out of Starred Question No. 544 regarding reducing the maximum limit of election expenses, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, *inter alia*, stated as follows:

"...I want to know whether the Law Minister would convene a conference representing all the Political Parties in the country under the Chairmanship of the Speaker, Lok Sabha to examine the election law *de novo* so that the requisite amendments could be made therein."

The then Minister of Law, late Shri P. Govinda Menon, replied as follows:

"I shall be very happy if under your guidance and under your chairmanship there would be an examination of the electoral laws in force in our country and I would also be happy to bring legislation to amend the Representation of the People Act. I have had discussions with the Chief Election Commissioner on several aspects of the election laws in force today and he has promised to send recommendations for a comprehensive amendment of the election law which it is hoped, would plug many loopholes. Still there may be very clever people who may be able to get over the constraints imposed by the election law. But the suggestion made by the hon. Member is acceptable to me."

The draft proposals of the Election Commission for further amendment of the election law were discussed at the Chief Electoral Officers Conference held in Bombay in January, 1970. Two statements containing the main recommendations of the Commission for amending electoral laws were subsequently laid on the Table of Lok Sabha on February 24, 1970 in reply to Starred Question No. 50.

On August 25, 1970 Shri Shri Chand Goyal through Starred Question No. 580, enquired whether a draft of the Bill seeking to amend the election law was ready and whether it would be introduced in Parliament in that session. The reply of the Minister of Law was in the negative. Then during the course of supplementaries on this Starred Question, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee again referred to the assurance

given by late Shri P. Govinda Menon, Minister of Law and Social Welfare and enquired as to when an All Party Conference, on the pattern of such conference in the United Kingdom, would be convened under the chairmanship of the Speaker to consider the question of amending the election law. In reply, the Minister of Law and Social Welfare, Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, stated as follows:

"There is no question of Government not trusting the Speaker. We have full trust in the Speaker's judgment and impartiality. If the hon. Members want you to preside over such a meeting, I for one will be very happy, if you find time."

In the context of the above debate, a motion referring the question of amendments to election law to a Joint Committee of both the Houses of Parliament was adopted in Lok Sabha on November 24, 1970 and concurred in by Rajya Sabha on December 3, 1970. The Committee was constituted on December 18, 1970 and it continued in office till the dissolution of Fourth Lok Sabha on December 27, 1970.

After the coming into being of the Fifth Lok Sabha the Minister of State in the Ministry of Law and Justice, Shri Niti Raj Singh Chaudhury, moved a motion on June 22, 1971 for referring the question of amendments to election law to a Joint Committee comprising 10 members from Lok Sabha and 5 members from Rajya Sabha. The motion further contemplated that if the Speaker agreed to be a member of the Committee, he should be the Chairman of the Committee; otherwise, the Speaker might nominate one of the members of the Committee to be its Chairman. The Speaker explained that, as many controversial matters might arise, it would be embarrassing for the Speaker to be its Chairman. Shri Jagannath Rao was thereupon nominated as Chairman of the Committee. On the suggestion of some members, the Minister of Law and Justice, Shri R. R. Gokhale, agreed to increase the membership of the Committee from 15 to 21—14 members from Lok Sabha and 7 members from Rajya Sabha.

Since the terms of reference of the Joint Committee as contemplated in the motion referred to above were rather wide, at their very first sitting held on July 6, 1971, the Committee discussed the scope of their terms of reference and held that the deliberations of the Committee need not be confined to the recommendations made by the Election Commission but may embrace the entire gamut of election law. However, it was decided by the Committee that the draft Bill as prepared by the Election Commission and the one prepared in the

Ministry of Law and Justice to serve as a basis for discussion might be taken up together, without restricting the right of the Members of the Committee to offer their own suggestions for effecting any other change in the Representation of the People Acts of 1950 and 1951. The Committee also made use of the various recommendations of the Election Commission contained in their reports.

The draft Bill prepared by the Ministry of Law and Justice, although not formally introduced in the House, was taken notice of by the Committee and considered clause-by-clause. In this regard, the Committee followed the same procedure as obtains in the Select|Joint Committees on Bills. The Bill as amended by the Committee was appended to their Report and described "As finalised by the Joint Committee." Similarly, the Members who did not agree with the majority view, as contained in the Report, appended their minutes of dissent. The Committee, had also appointed a sub-Committee consisting of seven members to examine in detail the question relating to "election expenses". The Report of the Sub-Committee was considered and adopted by the main Committee and appended to their Report Part—I.

The Report of the Committee was presented on March 13, 1972 in two parts—Part-I containing recommendations of the Committee to amend the Representation of the People Acts of 1950 and 1951 and a draft Bill as finalised by the Committee to that effect and Part—II containing other recommendations of the Committee relating to election matters.

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### FIFTH LOK SABHA—FOURTH SESSION

The Fourth Session of the Fifth Lok Sabha commenced on March 13, 1972. After holding 57 sittings, aggregating to 360 hours and 3 minutes, the House adjourned *sine die* on June 1, 1972. A brief review of some of the important discussions held during the session is given below.

#### Motion of Thanks on President's Address

Replying to a five-day debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address,\* the Prime Minister. Shrimati Indira Gandhi on April 4, 1972 said\*\*:—

"I heard a speech where it was said that the word 'socialism' has now been given a go-by. It has certainly not been given the go-by—neither socialism nor *garibi hatao*, nor any of the slogans which we have been saying. All our programmes and the progress we made will show that this is not forgotten, but, it is true that all these slogans or words have to be viewed differently at different times. Now we have moved forward from where we were. We are in the midst of implementation of all these programmes and certainly we do raise the slogans even now, but we are fully involved in implementing them.

When we speak about the removal of poverty, we must also remember that the concept of poverty and the people's need is a changing one. People are demanding more than they were demanding even 5 years ago.

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\*The Motion of Thanks on President's Address was moved by Shri O. V. Alagesan and was seconded by Shri H. K. L. Bhagat on March 14, 1972.

\*\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri A. K. Gopalan, C. M. Stephen, H. N. Mukerjee, Sakti Kumar Sarkar, K. Suryanarayana, N. N. Kailas, Piloo Mody, Shyam Sunder Mohapatra, Nathuram Mirdha, P. Ganga Reddy, E. R. Krishnan, Jagannath Mishra, Madhu Dandavate, B. R. Shukla, N. Sreekantan Nair, Dinesh Chandra Goswami, M. C. Daga, Vayalar Ravi, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Nawal Kishore Sharma, Indulal Yajnik, Karni Singh, Raja Kulkarni, K. Baladhandayatha, Jamilurrahman, Shibban Lal Saksena, Shashi Bhushan, Samar Guha, Chandrajit Yadav, Dinen Bhattacharyya, Amarnath Vidyalankar, T. S. Lakshmanan, Hari Kishore Singh, Mallikarjun, Kushok Bakula, Sudhakar Pandey, Pratap Singh Negi, Devendra Satpathy, D. K. Panda, Sukhdeo Prasad Verma, Shyamnandan Mishra, Amrit Nahata, S. D. Somasundaram, Achal Singh, Inder J. Malhotra, Ramsahai Pandey, Ram Chandra Vikal, Kartik Oraon, Rudra Pratap Singh, S. N. Singh and Shrimati Savitri Shyam.



Progress, as we know, has to be viewed in terms of the minimum requirements of the majority of our people who are poor. We have to make far greater effort helping those who are at the very lowest level, because those who are at the bottom have benefited the least and some have not benefited at all.....It is necessary to build an infra-structure and this is what we were concerned with all these years.....

I fully support the emphasis which hon. Members have laid on the urgent need to multiply employment opportunities.....More than any other factor, it is unemployment which aggravates poverty and creates frustration particularly amongst the young and educated. A more egalitarian social order cannot be built unless the employment opportunities for gainful employment are more widely distributed. A high rate of economic growth can itself solve some of the problems of unemployment.....We should not get enmeshed in economic jargon on these matters. An entirely new outlook has to be evolved.....Therefore, full employment or fuller employment is one of the central objectives of our plan.....

The President's Address has emphasised self-reliance as one of the major objectives of high priority..... We must be clear as to what we mean by self-reliance.....No nation, not even the most affluent one, can insulate its economy. All nations are inter-dependent to a certain extent; they must share the services and goods, and India certainly will need considerable time to absorb improved technologies and equipment from outside. But we want to pay for those goods and services, as I said, increasingly through our own export earnings, and we must always see that through anything that comes from outside, any kind of know-how or other help, other influences do not infiltrate.

Our increase in exports is largely dependent on the economic policies of the developed countries; and in particular, on the provision of fair opportunities of access to their market. So, in co-operation with other under-developed countries, we shall seek just solutions for our own trading problems. However, in the ultimate analysis, the success of our export promotion efforts will be determined by the overall efficiency of our own economy and the extent to which we can keep down our costs.

Import substitution is equally important. The President's Address has identified some of the specific sectors in which import substitution is of critical importance. To give examples, the production of an extra million tonnes of steel in the current year is well within our reach if all those engaged in this industry, management as well as labour, will bend their energies to this task and function unitedly for the achievement of our national goal.....

We must deal with the problem of economic and social transformation with the same determination that we showed in meeting the previous years' challenges. This is, as the President has stated, no less essential. In fact, it is a bigger challenge and has to be met at several levels and on many fronts.

Our unilateral offer of a ceasefire has been welcomed in all international circles, all over the world; not only that, I have also no hesitation in saying that it has been widely praised within our own country, among all sections of the people.

The Soviet Union is a friend of India, and we value their friendship. However, any one who imagines that we shall allow ourselves to be dictated by third parties in our negotiations with Pakistan or in any other matter, foreign or domestic, is quite off the mark.

The Government of India have consistently spoken and wanted a normalisation of relations with Pakistan, and we continue to want it. . . . . We have never had any quarrel with the people of Pakistan. They have long suffered, and I think their only mistake was that they believed all the lies that were said to them about India, and therefore perhaps even now they do not have a correct appreciation of our desire for friendship with our neighbouring country.

I believe that Pakistan, Bangla Desh and India, working together in a spirit of co-operation and good neighbourliness, can be a source of strength to one another."

The Motion was then put to vote and was adopted without any amendment.

### **Railway Budget—General Discussion**

The Minister of Railways, Shri K. Hanumanthaiya presented the Railway Budget for the year 1972-73, to the House on March 14, 1972. Replying to a three-day general debate\* on the Budget on March 20, 1972, Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, assured the House that it was the constant endeavour of the Railway administration to see that the defects pointed out by Members were remedied and improvements made wherever there was room for them.

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\*The discussion commenced on March 18, 1972. The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Mohammad Ismail, Nathu Ram Ahirwar, Swaran Singh Sokhi, Sarjoo Pandey, Dharnidhar Basumatari, Tha Kiruttinan, Shrikishan Modi, Phool Chand Verma, Bhaosahaib Dhamankar, Amrit Nahata, H. M. Patel, Narsingh Narain Pandey, Mulki Raj Saini, Shiv Shankar Prasad Yadav, S. A. Kader, Anant Prasad Sharma, Ramavatar Shastri, Shankerrao Savant, C. T. Dhandapani, Janaki Ballav Patnaik, Govind Das Richhariya, K. Ramakrishna Reddy, Ram Chandra Vikal, R. R. Sharma, B. K. Daschowdhury, Tarun Gogoi, Biswanath Roy, Ramsahai Pandey, Ramachandran Kadannapalli, Jagdish Narain Mandal, Ram Dhan, Rajdeo Singh, Arvind Netam, Hukam Chand Kachwai, N. N. Kailas, Jyotirmoy Bosu and Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda.

So far as rationalisation of the suburban rate structure was concerned, the most important point was to treat the great cities—Calcutta, Madras and Bombay—alike. For people who lived in the city and especially those who were working, the amount of Rs. 2.50 or Rs. 3 was nothing. The people in the three great cities would not mind this paltry sum of Rs. 2.50 or Rs. 3 to be paid to the Railways in order to help its finances as well as to restore equality and justice.

Some areas had got less railway lines and some other areas had more railway lines. Efforts were being made to correct the regional imbalance. In the meanwhile the progress of any particular region was not being held up. The Government was trying to give a line or a conversion project to each State, within the resources available.

Rise in freight and fares should be considered in a balanced manner. The prices of materials had gone up. The wages had also gone up enormously during the last 10 years. Both the income and the expenditure had to be taken into account.

So far as the question of over-capitalisation and payment of dividend was concerned, it could be discussed in the Convention Committee. The decisions of the House on the recommendations of the Convention Committee would be accepted by the Government.

It was true that high-rate commodities went by road and not by rail. Road traffic had certain advantages over the Railways. To some extent thefts, damages and delays were responsible for diversion of high-rated traffic to road. Government were trying to attract high-rated commodities to the Railways for ensuring safe and prompt transport. A campaign had already been launched to eradicate such evils.

The interests of the Scheduled Castes were safe in the Railways. They were getting their due share.

Before Bangla Desh became free, Assam was cut off from Bangla Desh in the matter of waterways and railways. The railway system of Bangla Desh had been connected with the rest of India and the waterways were also opened up as in the old days between Calcutta and the areas of Assam. The question of opening new lines and also conversion of old lines, required for the Eastern region was under examination whatever imbalance there was in the matter of railway lines in Assam would thus be rectified.

There was no proposal to reopen the Martin Light Railway. So far as Bangla Desh was concerned, every line would be connected to

the Railway system between the two countries and the water system between the two countries would be coordinated to mutual advantage.

The Railways had taken a decision to manufacture indigenously sophisticated signalling equipment in the Railways signal Workshops at Podanur and Gorakhpur, in order to accelerate the programme of modernisation of signalling on the Indian Railways and at the same time to reduce dependence on foreign imports for such equipment. The two workshops had already manufactured a number of tokenless block instruments. Foreign exchange to the extent of Rs. 25 lakhs had been saved as a result thereof during the year. Further, it was proposed to create additional facilities by way of machine structures etc. in the two workshops at a cost of about Rs. 45 lakhs, so that with the implementation of that programme in the next two years, it could meet the Railways' requirements and attain self-sufficiency.

A scheme for the construction of over-bridges and under-bridges was sponsored a few years ago, and until last year on an average, 16 bridges were built every year. The figure had at present gone up to 64, but it was a very small figure compared to the requirements of the country. If only some amount earmarked for meeting unemployment was diverted for this purpose, many more over and under-bridges could be built.

#### *Rail-road coordination*

For achieving rail-road coordination in the field of passenger services, the Railways were participating financially with the State Road Transport Corporations set up by the various State Governments. The need for achieving coordination between the different modes of transport had been accepted by the Government in the light of the various recommendations made by the Committee on Transport Policy and Coordination. At Governmental level coordination between road and rail transport could best be ensured by coordinated investment policies and decisions. The Planning Commission had been entrusted with this task, who would coordinate not only between railways and the roads but also coastal shipping and inland waterways.

The land on either side of the track would be utilised for Agricultural and other useful purposes. The Ministry of Agriculture was devising a scheme to grow sun-flowers. Similarly, castor oil seeds also could be grown without much expense. The concerned officers would be instructed at the appropriate level to take up these schemes with the help and cooperation of the State Governments which ran agricultural departments and research stations. It was hoped that in States like Kerala and Bengal, where there was water-logging, the

State Fisheries Department would help the railway administration in pisciculture to develop fisheries at appropriate places.

### General Budget—General Discussion

The Minister of Finance, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan presented a Statement of the Estimated Receipts and Expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1972-73 on March 16, 1972. Replying to the five-day discussion\* on the Budget on March 25, 1972, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, said that the Budget was oriented first to meet the priority national requirements and secondly, the essential needs of the economy of the year. In the year 1971, India had undertaken the grave responsibility of looking after ten million refugees and had to fight a war against aggression by Pakistan and for the liberation of Bangla Desh. It was not enough to liberate Bangla Desh and help them to establish democracy, but it was also the responsibility of the country to see that it was made to stand on a sound basis. The question of overriding importance then was that of making provision for the national security of the country.

### *Economic Growth*

In the matter of economic growth, the Government wanted the human being to be the centre of that developmental effort. The main effort of the Government in the economic field, therefore, was to attack poverty, and first of all, to attack the worst forms of poverty. A massive provision had been made in the Budget for drinking water supply, houses for the homeless, employment for the unemployed in rural areas, etc.

\*The discussion commenced on March 20, 1972 and the Members who participated in it were Sarvashri Samar Mukherjee, Chintamani Panigrahi, Krishnan Monoharan, N. K. P. Salve, Indrajit Gupta, Swaran Singh Sokhi, Virendra Agarwala, Biswanarayan Shastri, Nageshwar Dwivedi, Swami Brahmanand, Narain Chand Parashar, G. C. Dixit, Sheo Pujan Shastri, Anasahcb Gotkhinde, Surendra Mohanty, K. Gopal, Madhu Dandavate, Subodh Hansda, S. A. Shamim, B. P. Maurya, Y. S. Mahajan, M. M. Joseph, Chapalendu Bhattacharyya, Bhogendra Jha, Rajaram Shastri, S. A. Kader, Sat Pal Kapur, K. Balakrishnan, A. K. M. Ishaque, Rudra Pratap Singh, Nathuram Mirdha, Vasant Rao Purushottam Sathe, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Nawal Kishore Sinha, H. M. Patel, S. R. Damani, Jyotirmoy Bosu, K. R. Ganesh, M. S. Sanjeevi Rao, Birender Singh Rao, B. R. Kavade, Syed Ahmed Aga, Mohan Swarup, M. S. Sivasamy, P. V. G. Raju, Chandulal Chandrakar, Henry Austin, Chandrika Prasad, S. N. Singh, M. R. Gopal Reddy, Dharamrao Sharanappa Afzalpurkar, D. D. Desai, Varkey George Banamali Patnaik, Partap Singh, C. D. Gautam, Krishna Chandra Pandey, Shashi Bhushan, Narendra Singh Bisht, Ramavatar Shastri, G. P. Yadav and Shrimati Shella Kaul and Shrimati Mukul Banerjee.

### *Tax System*

Some Members had made the criticism that there was no fundamental change in the tax system. Many basic changes had already been made in the tax system over the past two years. Taxation on personal incomes, individual wealth, including agricultural wealth, and in particular urban property, had been increased substantially over the past two years. The scheme of taxation relating to Trusts had been thoroughly overhauled. In the current years' budget itself, the provisions made for taxation of casual income, for further changes in the taxation of Trusts and for advance collection of tax and higher interest rates on tax payments which were overdue, were all designed to make the direct tax system more progressive as well as more effective.

In the sphere of corporate taxation also, the Government had not only increased the corporate tax rates over the last two years but had also taken away or given notice of withdrawal of a number of concessions. This process had been carried further in the current Budget by abolishing the deduction for priority industries altogether and by increasing the surcharge on corporate taxation from 2½ to 5 per cent. Taken in their totality, the present system of direct taxation was not certainly soft either on the corporate sector or on the people with high income and property.

The Wanchoo Committee Report contained very important suggestions, but the Government could not just accept all the recommendations without a detailed scrutiny. In one of its paras in the Report, the Committee had made a recommendation about demonetisation, which the Government had not accepted. The Government could always consider policy matters and take decisions, but at the present moment, there was no question or intention of demonetisation.

There was criticism that the Government were deliberately trying to spare the richer sections of society from taxation. This had never been the approach of the Government as would be evident from the efforts made and the reforms introduced in the past two years as also the proposals contained in the present Budget. The Government was determined to attack concentration of wealth and the monopolistic control over the economy of the country and a series of steps had been taken from 1969 onwards in this behalf.

### *Joint Sector*

The concept of joint sector was also envisaged by taking different series of policy decisions. The Government had introduced the convertibility clauses in the loans by public financial institutions and the enlargement of public sector investments. The size and the strength of the public sector were gradually increasing. That was the way of socialist reconstruction.

### *Foreign aid and self-reliance*

Some nations had unilaterally stopped aid which was rather very unjustifiable. As a self-respecting nation, India could not accept it as such. To overcome dependence on foreign aid, a policy of self-reliance was needed for the country. But that did not mean that India wanted to be self-reliant immediately and stop all foreign collaboration or foreign aid. To the extent that the country became self-reliant, the necessity of depending on foreign aid would naturally disappear. Towards this end, efforts would have to be made in the country itself by import substitution, export promotion etc.

The policy of the Government towards private foreign investment was quite clear. It was a selected policy, where new collaborations of technical 'know-how' or equity investment in foreign exchange in only those areas where the country still had a certain leeway to make, was welcomed. The Government had also tried to reduce progressively the percentage of foreign equity investment in the case of foreign majority companies.

### *The Rural Rich*

The question of taxing the income of the rural rich *i.e.* agricultural income was a matter which required careful consideration. It was discussed with the Chief Ministers and later on it was entrusted to an Expert Committee which among others included the representatives of the States. The Committee had already commenced its deliberations and its report would be made available to the Government sometime in October, 1972. It would, therefore, be wrong to say that the Government was sitting tight over the question of taxing the rural rich.

### *Deficit Financing*

A reference was made that the provision made for deficit financing was a little on the high side as compared to the assessment made by

the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission had kept Rs. 200 crores as the safe limit for deficit financing. If the deficit financing was used for productive purposes, then a difference of Rs. 50 crores or 70 crores above that limit would not make much difference. This level of deficit financing, therefore, was certainly within limits.

### *New Levies*

As regards criticism of the levies on certain items, it might be pointed out that some of the levies were very important and very essential. As far as the levy on steel was concerned, it must be realised that the gap between the price of imported steel and of the local production steel was great. The levy on fertilisers was not going to affect the small farmer.

As regards kerosene, the duty was raised to Rs. 285 per kilo litre in the Budget proposals. As a gesture to the overwhelming views in the House in this connection, it was now proposed to reduce it to Rs. 265 per kilo litre, as a result of which Government would lose Rs. 12 crores. The reduction would be approximately 2 paise per litre.

After the reply by the Finance Minister, the General Discussion on the General Budget was concluded and the Demand for Grants on Account (General) 1972-73 were voted in full.

### **Discussion on Demands for Grants of Ministry of Defence**

The House commenced discussion on the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Defence on April 27, 1972. The debate continued for three days in which as many as 29 Members participated.\*

Intervening in the discussion on April 28, 1972, the Minister of State (Defence Production) in the Ministry of Defence, Shri Vidya Charan Shukla said that it was the declared policy of the Government to achieve progressive self-reliance and self-sufficiency in the matter of

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\*The Members who participated in the debate were: Sarvashri E. R. Krishnan, Frank Anthony, B. V. Naik, K. Gopal, Syed Ahmed Aga, M. Ram Gopal Reddy, Darbara Singh, Narain Chand Parashar, Chandulal Chandrakar, Shiva Nath Singh, N. S. Bisht, Ram Chandra Vikal, Chhotey Lal, Samar Mukherjee, P. V. G. Raju, Chintamani Panigrahi, H. M. Patel, Sarjoo Pandey, Brij Raj Singh Kotah, Shankerrao Savant, Jagdish Chandra Dixit, Jagannath Rao Joshi, Swami Brahmanandji, Madhu Dandavate, N. N. Kailas, S. M. Banerjee, P. M. Mehta, and Shrimati Sahodra Bai Rai.



defence supplies. Since 1962, India had made tremendous progress in this direction. During the recent aggression by Pakistan, the ordinance factories in the country not only met almost all their targets but in many cases exceeded them by several times. The items produced in the country had proved of equal merit and calibre as compared to imported items.

#### *Defence Production*

The public sector undertakings under the Ministry of Defence had by and large maintained the upward trend of production. The total value of production in the Defence public sector undertakings in 1971-72 was estimated to be of the order of Rs. 176.38 crores as against Rs. 146.28 crores in 1969-70. It was a happy coincidence that out of eight defence public sector undertakings seven were making profits, and in some cases the profits went up as much as Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 5 crores a year. Not only had they been giving good dividend to the Government but they had been giving very liberal bonus to the workers.

#### *Liberation of Bangla Desh*

Replying to the discussion on May 2, 1972, the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram said that the safeguarding of the borders by the armed forces and their help in the liberation of a neighbouring country, which had emerged as a sovereign, secular and democratic Bangladesh, was indeed a spectacular achievement. The Indian forces on the Eastern frontier established close links with *Mukti Bahini*, the Bangla Desh liberation forces, and the combined operations were executed with skill and determination. On the Western frontier, fierce battles were fought and repeated Pakistani attempts to pierce through Indian defence were broken up. The war was carried, as he had promised, into the enemy territory. The success of the armed forces reflected credit on the gallant officers and jawans, on the commanders in the battle-field, on the Chiefs of Staff, and on higher management.

India was firmly committed to peace, peace throughout the world, and particularly in the sub-continent. In pursuance of this policy India had declared her willingness to enter into discussion with Pakistan without any preconditions.

In the wake of the liberation of Bangla Desh, attention had to be paid to speedy restoration of normalcy there. The tasks assigned to the Indian defence forces had been nearly completed in less than 3 months.

The phased withdrawal of the forces was completed 13 days ahead of schedule, *i.e.* on March 12, 1972. The country was justly proud of the dedication with which the armed forces carried out an unusual but historic task.

The number of Indian prisoners of war in Pakistan's hands was small. The Government had been concerned about their welfare. It had devised measures to keep in touch with them and send them gifts. India had been assured by the International Committee of Red Cross that they were being looked after properly.

### *Defence Expenditure*

The expenditure on Defence in India according to the Budget Estimates would constitute 3.8 per cent of the Gross National Product. Out of 56 countries of the world for which data on defence expenditure was readily available, 34 countries spent a larger percentage of their Gross National Product; 13 had mutual security arrangements with one or the other Super Power. None of those countries, over the last 25 years, encountered external threats so persistently or faced external aggression as frequently as India. So far as India was concerned, there was no obvious abatement in the threat to the security of the country. The continued interest of some great powers in maintaining tension in the sub-continent was a matter of common knowledge. The rivalry amongst the great powers in the Indian Ocean had added a fresh dimension. The recent extension of the jurisdiction of the U.S. Seventh Fleet was also a matter of concern.

### *Recruitment Policy*

A reference was made that the entire recruitment policy should be revised in order to give greater opportunities to all sections of the population. It might be pointed out in this connection that recruitment was planned in proportion to the recruitable male population in the age between 17 and 25 in different States. During a recent review, it became clear that there had not been sufficient recruitment in some of the States. It had also come to notice that the recruiting facilities provided in various areas were not justified by their respective recruitable population. An all-out effort would be made to rectify this position and to ensure that all States and communities got a fair and full opportunity to serve in the Armed Forces.

It was true that there were still a number of old regiments which were named after particular classes and communities. It was the Government's policy that no new regiment should bear the name of class, caste, region or religion. It would also be the effort of Government to ensure that recruitment was broadbased and was open to all citizens.

### *Nuclear Weapons*

There had been a growing demand for a change in the Government's policy in regard to nuclear weapons. Some Members suggested that India should have nuclear-powered submarines. Attention had also been drawn to the danger of nuclear blackmail. But Government was of the view that the developments in the international situation did not warrant any change in its present nuclear policy. The challenge in this field was most satisfactorily met by making the country strong both economically and by developing technology and science. In the field of atomic energy, India was already amongst the advanced countries of the world. The Atomic Energy Commission had drawn up proposals for a programme for the development of 2,700 megawatts of nuclear power before 1980. The Commission was also studying the technology to conduct underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

After the speech of the Minister of Defence, all the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Defence were voted in full.

### **Demands for Grants of Ministry of External Affairs**

Replying on April 26, 1972 to the discussion\* on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh said that the most significant historical event in the recent past had been the emergence of Bangladesh as a free, independent and sovereign country. It was the eighth most populous country in the world, recognised by more than 60 countries, including four permanent members of the Security Council.

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Dasaratha Deb, K. P. Unnikrishnan, H. N. Mukherjee, N. Sreekantan Nair, Shashi Bhushan, K. Manoharan, Surendra Pal Singh, Surendra Mohanty, Dinesh Singh, R. K. Singh, C. C. Desai, B. R. Bhagat, Samar Guha, Dr. H. P. Sharma, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, B. K. Daschowdhury, Tulsidas Dasappa, Sant Bux Singh, Shyamanandan Mishra, Shankar Dev, H. M. Patel, Raghunandan Lal Bhatia, Rudra Pratap Singh.

India welcomed Bangladesh as a partner and brother in the common task of strengthening peace, stability, security and progress in the sub-continent. A treaty of cooperation, friendship and peace with Bangladesh was the solemnisation of the close bonds and interests that bound the two countries together. It was not aimed against any third country and it did not prevent either country from developing similar relations with third countries. It was, however, a warning to outside powers not to interfere in the internal affairs of either country or to threaten their peace and security. It was hoped that a strong and stable India would be a source of strength and stability for all the neighbouring countries.

### *Pakistan*

Unfortunately, during the last 25 years, Pakistan had adopted an attitude confrontation against India. India had to defend her territories against Pakistani aggression four times since Independence. It was Government's earnest hope that those trends would now be reversed and it would be possible to achieve durable peace so that the people of India and Pakistan could live as good neighbours in friendship and cooperation. It was with this objective in view that the Prime Minister had agreed to have a summit meeting with President Bhutto. Bangladesh would indeed be a necessary party to the settlement of issues that concerned them.

### *Vietnam*

It was regrettable that the conflict in Vietnam had been raging violently for the last several years. It was a tribute to the courage and heroism of the brave people of Vietnam that they had been able to stand up successfully against the might of a great military power. The Government were convinced that no solution could be imposed on Vietnam from outside and at the same time, there could be no military solution to this problem. All foreign forces and, particularly, those of the United States, who were in largest numbers, must be withdrawn from Vietnam at the earliest date possible and the people of Vietnam must be left to decide their destiny in accordance with their own genius and wishes.

India believed that the solution to the present situation in Indo-China lay in a broad-based agreement within the framework of the Geneva Accord which respected the unity, territorial integrity, independence and neutrality of each of the Indo-China States. Some Members had criticised India for not taking initiative as Chairman of the

International Control Commission to resolve the situation. The functions of the Commission were defined in the Geneva Accord, *i.e.* to supervise the implementation of the agreement by the parties concerned. Instead of being able to supervise the implementation of a peace accord, the Commission was a helpless witness to a violent war. In the circumstances, there was little the Commission could do in the matter, as it was meant to supervise peace and not war.

Some Members mentioned that the present time was opportune for normalising relations with China, Some other Members thought that any unilateral gesture by India was not likely to succeed. Geography had placed India and China as neighbours. Whenever there was any possibility for taking some concrete action to improve relations, the Government would certainly take such steps as might be possible on the basis of equality, mutual respect and reciprocity. It may be clarified that the Indo-Soviet Treaty did not stand in the way of normalising relations with China. It was not directed against China or any other country.

### *Indian Ocean*

About the Indian Ocean, there appeared to be general consensus that every effort should be made to keep it as an area of peace, free from big power rivalry and also that the security of the littoral States should be ensured. This was exactly the objective when the matter was discussed at Lusaka. It was hoped that there would be growing pressure on the countries which had big navies to desist from going ahead with their programmes, so as to keep the area free from tensions.

### *Soviet Union*

India was proud of her friendship with the Soviet Union, which was based on the principle of equality, mutual respect and co-operation. She owed her gratitude to the Soviet Government and people that they stood by her in times of need and difficulty, while others wavered and hesitated and even went against. India had entered into various agreements with Russia which helped in strengthening peace, stability, security and progress in this region. India would not be a camp follower or a client State of any country. India stood on her own strength and on the united will of her own people as a self-reliant and self-respecting nation.

*United States of America*

India had warm feelings of friendship towards the people of the United States. But it was regrettable that warmth had not been reciprocated in the attitude adopted by the U.S. Government towards India during the recent developments in the sub-continent in which they adopted a partisan and anti-India attitude. India was prepared to forget the past and would like to have a dialogue with the Government of the United States on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

It was hoped that in the near future, the Government of the United States would begin to appreciate the peaceful, constructive and positive role that India wished to play for the development, stability and security of this region, and not attribute wrong motives. It should, however, be made clear that if the Government of the United States started rearming Pakistan, directly or indirectly, India would take it as a deliberate attempt to disturb the peace of the sub-continent, to increase tensions and to hamper the chances of a lasting settlement.

*Freedom Struggle in Africa*

As regards the freedom struggle that was going on in the continent of Africa against the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and also the freedom fight that was going on against the colonial regime of Mozambique and Angola, India's support to the freedom fighters was consistent and they had been given help from time to time.

After the Minister's speech the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of External Affairs were voted in full.

**Demands for Grants of Ministry of Home Affairs**

The House commenced debate on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs on April 20, 1972. The discussion\* continued for two days.

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Jyotirmoy Bosu, Shyamanandan Mishra, Bhogendra Jha, K. Suryanarayana, Nawal Kishore Sharma, C. T. Dhandapani, H. K. L. Bhagat, N. E. Horo, D. N. Tiwary, Shankar Dayal Singh, Amarnath Vidyalkar, Hari Singh, M. Satyanarayanarao, Inder J. Malhotra, Vayalar Ravi, Samar Guha, K. Basappa, Chandrika Prasad, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shrimati Subhadra Joshi, Shrimati T. Lakshmikantamma, Shrimati Gayatri Devi and Shrimati Mukul Banerjee.

Intervening in the discussion on April 21, 1972, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri K. C. Pant stated that the Government had ensured that the State election held in March, 1972 were conducted peacefully.

### *Elections*

Before 1967, the elections in the country were remarkably peaceful. In 1967, there was violence and inter-party clashes and this process went on till 1971. It was a matter of some satisfaction that that trend had been reversed in the elections held in March 1972. The Government was also considering further steps that could be taken to strengthen the provisions of law to deal with the problem of violence during elections.

### *Status of Jammu and Kashmir*

The Central Government was conscious of the problems of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and was doing its best to assist that State in overcoming those problems. Regarding withdrawal of emergency, it was the considered opinion of the Government that the time was not yet ripe for the complete abrogation of all the enabling powers under the law.

### *Development of Telengana Region*

Various steps had been taken for the development of the Telengana region. The expenditure on development during 1971-72 (upto January, 1972) was 71.6 per cent out of the amount allotted for the Telengana region, while it was 69.1 per cent allotted for the rest of the State. The State Government intended filing an appeal in the Supreme Courts for the restoration of the Mulki Rules. Further steps in the matter would be possible only after the Supreme Court had given its verdict.

### *Communalism*

The Government was determined to deal firmly with the problem of communal violence and through the State Governments all possible steps were being taken to contain the menace. The Government had prepared legislative proposals providing for the setting up of special courts and for a speedier procedure for the trial of cases arising out of disturbances.

The Government had also taken note of the demand made by various sections of the House for the enactment of legislation to deal with the activities of the communal organisations whose propaganda and activities posed a serious threat to the secular policy.

#### *Naxalite Movement*

The situation in regard to Naxalites had markedly improved in West Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh, but the capacity of those elements to indulge in mischief, however, remained. The Government was fully aware of that and was vigilant.

Some reference was made to the CRP force and the judgement of one judge of the Calcutta High Court in a certain case holding that the CRP Act was *ultra vires* of the Constitution. The Government would examine the grounds on which the Act had been found bad in law by the High Court. On receipt of a copy of the judgement the Government would take suitable remedial measures in the matters.

#### *Modernisation of Police Force*

Some Members had raised the question of modernisation of the police force. The Government had appointed a high-power training committee to go into all aspects of training of the police personnel since it was at the training stage that the policemen's personality was moulded.

Replying to the debate on April 24, 1972, the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi made the following points:—

“The charge of rigging the elections is fantastic. We have said it before and it has already been strongly refuted....

Mention was made of my appeal for strong and stable Congress Governments in the States. I very clearly did say that I thought only strong and stable Congress Governments could implement our programme....In fact we have given full co-operation to whoever the people have chosen or voted for....

On the question of defections, the delay was due to some of the leaders of the Opposition not replying to our communications. At the meeting of the representatives of a number of parties and of some Independents, members expressed themselves in favour of disqualifying defectors from continuing as members of the Legislature. However, the Committee on Defections had not reached any agreed conclusion. So, we thought it necessary to consult the Chief Ministers. This has been done and since there is vast support for this suggestion, Government will soon bring forward legislative proposals to give effect to this measure....



Legislative proposals have been formulated for the role of foreign money in public life and we shall soon bring them to the House, to curb such undesirable transactions....

Some Members have raised the question of the distribution of funds and the financial powers of the States. The allocation of financial resources between the Centre and the States has been provided in our Constitution, keeping in view their respective responsibilities and by carefully balancing the needs of national planning with the scope necessary for regional initiative.... The crux of the problem before all of us is that if each State looks only to its own needs and requirements, how will regional imbalance be removed? The experience of the last 22 years has demonstrated the soundness of the approach adopted by our Constitution-makers...."

After the speech of the Prime Minister, the House passed the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

### **Demands for Grants (Railways), 1972-73**

The discussion on the Demands for Grants (Railways), 1972-73 commenced on May 18, 1972. The debate continued for three days in which 24 Members took part.\*

#### *Financial Position*

Replying to the discussion on May 22, 1972, the Minister of Railways, Shri K. Hanumanthaiya said that the apprehension of the Members about the fall in railway profits was unfounded. In the Budget Estimates for 1971-72, a deficit of Rs. 6.87 crores was shown. This was after taking into account the expected earnings, that is, the increased earnings of Rs. 26.25 crores from enhanced passenger fares and rates. This deficit of about Rs. 7 crores was wiped out by better earnings and effecting economy in expenditure. The latest actuals for 1971-72 showed a surplus of about Rs. 20 crores.

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\*The Members who took part in the debate were Sarvashri Jyotirmoy Bosu, Chandrika Prasad, Ramavtar Shastri, A. P. Sharma, Jagannathrao Joshi, K. Narayana Rao, Manoranjan Hazra, R. N. Barman, M. M. Joseph, N. Shivappa, D. N. Tiwary, Rajdeo Singh, P. Venkatasubbaiah, Banamali Patnaik, R. P. Ulaganambi, Rama Krishna Reddy, K. S. Chavda, Mohd. Shafi Qureshi, Surendra Mohanty, B. S. Murthy, Samar Guha, Damodar Pandey, B. K. Daschowdhury and C. K. Chinnaraji.

*Electrification and Dieselisation*

The mode of traction on the Indian railways would be increasingly either diesel or electric. As on April 30, 1972, there were 190 broad gauge and 90 metre gauge diesel locomotives operating in the southern zone. It had been decided that in view of the long lead from collieries, the share of the South-Central and Southern Railways for the allotment of diesel locomotives would be increased.

As a modern, efficient and economic mode of traction, electrification on the Indian Railways had been undertaken on sections which mostly comprised trunk routes, heavy mineral lines and suburban sections, where traffic needs had grown beyond the capacity of steam traction where alternative electric traction was cheaper than dieselisation. The total length of lines electrified on 25 KV AC as on March, 1972 was 3570 route kms.

*Platforms*

The policy of the Railways was to provide high level platforms at all important stations, medium level platforms at less important stations and rail level platforms at unimportant road-side stations on Broad Gauge. Keeping in view the above policy, raised platforms were to be provided at 526 stations out of 616 stations on the North Eastern Railway. So far, raising had already been completed at 391 stations. The raising of platforms was being undertaken on the remaining 135 stations on programmed basis after taking into account the passenger traffic at the stations and subject to the approval of the Railway Users Amenities Committee and availability of funds.

*Recruitment to Railway Services*

There was a reservation quota, 15 per cent for Scheduled Castes and 7-1/2 per cent for Scheduled Tribes, in recruitment to vacancies. The reservation quota was applicable at the stage of initial recruitment and not related to the total strength of staff.

Recently a person belonging to the Scheduled Caste had been appointed as Chairman of the Railway Service Commission. He was trying to make another member belonging to the Scheduled Caste as Chairman of another Service Commission also. Whenever direct recruitment to any posts was made, reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, according to the prescribed percentages, was invariably made. The unfilled quota was carried forward to three

subsequent recruitment years and the year in which the recruitment was not made was not counted for this purpose.

### *Labour Relations*

The Railway was the biggest of the public undertakings. Unless this biggest of public undertakings was made to succeed in efficiency and in finance, socialism could not be made a success in this country. Therefore, the three unions and other labour organisations, which had come together, would have to realise that the work did not end with securing some allowances to labour or with securing some condonation of punishment. It was production that counted. It was the efficient and patriotic service that labour would do, which would determine the tempo and progress and success of socialism. The Minister hoped that a new chapter of relationship between management and labour would dawn and labour would take charge as much as any one else, for the tempo of production, the quality of service, and the standard of efficiency.

So far as recognition of various trade unions in Railways was concerned, it was a matter of high policy relating to labour. All the three unions and the Labour Ministry were dealing with it.

After the speech of the Minister of Railways, all the Demands for Grants in respect of Budget (Railways) for 1972-73 were voted in full.

### **Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Steel and Mines**

The discussion on the Demands for Grants in respect of Ministry of Steel and Mines commenced on May 3, 1972. The debate continued for two days in which as many as 19 Members participated\*

Intervening in the discussion, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Steel and Mines, Shri Shahnawaz Khan on May 4, 1972, said

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\*The Members who took part in the debate were Sarvashri Dinen Bhattacharyya, Swaran Singh Sokhi, P. Gangadeb, D. K. Panda, R. N. Sharma, Surendra Mohanty, P. R. Shenoy, Damodar Pandey, G. Viswanathan, Prabodh Chandra, K. D. Malaviya, Ishwar Choudhary, Chapalendu Bhattacharyya, Bhagirath Bhanwar, C. D. Gautam, Subodh Hansda, Shivanath Singh and Kartik Oraon.

that the Government was aware of the surplus labour in coal mines, but it did not intend to retrench any genuine labour.

### *Reopening of Closed Mines*

Regarding the reopening of the closed mines, there were 14 such mines in all, 12 in Bengal and 2 in Bihar. Of the 12 in West Bengal, a large number had been closed because the reserves had been exhausted; the others were due to industrial unrest. The Government was doing its best to get all those mines re-opened as quickly as possible.

### *Indian Copper Corporation*

A suggestion was made that the Indian Copper Corporation should be handed over to the Government of Bihar. One of the important reasons for taking over the management of that Corporation was that it was the only company in the country which was producing copper. The Government intended to expand its activities and make use of the trained personnel for opening up other mines and other industries in copper in other parts of the country. The handing over of the Corporation to only one State would give rise to many problems. The present production of copper in the country was 9 to 10 thousand tonnes as against the requirement of 1,13,000 tonnes. To fill this wide gap, the Government had taken up various programmes.

The Government had no intention of nationalising the mica mines.

### *Production of Steel*

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of Steel and Mines, Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam admitted that the production of steel in the various steel plants fell short of the targets fixed for the year 1971-72. Besides the problem of inefficient maintenance of the steel plants, the other factors responsible for not achieving the targets in steel production were collapse of the steel melting shop roof in Rourkela, serious trouble in the coke oven in Bhilai and disturbed industrial relations particularly in the Durgapur steel plant. It was important to note that about 65 per cent of the financial losses that had been suffered by the Hindustan Steel were due to happenings in Durgapur.

If the production of steel could be raised from the present level of 65 to 67 per cent to the level of 80 to 82 per cent, it would be possible to bring down the price of steel.

It was said that it had become a practice to allot steel quota not on the basis of actual requirements but on the recommendation of somebody. Allotment of steel was done strictly on the basis of sponsoring by authorities on the demands of different areas of industries. They went before the Joint Plant Committee, then before the Steel Priority Committee and then only the question of priority requirement was determined.

The tempo of work at Bokaro had been progressively and significantly improved during the last year. Probably, the best index of the pace of construction was to see the rate of erection of steel structures, mechanical equipment and refractories.

There were very good copper deposits in Madhya Pradesh. The Government was considering proposals for putting up a concentrator and also a smelter there.

There was no question of setting up a mini-steel plant at Kothakudam. The idea probably was to put up a sponge iron plant there with the help of UNIDO to experiment whether coal could be used as a solid reductant to increase the ferrous content of iron ore. The proposal was being processed and it would take some time, before it would come up.

After the Minister's reply, all the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Steel and Mines were voted in full.

### **Finance Bill, 1972**

Moving the Finance Bill on May 15, 1972 to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1972-73, the Minister of Finance, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, said that the Government had made a massive effort for resource mobilization during the last 12 months to meet the difficult situation which it faced. The substantial increase in the outlay for the annual plan for 1972-73 including the provisions for the public sector programmes should step up industrial production and stimulate further economic growth. With a provision of Rs. 240 crores for schemes with an accent on social justice, the country should make further progress on programmes of growth with social justice.

*Curb on Conversion of Black Money*

As the Members were aware, persons having 'black' money were using the race course and the lotteries to convert 'black' money into 'white'. The proposal in the Bill would put a curb on 'money-washing' through such devices.

*Tax Evasion*

The modifications proposed in the scheme of tax exemption of charitable and religious trusts would reduce the misuse of tax-exempt funds of the trusts for giving benefits to the authors, substantial contributors, trustees and their relatives and for acquiring or maintaining control over business and industry. In order to enable the tax administration to tackle cases of tax evasion with international ramifications more effectively, the Central Government would be empowered to enter into tax treaties with foreign countries for exchange of information for purposes of preventing tax evasion and for recovery of taxes in the treaty countries on a reciprocal basis.

*Under-valuation of Immovable Property*

Under one of the provisions of the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1971, the Central Government would be empowered to acquire immovable properties at prices which corresponded to those recorded in the sale deeds. Another provision sought to debar the owner of a property held "benami" from enforcing his claim in a court of law, unless he had declared the income from the property or the property itself before the tax authorities. The administrative set-up of the official valuation machinery would also be augmented.

*Wanchoo Committee Report*

The Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee headed by Shri K. N. Wanchoo, Ex-Chief Justice of India, had submitted its Final Report, which contained a number of valuable and far-reaching suggestions for unearthing black money, preventing evasion and avoidance of taxes, reducing tax arrears and for providing tax incentives for savings and investment. The Government had taken special measures to examine the recommendations expeditiously. A Bill to implement such of the recommendations as were acceptable to Government would be brought forth very soon.

The discussion continued for three days in which as many as 38 Members took part.\*

### *Socialist Economy*

Replying to the debate on May 17, the Finance Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan said that the Government was building up a socialist economy in the country. It envisaged that the role of public sector would increase with the passage of time. The objective of the Government was, first of all, to stop the growth of monopolies and ensure that the economy of the country was socially motivated. There was the Monopolies Restriction Act to check growth of monopolies. The Prime Minister had said that the Government would not hesitate to nationalize anything if it was in the national interest. Nationalisation of banking, general insurance and coal mines were examples of it.

The Government stood committed to the idea of ceiling on the property, both urban and rural. A debate was going on as to how to make it practicable and more radical.

### *Nationalised Banks*

The performance of the nationalized banks had to be evaluated in its true perspective. At present, the emphasis had been three-fold. One was about reaching the unbanked areas and under-banked areas. Secondly, there should be increase in deposits mobilisation in new areas. Thirdly, having taken over the credit system in such a substantial manner, the neglected sections had to be reached.

### *Taxation and Prices*

Where the over-all levels of income were low, the contribution of direct taxation had necessarily to be lower and hence the principal source of revenue in an under-developed country tended to be indirect

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\*The Members who participated in the debate were Sarvashri Dinen Bhattacharya, V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao, Indrajit Gupta, N. K. P. Salve, Virendra Agarwala, S. N. Misra, P. K. Deo, Amrit Nahata, Subodh Hansda, B. R. Shukla, Kamal Nath Tewari, G. Viswanathan, Mallikarjun, Surendra Mohanty, D. N. Tiwary, Tridib Chaudhuri, Pratap Singh Negi, Bibhuti Mishra, Arjun Sethi, N. K. Sanghi, Shrikishan Modi, R. N. Sharma, Teja Singh, Ram Shekhar Prasad Singh, Samar Guha, Jyotirmoy Bosu, Biswanath Roy, Shyamanandan Mishra, Dharnidhar Das, P. Venkatasubbaiah, C. M. Stephen D. D. Desai, Dharnidhar Basumatari, Achal Singh, P. K. Ghosh, Ramavatar Shastri and Smt. Jyotsna Chanda and Smt. T. Lakshmi-kanthamma.

taxation. The Government had been carefully seeing that the impact of the indirect taxation did not have adverse effect on the price situation. According to the study made, the changes in the indirect levies proposed in the Budget for 1972-73 were likely to push up the wholesale commodity prices, which would be anything between 5 to 6 per cent. The question of inflation of the price level was a world problem and the developing countries were facing the same problem. Seeing the other countries, the price level in India was comparatively low.

#### *Centre-State Financial Relationship*

Certain Members raised a question about the relationship of the States with the Centre in a federal structure in regard to financial matters. The Seventh Schedule had given the States powers of taxation. It was true that those powers of taxation were not enough. The Constitution itself had accepted the position. Therefore, the Constitution made a provision by which the Finance Commission, went every five years into the question of devolution of taxes. Devolution taxes was not something like a gift the Central Government gave to the States. It was, in fact their constitutional right.

The additional Central excise duty levied as also the estate duty on agricultural property was made available to the States, as it was rightfully theirs. Whereas the amount transferred to the States under the Finance Commission's award during the First Plan was only Rs. 386 crores, it rose to Rs. 1,549 crores in the Third Plan and was estimated by the Fifth Finance Commission to rise to Rs. 4,266 crores in the Fourth Plan period, but would actually be much above this figure. The budget estimates for 1972-73 alone involved devolution to the extent of Rs. 1,218 crores to the States.

According to the review of the overall budgetary position of the States conducted by the Reserve Bank of India, published in the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, August, 1971, for the year 1969-70, it appeared that out of an aggregate receipt of Rs. 4,889 crores received by the States as much as Rs. 1,896 crores were the States' own revenue receipts and Rs. 791 crores were the resources transferred from the Centre under the Finance Commission's award, making a total of Rs. 2,687 crores. If one looked to the Budget and the moneys that were spent for the States' administration, one would find that a large amount was controlled by the States themselves.

Reference was made to the problems of overdrafts. This problem would have to be dealt with individually through discussions with the



States, but at the same time, it must be realised that overdraft was not a solution to the problem.

After the speech of the Minister of Finance, the Motion for consideration of the Bill was adopted. After clause-by-clause consideration, the Finance Bill was passed on May 18, 1972.

#### **Fourth Plan Mid-Term Appraisal**

Initiating the discussion on April 5, 1972 on a Motion that the "Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal," presented to Parliament on December 22, 1971, be taken into consideration, the Minister of Planning and Minister of Department of Science and Technology, Shri C. Subramaniam said that the Appraisal identified the progress and shortfalls in various sectors of the Plan. In addition to identifying the corrective action necessary in specific sectors, the Appraisal underlined the need for speedier progress in realising the cardinal objectives of resource mobilisation, increased self-reliance and larger outlays for promoting employment and social justice.

The discussion continued for two days in which as many as 28 Members participated.\*

Replying to the debate on April 6, 1972, the Minister observed that there was general agreement about the objectives, which had been placed before the public in unmistakable terms. The first commitment was the eradication of poverty which could come about through tackling the problem of unemployment. The second commitment thus related to that problem. The third commitment was to effect reduction of disparities that existed in society today, whether it be regional imbalances or imbalances as between individuals and individuals. The fourth factor that had come into the picture was self-reliance.

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Piloo Mody, Jagannath Rao, Jyotirmoy Bosu, Nathuram Mirdha, Ranen Sen, Mulki Raj Saini, M. Muthuswamy, Chandulal Chandrakar, Virendra Agarwala, Shashi Bhushan, Y. S. Mahajan, Madhu Dandavate, M. R. Gopal Reddy, Rajaram Dadasaheb Nimbalkar, Sat Pal Kapur, Mohan Dharja, Prasanbhai Mehta, V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao, Shibban Lal Saksena, Vikram Mahajan, Priya Ranjan Das Munsii, R. D. Bhandare, Venkatasubbiah, E. R. Krishnan, D. D. Desai, Darbara Singh, Balakrishna Venkanna Naik and Krishna Rao Patil.

*Basic objectives of Planning*

When the Government thought in terms of making a frontal attack on poverty, it meant providing the basic minimum needs to the people. That should be the basic objective of planning particularly, during the Fifth Plan. Even for providing such basic minimum needs, there had got to be growth and greater production. Not only production was important but what was produced was also important. It was where the strategy was required to be altered. Those goods which were necessary for mass consumption and for meeting the basic minimum needs of the people had to be produced.

It was further important that the benefits of production reached the masses of the people. That could happen only when additional purchasing power was provided to the people, and that provision of purchasing power could be only through an employment programme, and that employment programme should also be linked to production and development programme. So, in short, this was the strategy which had to be adopted in the Fifth Plan.

First priority had to be given to agriculture. In India, 70 per cent of the people were engaged in agriculture. Therefore, if eradication of poverty had to take place in the context of the 70 per cent of the people engaged in agriculture, the purchasing power of the poor masses would have to come from within that sector.

*Land Reforms*

Land reform had a great significance. Unless land reform was made as the key-stone in the agricultural sector, one could not remove poverty and provide the basic minimum needs to the large masses in the rural sector. It was hoped that within the next two years the atmosphere would clear in the country in such a way that the Government would be able to put through a radical land reform programme which alone could form the basis for a programme for eradication of poverty.

*Prices*

Some Members expressed concern about the rising prices. Their concern was justified because if there was a continuous rise in prices, it would erode the purchasing power. In this connection, Government was working out a long-term strategy with regard to the production, procurement and distribution of essential commodities. In respect of

other commodities, it was being left to the purchasing capacity and to the eccentricities of likes and dislikes of persons to pay more and get certain articles.

#### *Production and Labour Relations*

With regard to production, while all the institutional changes were necessary, ultimately, it was only human effort which could produce things. In the industrial sector, there were difficulties due to so many reasons. Those reasons varied from sector to sector. But there was one common feature which had exhibited itself in the entire industrial sector. That was industrial relations. As far as labour legislation was concerned, nobody could say that India was backward in regard to labour legislation. But if it had failed to improve the industrial relations, there was great need for introducing certain structural changes. It was very essential to give incentive to labour to produce more. A new industrial relationship had thus to be brought about by taking into account the conditions existing in the country. Nothing except improved industrial relations could contribute more to greater production.

As regards the appeal made by Government for a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs, it was a short-term measure to increase production, in which the cooperation of the Political Parties was most essential, because labour was in the hands of political parties. Trade union was not merely trade union, it had become an adjunct to political parties. The moratorium alone was not going to produce results. Better industrial relationship had to be evolved.

As regards the Fifth Plan, if the Members thought after full consideration that this was not adequate and something more would have to be done, Government would be glad to receive suggestions and think over them.

#### *Regional Imbalance*

A reference was made about regional imbalances, particularly, relating to north-eastern region. This region had peculiar political problems which had intensified the economic and social problems to a great extent. But now a new state of affairs had come into existence there. There was now political stability in that region, and conditions would now improve there. If more investment was necessary to solve the problems there, it would be given priority.

The Planning Commission would devote its attention to the development of the North-eastern region taking into account the new situa-

tion created due to the emergence of Bangla Desh. In the Fifth Plan, there were many projects and programmes for the development of that region.

### **Tribute to King Mahendra of Nepal**

Paying tribute to His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva of Nepal, who passed away on January 31, 1972, the Speaker Dr. G. S. Dhillon, on March 13, 1972 said:

"All of us were shocked to learn of the sudden and premature demise of His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva of Nepal at the age of 51. Under his able guidance and leadership, Nepal made progress in all fields. He took Nepal into the U.N. and developed relations with a number of countries in the international field. India valued his friendship and the close ties he had established with us. He also introduced a number of social reforms. We share the grief of the people of Nepal in the passing away of this great King, and I am sure the House will join me in conveying our sorrow to his esteemed son—His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva of Nepal, Queen Mother Ratna Rajya Lakshmi Devi, other member of the bereaved family, the Government and the people of Nepal."

Describing King Mahendra as a Statesman, who presided over the destinies of Nepal at a crucial juncture, the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi paid tributes to the departed King in the following words:—

"The development of Nepal owes much to his inspiration. We, in India, valued his friendship and the close ties he established with us. We offer our condolences to the Royal family and the people of Nepal. May I add that we look forward to a continuation and strengthening of the friendship and co-operation with Nepal under His Majesty, King Birendra."

The House then stood in silence for a short while after the leaders of other groups in the House—Sarvashri S. M. Banerjee (C.P.I.), K. Manoharan (D.M.K.), Jagannath Rao Joshi (J.S.), Piloo Mody (Sw.) and Smt. M. Godfrey (nominated) had made obituary references to the departed King and deceased Members\*.

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\*The House also mourned the death of two sitting Members—Shri Asghar Hussain and Durgadas Bhatia and also Sarvashri B. K. Gaikwad, Member, Second Lok Sabha; Swami Ramanand Tirtha, Member, First and Second Lok Sabha; Shiva Nand Ramaul, Member, Second Lok Sabha; N. C. Chatterjee, Member, First, Third and Fourth Lok Sabha; V. S. Sarvate, Member, Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament; Gulab Shanker Amritlal Dholakia, Member, Provisional Parliament and First Lok Sabha, H. Siddananjappa, Member, First, Second and Third Lok Sabha and Smt. Sushma Sen, Member, First Lok Sabha.

**Pakistani attack on Tithwal Sector:**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported large-scale Pakistani attack on Indian positions in the Tithwal Sector of Jammu and Kashmir on May 5, 1972" was tabled by Sarvashri Piloo Mody, Nihar Laskar, Indrajit Gupta, R. V. Bade and Shashi Bhushan. The matter was raised in the House on May 9, 1972 by Shri Piloo Mody.

Replying, the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram informed the House that since the declaration of cease-fire between India and Pakistan on December 17, 1971, there had been a number of violations and some border clashes along or across the actual line of control. Of late, the number and intensity of Pakistani violations and intrusions had shown an increase, particularly in the Jammu and Kashmir area.

In the early hours of May 5, 1972, the Pakistani troops in battalion strength, supported by artillery, made a surprise attack on one of the posts in Kaiyan area. The post situated 10 miles South east of Tithwal, was held by about 70 Indian troops. The brave Indian Jawans who were out-numbered 10 to 1, fought back and inflicted heavy casualties, on the intruding forces. However, they had to withdraw from the post. In the afternoon, the Pakistani troops in more than battalion strength, attacked another post in the same area held by about 120 Indian troops, about 10½ miles south-east of Tithwal. In spite of the overwhelming strength of the Pakistani attack, Indian jawans fought bravely and after inflicting heavy casualties, withdrew from this position also.

In the actions, India suffered about 83 casualties including 24 killed. The Pakistani casualties were estimated to be much higher.

Since India did not want to escalate the conflict, the Indian Army Headquarters contacted its counter-part in Pakistan and offered a cease-fire to be followed by a flag meeting between the local commanders to discuss, demarcate and restore the actual line of control. As a result, both the Army Headquarters ordered a cease-fire, which came into effect the next day. Efforts for arranging a flag meeting were continuing.

Answering questions, the Minister said that it had been the effort of Pakistan to internationalise the issue, and whenever the occasion had arisen, they had always said that some international observers should be brought. On this occasion also, Pakistan had insisted that

the UN observers should be brought into the picture. India had taken the stand that there was no need for UN observers being brought into the picture and that it should be resolved by a flag meeting of the local commanders.

It was not intended to link the summit peace talks between the Prime Minister and President Bhutto to the present incident.

In a statement made on May 12, 1972 the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram informed the House that during the week 4—11 May, 1972, Pakistani troops had considerably increased their activity all along the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir. They had committed as many as 49 cease-fire Violations during the period in question. The violations included two serious incidents of firing by Pakistani troops in the Nowshera sector, as a result of which, 2 persons had been killed and 4 were wounded. Pakistani troops, on the other hand, had also suffered some casualties.

Indian troops had instructions to deal effectively with all intrusions and cease-fire violations by Pakistani troops. In a number of cases where clashes had occurred along the line of control, flag meetings had been held by local commanders to identify the points of dispute and settle them on the spot. This process would continue so that the chances of clashes along the line of actual control were minimised and needless loss of human lives on both sides avoided.

#### **U.N. Secretary General's Remark Re: India Withholding Cooperation to U.N. Observers in Kashmir**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported remarks made by the United Nations Secretary-General about India withholding cooperation to U.N. Observers in Kashmir" was tabled by Sarvashri Hari Kishore Singh, Ramavatar Shastri, N. K. Sanghi, B. S. Bhaura and K. M. 'Madhukar'. The matter was raised in the House on May 17, 1972 by Shri Hari Kishore Singh.

Replying, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh stated that the U.N. Secretary-General in his latest report submitted on May 12, 1972, to keep the Security Council further informed of the situation concerning the functioning of the U.N. Military Observation Machinery in Jammu and Kashmir, had stated that it remained the same as described by him in his earlier report submitted to

the Council on January 29, 1972. In his earlier report, the Secretary-General had stated that Chief Military Observer was trying to secure the requisite cooperation of India and Pakistan to enable the Machinery of UNMOGIP to discharge its function of reporting to the Secretary-General on the observance of the cease-fire and that the discussions had been satisfactorily completed with the Pakistan military authorities and were continuing with the Indian Military authorities.

UNMOGIP was entrusted, under the Karachi Agreement of 1949, with the task of supervising the cease-fire line, which was established in Jammu and Kashmir as a result of Indo-Pakistan Agreement. That cease-fire line was violated by Pakistan in December, 1971 and no longer existed. A new cease-fire line came into existence on December 17, 1971, as a result of the unilateral offer of cease-fire by the Prime Minister which was accepted by General Yahya Khan.

The UNMOGIP was entrusted with a particular role in respect of a specific cease-fire line existing at that time, as a result of the Agreement of 1949. While India appreciated the desire of the Secretary-General that UNMOGIP might still have a role, it was quite clear that there was no subsisting agreement for the same. This had already been explained to the Chief Military Observer as well as to the UN authorities.

The armed conflict of 1971 had created many problems and it was Government's desire to resolve them bilaterally so that durable peace might be established.

The UN Secretary-General in his report had referred to the efforts being made by the Governments of India and Pakistan to open direct high level negotiations to resolve their differences, including the recent meetings of the Special Emissaries of the two countries at Murree and Islamabad, which resulted in the Joint Statement of April 30, 1972. With the summit Meeting shortly due to take place, it was hoped that the cease-fire would be observed strictly, thus helping in creating a proper atmosphere for the success of the meeting and in establishing lasting peace between India and Pakistan.

Answering questions, the Minister said that there were many issues on which India might be sick of the attitude of the international community but it could not run away from those situations. India had to put across her view-points with perseverance and determination.

There was no question of India protesting to the Secretary General about the said report. If the report was studied carefully, it would be found that on the whole it was a fairly balanced document.

The question of Bengalis who were still left in Pakistan was a matter which was primarily a matter for discussion between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

### **Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace with Bangla Desh**

Laying on the Table of the House the text of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace and of the Joint Declaration signed by the Prime Ministers of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and of India on March 19, 1972, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi on March 20, 1972 said:—

"I should like to emphasise that the Treaty embodies the will of the two Governments to pursue common policies in matters of interest to both countries and solemnises the close ties of friendship between our two countries and peoples cemented through blood and sacrifice. The Treaty and the Declaration will guide us on our journey into the future in quest of peace, good neighbourliness and the well being of our two peoples.

The Joint Declaration emphasises the importance of close coordination and cooperation between the two countries in trade and payments, economic development and transit. I should like to invite the attention of Honourable Members to that portion of the Declaration which deals with the exciting prospect of harnessing the waters of Brahmaputra, Meghna and Ganga to the benefit of the two peoples.

It is our earnest hope that the Treaty which affirms our common goals and ideals and reiterates our firm adherence to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, will lead to lasting peace and cooperation not only between India and Bangla Desh but in the sub-continent and the region as a whole."

### **Trade Agreement with Bangla Desh**

Making a statement on the Trade Agreement between India and Bangla Desh in the House on March 29, 1972, the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra said that it aimed at the expansion and promotion of trade between the two countries on the basis of mutual advantage. It was set within the framework of the Joint Statement of the Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh where it was recognised that the common people of both countries should be the beneficiaries of close cooperation between the two Governments in the fields of trade and development.



There would be three tiers of trade consisting of:—

(i) A Border Trade Agreement which would facilitate trade in perishable commodities and articles of daily use to meet the requirements of people living in rural areas on either side of the land customs frontiers. These facilities would be available to persons holding special permits, living within sixteen kilometers on the border on either side.

(ii) To meet the transitional needs of Bangladesh, the two Governments had agreed to an interim arrangement under which import and export of specified commodities and goods of special interest to the two countries, produced and manufactured in the two countries, would be facilitated on a balanced basis to the extent of Rs. 25 crores each way. Supplies from India to Bangladesh would cover *inter-alia* cement, coal, unmanufactured tobacco, cotton yarn, asphalt, etc. Items for import from Bangladesh under such balanced trade would include fresh fish, raw jute, newsprint, furance oil, jute, batching oil and naptha, etc. Transactions would be routed through a special account operated by the State Bank of India, Calcutta and a bank to be designated by the Government of Bangladesh.

(ii) The two Governments agreed that imports and exports of commodities which were not covered under the balancing arrangement, should be permitted in accordance with the normal rules and regulations of either country.

The two Governments had also agreed to make mutually beneficial arrangements for the use of their waterways, railways and roadways for commerce between the two countries and for the passage of goods between two places in each country through the territory of the other. The two countries would accord to the commerce of each other the most favoured nation treatment.

The two Governments would cooperate effectively with each other to prevent infringement and circumvention of foreign exchange and foreign trade regulations of either country.

#### **Influx of Bihari Muslims from Bangla Desh in Bihar**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported arrival of a large number of Bihari Muslims from Bangla Desh into the Purnea District of Bihar through unguarded Sections of 112 K.M. border of Dinajpur District" was tabled by Sarvashri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Vayalar Ravi, Hukam Chand Kachwai, M. R. Gopal Reddy and Indrajit Gupta. The matter was raised in the House on April 11, 1972 by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs Shri K. C. Pant, said that the Government had seen press reports that non-Bengali Muslims had been crossing over in increasing number from Bangla Desh into West Bengal and parts of Bihar. The reports were not correct. Though there had been stray instances of non-Bengali residents migrating from Bangla Desh, there had been no influx of such persons. The Government of Bangla Desh had taken all possible measures for the safety and protection of the non-Bengali Muslims in that country. The border authorities were also fully vigilant and had taken adequate steps to prevent unauthorised entry of persons from across the border along the West Dinajpur District, as well as elsewhere.

Answering questions, the Minister said that Government had taken steps to increase vigilance all along the border and during the last few months, it had been vigilant on this score. Under the Foreigner's Act a special order was issued which made it obligatory for any citizen to furnish information about the presence of any foreigner to the nearest authority.

Out of the 2,000 persons who had crossed over to Indian side from March, 1971 to April 6, 1972, 600 persons had gone back and 1400 persons were still in India. It was not as though the State Governments did not know where they were. In cases where they had been released on bail, the State Governments knew their whereabouts and could locate them.

#### **Reported Possibilities of Circulation of Erroneous Soviet Maps of India**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported possibilities of extensive circulation in Western countries of erroneous Soviet maps of India depicting large portions of Indian territory in NEFA and Aksai Chin as part of China" was tabled by Sarvashri R. K. Sinha, B. K. Daschowdhury, H. M. Patel, P. Gangadeb and Satpal Kapur. The matter was raised in the House on May 25, 1972 by Shri B. K. Daschowdhury.

Replying, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh informed the House that the Government had seen in the press the reported deal between an American commercial firm and the USSR Government regarding the publication of the English edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia. The Indian Missions concerned had been asked to send fuller details on the subject. s

The reference in the newspaper report appeared to be to volume I of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, printed in November 1969, which contained a map on page 280 depicting wrongly India's external boundaries. When this map came to the notice of the Government, it had raised the issue with the Soviet Foreign Office. The Soviet authorities had assured the Government that this was a matter dealt with in a technical manner by their cartographers and specialists and did not have any political significance. It was further stated by them that the wrong depiction of boundaries in such maps did not in any way affect or reflect the Soviet Government's understanding of and respect for India's frontiers.

While the reported deal with an American firm would lead to a larger circulation on commercial basis of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, it did not reflect any change in the Soviet position.

Answering questions, the Minister said that the continued existence of those maps did affect the interest of the country and it was for this reason that the Government had been asking the USSR Government from time to time to make the correction. It was difficult to agree with the suggestion that the matter should be taken up in the UNO, for the UNO was the last place where redress on a matter of this nature could be sought.

#### **Anti-Indian Rally in Saigon**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported anti-India rally in Saigon protesting against India's Chairmanship of the International Control Commission" was tabled by Sarvashri R. K. Sinha, Karni Singh, Fatehsingh Rao Gackwad, N. K. Sanghi and P. Gangadeb. The matter was raised in the House by Shri R. K. Sinha on March 17, 1972.

Replying, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri Surendra Pal Singh said that consequent on the up-gradation of India's mission in Hanoi to Embassy level on January 7, 1972, on a reciprocal basis, a number of hostile demonstrations had taken place in front of the ICSC Headquarters and the Indian Consulate-General in Saigon. The latest incident took place on the morning of March 14, 1972, when South Vietnamese local employees of the ICSC struck work and displaced slogans on the walls of the Indian Delegation building, demanding immediate replacement of the Indian Delegation on the ICSC.

India's decision to raise the level of its mission in Hanoi was not in any way directed against South Vietnam. It was a recognition of the realities of the situation and in exercise of India's sovereign rights. The ICSC in Vietnam was an international body created by the nations participating in the Geneva Conference of 1954 and any attempt by any one of the parties to unilaterally alter its composition or prevent its functioning was totally unwarranted.

Answering questions, the Minister admitted that during the earlier two demonstrations, which took place outside the Indian Consulate-General, some ugly incidents did take place, soon after those incidents, the Government took up the matter with the South Vietnamese Government, who expressed their regret, apologised for the incident and gave an assurance that in future such things would not recur.

As regards the position of India on the International Control Commission, the Saigon Government had held that India, having decided to raise the level of its Mission in Hanoi, had lost neutrality, impartiality etc., which was required for the Chairmanship of the Commission. India's view, on the other hand, was that as this was purely a bilateral matter it had not changed her position in the International Control Commission. India continued to be objective and impartial in all matters referred to the Commission.

Meanwhile, India had also consulted the other Members of the Commission and there was a unanimous opinion that if the South Vietnamese continued to create conditions which made it difficult for the Commission to function properly, India might have to bring this matter to the notice of the Co-Chairmen.

#### **Threat of use of Nuclear Weapons by U.S.A. against North Vietnam**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported launching of massive air and naval operations and threat of use of nuclear weapons by U.S.A. against North Vietnam" was tabled by Sarvashri S. M. Banerjee, P. Venkatasubbaiah, M. C. Daga, C. K. Chandrappan and Hari Kishore Singh. The matter was raised in the House on April 10, 1972 by Shri S. M. Banerjee.

Replying, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh said that the Government of India were gravely concerned over the recent turn of events in Vietnam. Till the end of last year, the two sides were engaged in conducting negotiations at Paris and there was hope that a peaceful settlement would be arrived at.

President Nixon's 8-point proposal put forward in 1971 was an advance over the earlier U.S. position. However, at the end of December, 1971 the American side resumed bombing raids over Vietnam. On February 1, 1972, in reply to President Nixon's 8-point proposal, the Provisional Revolutionary Government gave two elaborations, which appeared to be constructive in nature and could have helped in seeking further avenues of a peaceful settlement. However, there was no positive response from the American side. On March 23, 1972, the American side decided not to participate in the Paris peace talks, and the U.S.A. intensified the bombing raids on the ground that they apprehended an attack. This was followed by a large-scale offensive by the Vietcong forces south of the de-militarized zone. Since the first week of April, 1972, the intensity of U.S. bombings from land bases and aircraft carriers had again been increased.

The Government of India had always opposed the bombing raids and they hoped that these bombings would stop immediately, all foreign forces would be withdrawn from the Vietnamese soil and the people of Vietnam left free to decide their own future.

Answering questions, the Minister said that Government were totally opposed to the use of nuclear weapons, as it would introduce a dangerous element in the situation. A statement made by the official spokesman in Washington had confirmed that there was no proposal to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam.

The Government, at the moment, was neither raising its level nor was it withdrawing its Consul-General from Saigon.

The Government was also not taking any step to give recognition to the PRG, as it did not qualify for the same according to the assessment of the Government as also according to international standards.

There was no proposal, at the moment, to convene an Asian conference at governmental or non-governmental level on the question of Vietnam.

#### **Massive Escalation of U.S. Bombing of Hanoi.**

A discussion under Rule 193 on a matter of urgent public importance regarding "situation arising out of massive escalation of U.S. Bombing of Hanoi" was raised on April 17, 1972 by Shri H. N. Mukerjee.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Mukerjee said that in the last 48 hours the port of Haiphong in North-Vietnam had been subjected to the heaviest bombing attack in history. The bombs dropped by the United States in North Vietnam exceeded the tonnage of bombs dropped by the United States against the Fascist powers during the Second World War. At the end of last year, the use of 6,800 kilogram bombs came to light, which was described by the U.S. military men as the "second best thing to a nuclear bomb". The Vietnam question could not be isolated from the anti-colonial upsurge of people everywhere. It was a fight for freedom against the last vestiges of colonialism in Asia. It was a struggle by a small nation of poor people who had shown tremendous resolve and humbled the world's mightiest power. The people of Vietnam had shown their courage and determination in an epic struggle which would ever be remembered in the annals of history.

India had a special duty and responsibility, because India was the Chairman of the International Commission alongwith Canada and Poland. India must also move closer and identify herself with the just struggle of the people of Vietnam. And the long overdue step of fully recognising the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam should be taken.

The discussion continued for more than three hours in which as many as 21 Members participated.\*

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh said that it was one of the rare occasions when there was unanimity of opinion amongst the political parties represented in Parliament about the attitude that the country should adopt about the bombing the North Vietnam. This would help very much not only in strengthening the will of the people of Vietnam to carry on their struggle, but would also have a powerful impact on world opinion and also public opinion in the United States of America and would thus create conditions in which the United States administration might consider abandoning the path on which they had embarked.

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Shankar Dayal Sharma, Jyotirmoy Bosu, S. A. Kader, P. A. Saminathan, Vasantrao Purushottam Sathe, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, V. K. Krishna Menon, Pilo Mody, Dinesh Singh, Shyamnandan Mishra, K. P. Unnikrishnan, Rana Bahadur Singh, B.R. Bhagat, Samar Guha, Shashi Bhushan, Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, Shibban Lal Saksena, Hari Kisore Singh, S. A. Shamim and Shrimati Marjorie Godfrey and Shrimati Sheila Kaul.

The heroic people of Vietnam had been waging a struggle for their freedom for more than 25 years. They had borne great hardships and gone through a long period of sufferings, the destruction of human life and property and yet their spirits were undaunted. It was unfortunate that instead of finding a peaceful political solution of the Vietnam problem, military means were being used to try to settle it on the battle-ground. The Government of India were convinced that military measures could not solve the problem. They only resulted in unnecessary bloodshed and loss of human lives. A peacefully negotiated political solution would have to be found.

It was hoped that with the cessation of bombing on North Vietnam and the opening of the Paris talks at the end of 1968, a political solution would have emerged. The Government regretted that Paris talks had been unilaterally postponed by the United States Government in the recent past and deplored the unprecedented and large-scale bombing particularly of inhabited localities like Hanoi and Haiphong by the United States B-52 bombers during the last few days. This was most regrettable and it would not only jeopardise the success of peaceful negotiations, but might escalate into a bigger conflict. The Government could not but express their condemnation of this callousness to human suffering and resort to such large-scale destruction which would only increase bitterness.

Suggestions had been made about India's responsibility as Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control. But it should be remembered that the Commission was not an all-purpose peace-keeping force. It was created for a specific purpose in 1954 after the Geneva Conference, and even the objectives to be achieved by the Commission were spelt out in the protocols that were signed at that time. But the type of situation that had developed—the United States coming in and mounting an aggression against the people of Vietnam—could never be visualised by those who attended the Geneva Conference. This was a subsequent development, and the International Control Commission, from the nature of its constitution, certainly was not the body which could deal with a problem of this nature.

The Government had been in touch with the two Co-Chairmen who belonged to the United Kingdom and the USSR, but their views on the Vietnam question were entirely different. They did not agree upon the essentials of the situation as was unfolding itself in Vietnam.

Under the circumstances, the Co-Chairmen would not provide any guidance.

A suggestion was made to raise the matter in the U.N. Security Council. If the intention was that the U.N. forum should be used to mobilise international opinion, India would certainly utilise the United Nations forum whether it was the General Assembly or the other organs of the U.N.O. to state the view-point of the Government clearly. If, on the other hand, it was felt that any action could be taken in the U.N., then Government would like to sound a note of caution. Action was not possible as North Vietnam was not yet a member of the U.N.O. To take any action in relation to a country which was not a member of the U.N., would not be liked even by North Vietnam. The Government of North Vietnam did not encourage the raising of the matter in a formal manner in the U.N.O., as they attached a great deal of importance to the Geneva Agreement. Any debate started in the U.N. *i.e.*, outside the Geneva Agreement, would not be helpful in restoring peace in that region. It might even wreck the very basis of that agreement.

A suggestion had been made by some Members for convening an Asian Conference to find out a solution of the Vietnam problem. It would be a very impressive gathering no doubt, but one did not expect anything coherent coming out of it.

It was not possible for the Government to recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

#### **Move to Expel Indian Delegation to I.C.C. and Action Against Indian Nationals in South Vietnam**

A Calling Attention Notice on "reported news about the South Vietnam National Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee asking the South Vietnamese Government to immediately expel the Indian delegation to the International Control Commission and also to use the law in a severe but just fashion towards Indian Nationals" was tabled by Sarvashri Indrajit Gupta, Nawal Kishore Sharma, Hari Kishore Singh, Jyotirmoy Bosu and Madhu Dandavate. The matter was raised in the House by Shri Indrajit Gupta on April 20, 1972.

Replying, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh said that the Government had seen press reports regarding the suggestion of the Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly of



South Vietnam to take certain anti-Indian measures both against the Indian members of the I.C.C. and the Indian nationals in South Vietnam. Government were enquiring from its Consulate-General and the Chairman of the ICC in Saigon about the matter and were awaiting their report. The Consul-General of the Republic of South Vietnam who was called by the External Affairs Ministry reported that he had no authentic information on the point. However, he agreed to apprise the Government after ascertaining the position from Saigon.

The Government of South Vietnam claimed that they supported and respected the International Commission. The Commission was a composite body and any action against any one of the component members of the Commission would be tantamount to action against the Commission as a whole. The Government of the Republic of Vietnam had already re-validated the visas of all the members of the Commission, including the Indian Delegation, for a period of six months starting from April 1, 1972. There was absolutely no justification to discriminate against the Indian Delegation to the ICC by expulsion or otherwise.

As regards the Indian nationals in South Vietnam, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam had, through their note of January 21, 1972, clearly assured the Government that they had issued strict instructions to the appropriate authorities to take adequate measures to protect the life and property of the Indian community throughout the Republic of Vietnam.

The Government hoped that the South Vietnamese Government would abide by all those assurances and not allow any prejudicial or hostile action to undermine the friendly relations between the Indian and the South Vietnamese people or to injure the legitimate rights of the Indian community in South Vietnam.

Answering questions, the Minister said that there were about 2,000 families of persons of Indian origin in South Vietnam. Most of them were engaged in trade and business, and any allegation that they were in any way acting against the economic or national interests of South Vietnam was totally unfounded.

There was no evidence to the effect that the present attitude of the Government of South Vietnam was in any way created by any act of encouragement by the U.S.A. The Government had been in touch

with the representative of the United States of America and it did not find any evidence, either in Saigon or in Washington, about such a suspicion.

At present there was no intention on the part of the Government of India to sever diplomatic and trade relations with South Vietnam.

#### **Recent developments in Vietnam**

Making a statement on May 10, 1972 on "recent developments in Vietnam", the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh informed the House that President Nixon had on May 8 declared that he had ordered the following measures, which were already being implemented:

- (i) All entrances to North Vietnamese ports will be mined to prevent access to those ports and North Vietnamese naval operations from these ports.
- (ii) U.S. forces have been directed to take appropriate measures within the internal and claimed territorial waters of North Vietnam to interdict the delivery of any supplies.
- (iii) Rail and all other communications will be cut off to the maximum extent possible.
- (iv) Air and naval strikes against military targets in North Vietnam will continue."

At the same time, aerial and naval action on a large scale both in North Vietnam and in those areas in South Vietnam which were under the control of the PRG was being taken. Heavy bombardment of Hanoi, Haiphong and a number of other inhabited localities both in North and South Vietnam had been going on for the last several weeks. Hundreds of thousands of human lives were being lost and more were being rendered homeless and destitute. No one sensitive to human suffering could be indifferent to the situation. There could be no justification for the escalation of the conflict. It would serve neither the cause of peace nor achieve the objectives President Nixon had set out in his statement while ordering the latest military action.

It was a matter of deep regret that the United States Government should have unilaterally broken off the peace talks in Paris which had been resumed only recently. What was even more grave was the growing danger of an escalation of the Vietnam war into a bigger and wider conflict.

He was sure that the House would join the Government in condemning this latest escalation.

#### **Harassment of Indian Students in U.S.A.**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported harassment of Indian Students in U.S.A." was tabled by Sarvashri C. K. Chandrappan, Madhu Dandavate, Jyotirmoy Bosu, Phool Chand Venma, Bhogendra Jha. The matter was raised in the House on April 7, 1972 by Shri C. K. Chandrappan.

Replying, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Shri Surendra Pal Singh said that the Government had received communications from Indian Missions in Washington and New York about the reported harassment and intimidation of Indian and other foreign students in Detroit for alleged violation of U.S. Immigration Rules relating to gainful employment. The Government had also seen Press reports on the subject. The Indian Embassy had already taken up the matter with the State Department and with the Immigration authorities.

The United States Government had denied that anyone had been intimidated or harassed. They assured the Embassy (i) that the move to ensure compliance with visa regulations was not confined to Indians but applied to all foreign nationals in similar circumstances, (ii) that each case was being examined on merits and (iii) that *bonafide* students would be allowed to complete their studies.

An Indian Consul from the Consulate-General in New York was promptly despatched to Detroit to meet local Immigration authorities and Indian students. He had sent a preliminary report after his meeting with the Immigration authorities. According to this report the Immigration authorities investigating violations of visa regulations had learnt from the Detroit Institute of Technology about irregular attendance and unsatisfactory progress by 113 foreign students, of whom 83 were Indians. On the basis of this information, they had summoned several Indian as well as other foreign students, with the objective of securing compliance with the conditions on which student visas were granted. Immigration authorities wished to be helpful but were under pressure from trade unions and others because of a high unemployment rate in the district. There would, therefore, be greater firmness in securing compliance with visa regulations. Assurance had, however, been given by the authorities that such compliance would be in a non-discriminatory way and without harassment.

Answering questions, the Minister said that there were certain undertakings which students had to give when they applied for visa to go to America. It was true that in the past there had been certain amount of relaxation and they had not enforced those regulations very rigidly. But some of the local authorities were now under pressure to take action against them and to enforce the regulations and this was not illegal.

They had also assured the Government that no action would be taken against those students who were doing their studies properly and who were *bonafide* students.

As regards giving protection to Indian students in America, this was Government's responsibility. On receipt of full facts of the case, if something had to be done for the students, the Government would do it.

#### **Hijacking of an International Plane from Delhi Airport**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported hijacking of an International plane immediately after its departure from Delhi Airport on February 22, 1972 and steps taken by the Government to tighten the security measures at the Airport" was jointly tabled by Sarvashri Madhu Dandavate and Samar Guha. The matter was raised in the House on March 14, 1972 by Shri Madhu Dandavate.

Replying, the Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Dr. Karan Singh stated that Lufthansa Boeing-747 aircraft on a scheduled flight from Tokyo to Frankfurt arrived at Palam from Tokyo via Hongkong and Bangkok at 23.59 hrs. on February 21, 1972 with 130 passengers and a crew of 15. Six passengers disembarked at Palam while 48 joined the flight, including 3 Oman nationals. All the passengers boarding the aircraft at Palam were frisked and their hand-baggage searched by the security staff at the airport.

The aircraft departed from Delhi at 01.08 hrs. IST for Athens. It landed at Aden at 06.30 hrs. local time (09.00 hrs. IST) and information to this effect was received by the Lufthansa office in Delhi at about 10.00 hrs. IST on February 22, 1972. According to the Station Manager, Lufthansa Airlines, Delhi the Captain of the plane revealed at Frankfurt after release that the aircraft was hijacked by five Palestinian guerillas who used hand-grenades and pistols and had brought on board a large quantity of explosives. According to him, one guerilla had embarked at Hongkong and another at Bangkok and three at Delhi. *Prima facie* it appeared that the hijackers had brought

the explosives and fire-arms on board at a station earlier than Delhi. Enquiries made so far did not show that there was any lapse on the part of the security authorities at Palam Airport. Information regarding the incident was communicated telegraphically to the International Civil Aviation Organisation as also to the aeronautical authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Answering questions, the Minister stated that the question of hijacking was an international menace. It was not only in India, but all the world over it had taken place. The motivations of hijacking were as varied as the hijacking incidents themselves. It was impossible to lay down any motives. While some were political, the others were financial etc.

No country had been able to evolve a hundred per cent hijacker-proof system. Even in so advanced and affluent a country like the United States, every month or every week one would find such incidents. Therefore, in the circumstances what the Government could do was to strengthen the existing arrangements.

#### **Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill**

Moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and in the Department of Personnel, Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha said on May 29, 1972 that before the transfer of Power in 1947, recruitment to certain services was being made by the Secretary of State and the more important conditions of service of such persons were prescribed by rules made by the Secretary of State. The Transfer of Power meant, in the case of those persons, a premature termination of a career under the ultimate authority of the British Government. With a view to ensuring that the Administration was not weakened by the loss of experienced officers, the Government of India undertook that those members of the Secretary of States' Services who continued to serve under the Government of India after the transfer of power should do so on their then existing terms as to scales of pay, leave, pensionary rights and safeguards in matters as discipline and that provisions to that effect should be made in the Treaty to deal with matters arising out of the Transfer to Power.

Subsequently, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provided for the continuance of the special conditions of service of those officers. In addition to the statutory guarantees, an endorsement was made, in the covenant or agreement of officers of the Secretary of States' Services guaranteeing the continuance of the special conditions of service.

Subsequently, when the Constitution of India was enacted, Article 310 assured the continuance of these guarantees.

Because of the provisions of Article 314, the changes being made from time to time in the conditions of service of Government servants generally could not all be affected in the case of the officers of the former Secretary of State's Services. The concept of a class of officers with immutable conditions of service was incompatible with the changed social order. It was, therefore, considered necessary to amend the Constitution to provide for the deletion of Article 314 and for the inclusion of new Article 312A which conferred on Parliament the power to vary or revoke by law the conditions of service of the officers aforesaid. This Bill contained appropriate consequential and incidental provisions.

Eleven Members participated in the discussion\*. Replying to the debate, the Minister stated that the Bill had been brought forward to remove a constitutional impediment that lay before Parliament in changing the service conditions of persons belonging to the Secretary of State services.

It was true that the removal of Article 314 by itself would not remove the special service conditions that governed this class of officers, but a follow-up legislation would have to come so that the special conditions that governed their services as at present could be modified and brought more in consonance with the service conditions as generally obtained in the country.

The incorporation of Article 312A in the Constitution was intended to exclude from the purview and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and other courts disputes arising out of any provision of a covenant of those officers.

After the speech of the Minister, the Bill, as amended, was passed.

#### **Constitution (Thirty-Second Amendment) Bill**

Moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, the Minister of Law and Justice Shri H. R. Gokhale said on May 29, 1972 that the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963 was the principal land reform law in

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Somnath Chatterjee, Govind Das, G. Viswanathan, Amrit Nahata, Ranen Sen, Shashi Bhushan, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, P. Venkatasubbaiah, Pfllo Mody, Samar Guha and S. N. Singh.

the State of Kerala and was included in the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution by the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Act, 1964. In the course of implementation, the State Government faced serious practical difficulties and to overcome them, that Act was extensively amended by the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act, 1969 and the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act, 1971.

Certain crucial provisions of the principal Act as amended were challenged in the High Court of Kerala creating a climate of uncertainty in the effective implementation of land reforms in the State. Although the High Court of Kerala had generally upheld the scheme of land reforms envisaged in the principal Act, as amended, a few vital provisions thereof had been struck down by the High Court.

The judgment of the Kerala High Court had substantially been upheld by the Supreme Court also, with the result that most of those provisions, which had been struck down by the Kerala High Court, also remained struck down by the Supreme Court. The striking down of those provisions had created serious difficulties in the implementation of the Act.

In order that the implementation of land reforms in the State of Kerala might not be jeopardised, it was considered necessary to give protection under Article 31B of the Constitution to the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act, 1969 and the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act, 1971. For this purpose, it was proposed through this Bill to include these Acts in the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution so that any uncertainty or doubt that might arise in regard to the validity of those Acts was removed.

In the debate, as many as 10 Members participated.\*

Replying to the discussion, the Minister said that the attitude taken by the Central Government had all along been constructive and not to come in the way of implementing the Land Reforms Act. The judgement of the Supreme Court striking down the Kerala Land Reforms Acts came on the 28th or 29th April, 1972. That judgement had to be studied. The Government were examining its impact and every caution had to be taken to ensure that there was no further

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvaswari Dinen Bhattacharya, C. M. Stephen, C. K. Chandrappan, Vayalar Ravi, N. Sreekantan Nair, G. Viswanathan, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, R. Balakrishna Pillai and M. R. Gopal Reddy.

defect left in the amendment which it was trying to bring before the House. There was, therefore, no delay on the part of the Government in bringing this measure before the House.

After the speech of the Minister, the Bill as amended, was passed.

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**Suicide by I.A.R.I. Scientist**

Making a statement on May 9, 1972 on the death of Dr. V. H. Shah, Senior Agronomist and Associate Project Co-ordinator, All India Maize Improvement Project, Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed said that the scientist's passing away on May 5, 1972 at the prime of his career, when the entire task of leading maize agronomic research in the country had been entrusted to his care only two years ago, was a matter for deep sorrow. His Ministry was deeply concerned over this tragedy and he wished to convey the assurance that a thorough study of its implications would be made in order to evolve a better system of recruitment rules and working procedures.

The Ministry of Agriculture and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research had not been too happy with the present system of recruitment, which necessitated a scientist applying for posts and being interviewed by Selection Committee throughout his working career. This system inevitably provided frequent occasions for disappointment leading to frustration. This situation was dramatically illustrated by the plight of Dr. Shah who decided to take his life because of extreme anguish and mental torture arising from his not being selected for the post of Professor of Agronomy at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute.

Prior to 1st April, 1966, recruitment to posts in IARI and several other Institutes now under the ICAR was made through the Union Public Service Commission. Responding to the widely held view among scientists and scientific organisations that recruitment to scientific posts should be done by technical men and not generalists, Government authorised I.C.A.R. to set up its own Selection Committee under well-defined procedures. However, from the criticism voiced by the late Dr. Shah and from letters he had been receiving from Members from time to time, it had become apparent that the system of recruitment needed review and recasting. Government, therefore, proposed to appoint a Committee headed by an eminent scientist to review the recruitment rules and procedures of ICAR and suggest suitable changes.



The Government had recently appointed a Committee headed by Dr. J. S. Patel, former Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India to enquire into the working of the Institute and make a critical assessment of the scientific contribution of the Institute during the last five years. Government was referring the points mentioned in the letter left behind by Dr. Shah at the time of his death to the Committee for a thorough examination and report.

On May 25, 1972, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee moved the following motion:—

“That this House do consider the statement laid on the Table by the Minister of Agriculture on the 9th May, 1972 regarding suicide by Dr. V. H. Shah, a scientist of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi”.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Vajpayee said that Dr. Shah did not sacrifice his life for material gain or for promotion or for status, but for getting justice for others who were placed in similar circumstances.

Dr. Shah was not only superseded, but was being victimised. What happened was that in a number of cases *ad hoc* appointments were made of some favoured ones. They were allowed to work there. Later they were regularised in preference to senior and more qualified persons. The Minister should see that these charges were properly investigated so that such cases did not recur in future. The present set-up of I.A.R.I. needed a drastic change.

The status of the ICAR had not yet been decided whether it was a registered society, Autonomous Body or a Government Department. Whenever some cases went to courts, Government took different stands in different courts. Government should see that the interests of the employees were protected.

The Government should appoint a Committee of Scientists and Members of Parliament to enquire into the entire working of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research with special reference to the rules and procedures of recruitment, promotions and service conditions of scientists and other staff members. The Committee should investigate all cases of promotions, supersession, termination of services etc., that had taken place in those institutions during the last five years. The Committee should further examine the validity of the claims about scientific advancement made by these bodies in recent years.

The discussion continued for three hours in which 14 Members participated.\*

Intervening in the discussion, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed stated that in the statement made in the House on May 8, it had been indicated that Government proposed to appoint a Committee headed by an eminent scientist to review the recruitment rules and procedures of ICAR and suggest suitable changes. In view of the subsequent development and what had been stated by the Members, the terms of the Committee had since been enlarged. It had been considered desirable to appoint a retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Dr. Gajendragadkar, to head the Committee. The other three members were—Dr. B. D. Nag Chaudhury, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence; Dr. H. N. Sethna, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission; and Shri B. Venkatappaiah, Chairman, Rural Electrification Corporation, Limited, New Delhi. Another member was likely to be appointed to this Committee.

The terms of reference of this Committee would be:

- (1) to examine the underlying causes of the suicide of Dr. Shah with particular reference to specific and general points raised by him in his letter of May 5, 1972, addressed to Dr. Swaminathan.
  - (2) To review the recruitment and personnel policies of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and to suggest measures for their improvement.
- If the proposed Committee found that there was any further detailed investigation necessary, it would certainly recommend or might as well, with the consent of the Government, enlarge its own scope.

Replying to the debate, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that the decision of the Government to appoint an Inquiry Committee was welcome. The Committee should have the power to go deep into the causes of discontent among scientists.

Thereafter a substitute Motion, which was moved by Shri Vajpayee earlier, was withdrawn by leave of the House.

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Shyama Parsanna Bhattacharyya, Vasant Sathe, Krishnan Monoharan, Piloo Mody, Henry Austin, P.V.G. Raju, Indrajit Gupta, Vayalar Ravi, Khemchandbhai Chavda, K. P. Unnikrishnan, Janaki Ballav Patnaik, M. C. Daga and Samar Guha.

### Annual Reports of Union Public Service Commission

11 Moving a Motion on April 10, 1972 "that this House takes note of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Reports of the Union Public Service Commission", the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and in the Department of Personnel, Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha said that save in very exceptional circumstances, Government always accepted the advice of the UPSC in matters relating to any appointment in which they were consulted. Unless in the opinion of the Minister concerned, exceptional circumstances existed warranting departure in public interest from the recommendations of the Commission, the recommendations were not generally departed from.

There were several other matters which had been referred to in the reports. One important matter was regarding the media for the All-India and Higher Central Services Examinations conducted by the Commission. In the resolution adopted by both Houses of Parliament in December, 1967, on the question of the official language of the Union, it had been provided *inter alia* that all the languages included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and English would be permitted as alternative media for the All-India and Higher Central Service Examinations after ascertaining the views of the Union Public Service Commission on the future scheme of the examinations, the procedural aspects and the timing.

Accordingly, the beginning in the use of regional languages was made in 1969 when candidates appearing at the Combined Competitive Examinations for recruitment to the IAS, etc. were given option to write their answers in two of the compulsory subjects Essay and General Knowledge in any of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution, besides English. The question of extending such option to more subjects was under consideration of the UPSC in the light of the experience gained so far.

Further, Hindi had been permitted as an alternative medium besides English, in writing the essay and the general knowledge papers at the Assistants' Grade examination conducted by the UPSC since 1964. Besides this, with effect from 1971, candidates appearing in the stenographers' examination had been permitted the option to write answers to the General Knowledge paper and to take shorthand tests either in Hindi or English. The Commission as well as the Government were anxious for speedy implementation of the decision embodied in the Resolution.

Replying to the discussion\* later in the evening, the Minister said that the composition of the Commission was governed by provisions in the Constitution. The experience now was that those constitutional provisions had worked very satisfactorily. The Government had tried to ensure that all types of persons with as much varied experience and talent as possible were included in the Commission.

In regard to non-official members also, Government had tried to induct persons with all sorts of background. There were technologists, scientists, educationists. There were persons belonging to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes as also from minority communities. The Commission and its Members had acted with a great sense of objectivity and impartiality. There was nothing which called for a change in the composition of the Commission in a cursory manner.

As regards the medium of language, a point had been raised that the present system of selection put people from the rural areas and backward communities to a disadvantage. The system of education that was adopted by the country today was gradually being based on Hindi and regional languages. Even at the University level, some Universities had adopted the regional language as the medium of instruction. It was with that end in view that the Government had requested the Commission to explore introduction not only of Hindi but all the regional languages as medium of examination for the examinations conducted by the Commission. The Government had also told them that, in addition to the written examinations, the Commission should explore if Hindi could also be used as a medium for interviews and *viva voce* examinations.

The policy of the Government was that Hindi and all other regional languages should be made the medium of UPSC Examinations. It was not possible to fix targets on that. The Government did not think that it was beyond the ingenuity and competence of the Members of the Commission to evolve some suitable formula for introducing regional languages in both written tests as well as interviews.

For the last so many years, all the posts that were reserved for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates, had been completely filled because persons of requisite standard were available.

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\*The Members who took part in the debate were Sarvashri Jyotirmoy Bosu, Sat Pal Kapur, C. K. Chandrappan, Subodh Hansda, C. T. Dhandapani, Jagannathrao Joshi, Balakrishna Venkanna Naik, S. N. Singh and N. N. Kailas.

As regards age limit, up-to-now it was 24 years. The people from backward areas were at a disadvantage. There was a demand in the House and there was recommendation by A.R.C., that the age limit should be raised. The Government have decided that the age limit should be raised from 24 to 26 years.

The motion was then adopted.

### **Fraud in United Bank of India, Calcutta**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported fraud on a nationalised bank in Calcutta over the last 12 months involving Rupees Sixty lakhs" was tabled by Sarvashri Jyotirmoy Bosu, Chintamani Panigrahi, Gadadhar Saha, Hari Kishore Singh and Ramkanwar. The matter was raised in the House on April 28, 1972 by Shri Chintamani Panigrahi.

Replying, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance, Shri K. R. Ganesh said that with a view to giving better credit facilities to the weaker sections of the community, the nationalised banks had been extending liberal credit facilities to small-scale industries and small businessmen. It was understood that a gang of criminals working in collusion with some bank officials of United Bank of India, Calcutta, took advantage of these liberal credit facilities available and took out large sums of money in the name of different firms, some of them fictitious, by submitting fake documents. The preliminary investigations conducted by the police revealed that the amount involved would amount to Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 lakhs. So far six persons had been arrested. A case was registered with the police.

Answering questions, the Minister said that the Government was taking necessary steps to plug the procedural loopholes and prevent frauds in the nationalised banks. The central team of the Reserve Bank of India was visiting different nationalised banks to study the possibility of removal of procedural difficulties in those banks.

### **Payment of Money by Chief Cashier of State Bank of India to Shri Nagarwala**

A discussion under Rule 193 on a matter of urgent public importance regarding "payment of Rs. 60 lakhs by the Chief Cashier of State Bank of India, Parliament Street, New Delhi in 1971 to Shri Nagarwala and his companion on a reported telephonic instruction from the Prime Minister" was raised on May 30, 1972 by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu said that "the issue of Nagarwala had been one of the most mysterious ones, and during the last one year, people all over the country have been left guessing. If this Government had attached any value to public opinion, they would have come out with details and cleared the fog. Instead, not only have they observed stony silence, but they struggled to keep others in darkness, including this Parliament". The issue "has revealed unheated of malpractices in the country's premier bank and banker of the State. . . . . The Government has to prove that everything was above board and the House has to be satisfied".

The discussion continued for more than three and a half hours in which 10 Members excluding Shri Bosu participated\*.

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of Finance Shri Yeshwant Rao Chavan stated that taking away of Rs. 60 lakhs from the State Bank of India was not only unprecedented, but was very fantastic. The question was how the Government reacted to it and what action the Government were to take about it. The Government machinery not only took cognizance of the matter and acted very promptly but successfully dealt with the matter. Shri Nagarwala was arrested on the same day and the money with him was taken possession of.

It was natural that the Members were mostly concerned about the money and the investigation about the money. First of all, naturally, the police investigation was concentrated on recovering the money. "The question of investigation and prosecuting Shri Malhotra, Chief Cashier of the Bank, had some sort of lower priority than Shri Nagarwala under these circumstances". The police however, arrested Shri Nagarwala and prosecuted him.

Shri Malhotra was not impleaded with Shri Nagarwala because the judicial view was that they were two separate cases since the facts were quite different. He was suspended and prosecuted separately under section 409 for breach of trust. Though the Judicial Court had discharged him, he was still under suspension and a departmental inquiry was being held against him. There was no question of appointing any Commission of Inquiry to probe into the matter.

The money in the currency chest belonged to the Reserve Bank of India and it was held by the State Bank of India on behalf of the

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri H. K. L. Bhagat, H. N. Mukerjee, Vasant Sathe, Krishnan Monoharan, Vikram Mahajan, Jagannathrao Joshi, B. K. Daschowdhury, Shyamnandan Mishra, C. M. Stephen and H. M. Patel.

Reserve Bank of India. As long as the money was in the currency chest, it was the Reserve Bank of India's money. The moment it was withdrawn for circulation, it became the currency in the real sense and then, it belonged to the State Bank of India or any other Bank which carried the currency chest.

Taking away Rs. 60 lakhs was certainly an important matter which the Government were going into. But there was "nothing like fraud on democracy, the bank and the people". Every thing was open and nothing was concealed. Every part of it was either before the judiciary or before Parliament.

The behaviour of the Government in the matter had been absolutely upright. It was not trying to conceal anything. On the other hand, the Government was trying to take very right step and would continue to take every right step to keep the law of the country in order.

#### **Allegation of Publication of Large Number of Posters by a Company in Violation of Company Law**

On May 31, 1972 Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu moved the following motion :—

"That this House do consider the allegations made, with the support of photostat copy, during the debate on the Finance Bill by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu that the Managing Director of Duncan Bros. Ltd., Calcutta had got published a large number of posters in clear violation of the Company Law".

Initiating the discussion, Shri Bosu said that during the Finance Bill debate a few photostats, duly authenticated by him, had been handed over to the Chair. The Government without thoroughly examining the documents tried to deny them. The Finance Minister had said that the charges against his party were baseless. Addressing the Youth rally at Calcutta on May 20, 1972, the Prime Minister had said, as reported in the 'Statesman', that "documents produced in this connection were false. The photostats contained no real evidence". Referring to the election poster controversy, she had said, as reported in the 'Times of India', that "capitalists provided funds for every party. They paid us. They paid to Marxists".

In a reply given in the Rajya Sabha on the subject of company donations, the Minister of Industrial Development and Internal Trade had given a list of a large number of parties, headed by the Congress, which was given Rs. 2,33,07,021. Congress topped the list

and survived on the capitalist money. Crores and crores of rupees were collected by the ruling party and in return rewards were given. This created more hardship and rise in the cost of living for the poor man. The question of election expenses and the unfair nature of the slogan in the poster had to be gone into. An All-Party Parliamentary Committee should probe into the matter and see what could be done.

The discussion lasted for more than six hours in which as many as 16 Members participated\*.

Intervening in the discussion the Minister of Company Affairs, Shri Raghunatha Reddy said that the question before the House was whether there was any violation of the company law and what the Government had done with regard to it. Though the photostat copy, on the face of it, did not prove any violation of the company law, the Government had deputed an Additional Director of Investigation and Inspection, to find out whether there was any violation of the company law in respect of the printing of those posters.

The prohibition under the company law was with regard to donation or contribution to be made by the company to any political party or to any political person. If an individual notwithstanding the fact that he was a Managing Director or director of a company or an officer of a company, made a contribution in his individual capacity, it had nothing to do with company law. In this case as far as order No. 189/72 was concerned, it was for posters printed by Saraswati Press and every naya paisa had been paid by the AICC office by crossed cheque. This fact had been corroborated by the Investigating Officer in his report.

A reference had been made to an alleged statement made by the Prime Minister at Calcutta, "which was obviously misreported by the Press . . . . The newspapers have not carried a correct report of what the Prime Minister had said at the Chattraparishad meeting. She never said that the documents were false. . . . About the photostat documents she said they have no agreement with one another".

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\*The Members who took part in the discussion were Sarvashri Priya Ranjan Das Munsli, Indrajit Gupta, K. P. Unnikrishnan, G. Viswanathan, V. C. Shukla, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Henry Austin, Shyamnandan Mishra, R. K. Singh, Surendra Mohanty, P. K. Deo, Madhu Dandavate, C. M. Stephen, S. A. Shamim, Ramsahai Pandey and K. V. Raghunatha Reddy.



In view of all the facts that had been stated and in view of the futility of the photostat copies, this Motion had failed and all other substitute motions had absolutely no value.

Replying to the discussion, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu stated that if the statement made by the Prime Minister was misreported in the newspapers, "they would have contradicted it. It should have come out in the papers". Further, the story of payment by cheque and paper supplied was all fabricated. The AICC books of accounts of elections of this year and of the last year should be placed on the Table of the House so that the Parliament might examine them.

After the speech of Shri Bosu, the substitute motions moved by other Members were put to vote and were negatived by the House.

### **Unearthing of Forged Postal Stamp Racket**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported unearthing of forged postal stamps racket and seizure of a large quantity of fake postal stamps" was tabled by Sarvashri D. K. Panda. Narsingh Narain Pandey, Amar Nath Chawla, Pilo Mody and P. Narasimha Reddy. The matter was raised in the House on April 6, 1972 by Shri D. K. Panda.

Replying, the Minister of Communications, Shri H. N. Bahuguna informed the House that on March 22, 1972 when a member of the public brought six sheets of 20-paise (Gnat series issued on 16-10-67) forged postage stamps to him, he directed the senior officers of the P. & T., Directorate to commence immediate investigations.

The vigilance squad of the P. & T., Directorate assisted by the police arrested two postal officials of the Ansari Road Post Office (Delhi) on March 3, 1972 and on the clue furnished by them, two members of the gang were arrested at Sonepat, late in the night on the same day. The press complete with photographic equipment and finished and unfinished forged postage stamps of the approximate value of Rs. 2 lakhs was also seized in Radhey Puri, Shahdara, Delhi.

From the records seized in the office as well as the press of the said gang, it came to light that agents had been appointed by the gang in various States of the country for sale of those forged stamps. Immediate action was therefore taken for apprehension of those agents and so far twenty-two persons had been taken into custody, both in Delhi and the rest of the country, which included five postal officials also.

From investigations made, it had come to light that only 20-paise postage stamps were being forged and forging of other denomination postage stamps had not come to notice so far. Raids and searches were still continuing and it was expected that it would result in unfolding the racket in full.

#### **Nun-Running from Kerala to Europe**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported disclosure made by the B.B.C. about the resumption of nun-running from Kerala to Europe" was tabled by Sarvashri R. K. Sinha, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, C. Janardhanan, B. K. Daschowdhury and Indrajit Gupta. The matter was raised in the House on March 29, 1972 by Shri R. K. Sinha.

Replying, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh informed the House that the Government had seen press reports about a B.B.C. television programme on the alleged resumption of nun-running from Kerala to some European convents. These reports had been contradicted by the Kerala Catholic Clergy, who were said to have sent the girls. Government were making necessary inquiries in the matter, and the facts would be placed before the House as soon as they were available.

Members would recall that similar allegations had appeared in the press some time ago and the matter was discussed in the House. Government had then promised detailed and exhaustive inquiries into the alleged sale of girls to foreign Church organisations, profiteering from such sales, harsh treatment accorded to the girls and of their use in menial occupations. The inquiries, which had been completed, showed that broadly speaking the allegations were not justified.

Answering questions, the Minister said that the question whether any money had been made or not was gone into in considerable detail in the course of the inquiry and it had been established that the actual expenditure incurred by the clergies who were entrusted with the duty of recruitment was less than the amounts that had been received from abroad. But it had also been established that the excess amount was utilised for charitable purposes and the organisations that sent money were also satisfied about the proper utilisation of the said amount.

As for placing a complete ban on the girls going abroad, it was not contemplated at this juncture because enquiries showed that most of those girls were happy. Most of them were Christians already and if they went abroad and wanted to adopt that as a profession, there was nothing wrong about it.

No minor girl was allowed to go out. The minimum age was 19 years, and before passport facilities were granted, every care was taken to ensure that the girl was not a minor.

### **Reported Sale of Adivasi girls from Orissa**

A discussion under Rule 193 on a matter of urgent public importance regarding "reported sale of Adivasi girls from Orissa" was raised on May 24, 1972 by Shri Kartik Oraon.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Kartik Oraon said that the House had been apprised of the reported sale of about 2,000 Adivasi girls from Orissa to different parts of the country by the local contractors. No attempt had been made to apprehend the culprits and bring them to book. Government had done nothing to put a stop to the abduction of those girls. The Central Government held that it was a State subject and therefore it could not take action against the State administration. The Central Government could not absolve itself of the responsibility for the protection of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as provided for in the Constitution.

There was a Tribal Welfare Board, a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and a Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and yet no good was coming out.

Government should appoint a Parliamentary Committee which should go to tribal areas immediately, study the situation and report at their earliest. A Ministry of Justice should be established and its Minister should be made responsible to Parliament like the head of any other Ministry. One of its main tasks should be to keep under review the general development of the law, to report upon any section of it which was failing to serve the needs of the Community and to bring before Parliament legal reforms.

The discussion lasted for about four hour in which 20 Members took part\*.

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri D. Deb, Janki Ballav Patnaik, D. K. Panda, M. C. Daga, J. M. Gowde, Dharnidhar Basumatari, Jaganathrao Joshi, P. K. Deo, Subodh Hansda; Madhu Dandavate, Arvind Netam, Bhagirath Bhanvar, Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, B. K. Daschoudhary, Shyam Sunder Mahapatra, Arjun Sethi, Chandra Shailani, M. S. Purty, M. G. Uikey and Shrimati T. Lakshmikantamma.

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri K. C. Pant said that regarding the kidnapping of Adivasi girls in Orissa, the Government of India had ordered a thorough probe into the matter by the Intelligence Bureau. The Intelligence Bureau would naturally take some time to make detailed enquiries and submit a report. The report would be considered in all its aspects, and suitable effective action would be taken to check the crime.

Crime was a State subject and in this case it was for the State Government to tackle the problem and bring the culprits to book. But if the Orissa Government or any other Government wanted assistance from the Centre, it would be certainly given.

The suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act had been enforced all over the country, and the police was in charge of this enforcement. Still such instances did come to notice. The Social Welfare Departments of the various States were running protective home, and full-time special police officers had been appointed in the various States for the implementation of the Act. But apart from this, there was the question of the role of the non-official agencies which was very important. Non-official agencies must come forward in a much larger measure than at present.

Tribal development blocks were one of the main schemes for the improvement of conditions of tribals. A sum of Rs. 4.72 crores had been earmarked for Orissa, out of the amount of Rs. 32.5 crores provided in the Fourth Plan for such development blocks.

Reference was made to an integrated scheme for the development of certain areas in Orissa, Koraput, Ganjam, Mayurbhanj, etc. sent by the State Government. Two projects one in Ganjam and another in Koraput were sanctioned and each project would cost about Rs. 1.5 crores, three crores in all, covering 1972-73 and 1973-74. No project had been sanctioned for Mayurbhanj. The matter would be taken up with the Social Welfare Ministry to examine the possibility of including a scheme for Mayurbhanj.

Reference was also made to pilot projects. There were four pilot projects; these were aimed at removing regional imbalances so that there were no pockets of extreme poverty. Four such projects each at a

cost of Rs. 150 lacs had recently been started in the tribal areas of Orissa, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh.

### **Exemptions from ceiling on Agricultural Holdings**

Making a statement in the House on April 17, 1972 regarding exemption from ceiling on agricultural holdings, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed said that in August, 1971 the Central Land Reforms Committee had made certain recommendations with a view to bring about a broad measure of uniformity in the ceiling laws of the different States. The main recommendations were that ceiling should be made applicable to the family as a whole; that the ceiling for a family of five members might be fixed within the range of 10 to 18 acres of perennially irrigated land or land under assured irrigation from Government sources for growing two crops; that for various other categories of land, conversion ratios should be fixed taking into account the availability of water, productivity, soil classification, crop grown, etc.; that the absolute ceiling for a family of five even in the case of dry lands should be put at 54 acres and that the exemptions under the existing State laws in favour of mechanised farms and well-managed farms should be withdrawn. All these recommendations were accepted by the Government of India and the Government had written to all the Chief Ministers requesting that necessary action be initiated to bring the State Ceiling Laws in line with the recommendations of the Committee. The following consensus was arrived at with regard to other exemptions, at a meeting of the Chief Ministers held on April 14, 1972:—

(i) It was agreed that exemptions in favour of plantations of tea, coffee, rubber, cardamom and cocoa should continue.

(ii) Lands held by the Bhoodan Yagya Committee, Cooperative Banks, Nationalised Banks, Central or State Governments and local bodies should continue to enjoy exemption. Similarly, land held by industrial or commercial undertakings for non-agricultural purposes should be exempted from the ceiling law.

(iii) In the case of registered cooperative farming societies, exemption might be granted with the stipulation that while computing the ceiling area for a member his share in the cooperative society would be taken into account along with his other lands.

(iv) Lands held by Agricultural Universities, Agricultural Colleges, Agricultural Schools and Research Institutions should be exempted from the ceiling law.

(v) Regarding religious, educational or charitable trusts it was agreed that only genuine trusts of a public nature deserved

special treatment. Regarding awards for gallantry, it was agreed that land covered by grants made since independence should be exempted. About orchards the general consensus was that the ceiling limit of a person who owned orchards, whether or not in addition to other land, might be increased by 2 hectares or the actual area of the land comprised in orchards, whichever was less. The State Governments which had serious difficulties in enforcing the ceiling in respect of orchards would individually discuss the matter further with the Government of India.

(iv) It was agreed that all other exemptions should be withdrawn.

### **Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings**

Making a statement on April 27, 1972 regarding "ceiling on Agricultural Holdings", the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed recalled that in a statement made by him on August 4, 1971 about the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Commission, he had said that "the Ceiling for a family of five members may be fixed within the range of 10 to 18 acres of perennially irrigated land or irrigated land capable of growing two crops". A similar statement was made in the Rajya Sabha by the Minister of State for Agriculture. The Government's stand had been reiterated in the statements made subsequently.

Instead of suggesting that the ceiling in respect of irrigated land be fixed at any particular figure, the Central Land Reforms Committee deliberately suggested a range of 10 to 18 acres because conditions varied very much from region to region. It was expected that the State Governments would fix the ceiling taking into account the actual conditions prevailing in the States. What the Committee had suggested was only the outside limit. It was open to the State Government to fix the ceiling well below the outer limit suggested by the Central Land Reforms Committee.

The Minister assured the House that the Government had been extremely anxious to hasten the pace of land reforms and improve implementation. The Government was pursuing the matter vigorously with the State Governments.

A discussion under Rule 193 on a matter of urgent public importance relating to "the statement laid on the Table by the Minister of Agriculture on the April 27, 1972 regarding Ceiling on Agricultural holdings" was raised on May 29, 1972 by Shri D. K. Panda.

Initiating the discussion, Shri D. K. Panda said that the Central Land Reforms Committee had categorically mentioned the ceiling limit

to be 10 to 18 acres of perennially irrigated land or irrigated land capable of growing two crops. But the Agriculture Minister had diluted the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee by bringing into it other words such as perennially irrigated land from Government sources.

There should not be any distinction made between the land irrigated by Government source and the land irrigated by private tubewells. The entire enlightened opinion in the country was in favour of the fixation of a ceiling at a low level to get more land for distribution amongst the landless people. That was also necessary to mitigate tension in the rural parts of the country.

The discussion continued for four and half hours, in which 13 Members took part\*.

Intervening in the discussion, the Minister of state in the Ministry of Agriculture, Shri Annasahib P. Shinde stated that great progress had been made in India during the last 25 years in the field of land reforms. In 1947, 40 per cent of land tenure in the country was held by Zamindars, Inamdars, Jagirdars and others.

Some newspapers and some people said that the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee had been distorted. There might be honest difference of opinion as to whether privately irrigated land and the land irrigated from Government sources should be equated or not. But it was not fair to say that the Ministry had made some changes while reporting to Parliament, changes which were not decided upon or discussed by the Central Land Reforms Committee.

When the controversy started appearing in the press, the Government convened a meeting of the Central Land Reforms Committee. The Committee went into the *verbatim* record of the conference. After considering all aspects of the matter at length, the Committee came to the conclusion that there was absolutely no basis for the charge that the Ministry of Agriculture had distorted the recommendations of the

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\*The Members who participated in discussion were Sarvashri Kamal Nath, Tewari Shyam Prasanna Bhattacharya, C. Chittibabu Amrit Nahata, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, V. Jeyalakshmi, Darbara Singh, Shyamandan Mishra, Bibhuti Mishra, H. M. Patel, Sat Pal Kapur, Nathuram Mirdha and Samar Guha.

Committee. The Committee desired it to be recorded that there was no attempt to mislead the public.

There was no intention whatsoever of the Government to collectivise agriculture. The Government wanted to reduce the disparity in the present holdings of land, as it considered it as one of the most important and basic problems of its policy.

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed reiterated that in his statement made on the 27th April, 1972, he had placed before the House all the relevant facts regarding the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee. Even after that statement, some misunderstanding seemed to have continued. The main point under consideration was whether the land irrigated through private source should be equated with the land irrigated through the Government source.

This matter was recently taken up and considered by the Central Land Reforms Committee. The views expressed at the various meetings of the Committee were that irrigation from private source should not be equated with irrigation from public sources, because such a policy might inhibit future investment in irrigation. The Committee also came to the unanimous conclusion that there was absolutely no basis for the charge that the Ministry of Agriculture had distorted the recommendations of the Committee.

There could be no question of questioning the decision of the Committee. However, since the question whether private irrigation should be equated with public irrigation had been raised, the Committee proceeded to reconsider the matter. Considerable discussion took place on this issue in the meeting held on May 9, 1972 and it was decided that a decision should be taken after consulting the Chief Ministers, while taking a decision in this regard, Government would bear in mind the points made by the Members in the debate.

#### **Procurement price of Wheat**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported reduction in the procurement price of wheat and consequent resentment among the peasants in Punjab and other parts of the country" was tabled by Sarvashri K. M. Madhukar, Sat Pal Kapur, Laxminarayan Pandeya, Vikram Mahajan and Narsingh Narain Pandey. The matter was raised in the House on April 12, 1972 by Shri K. M. Madhukar.



Replying, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed told the House that Government had not yet taken a decision regarding the level of procurement price of wheat for the 1972-73 marketing season. During the year 1971-72 the procurement prices of Red (indigenous) wheat were fixed between Rs. 71 and Rs. 74 per quintal and the prices of all other varieties at Rs. 76 per quintal. In their Report on "Price policy for rabi foodgrains for 1972-73 season" the Agricultural Prices Commission had recommended that 'the procurement prices of wheat be fixed uniformly for all the States at Rs. 66 per quintal for the indigenous Red and Rs. 72 per quintal for the indigenous common white and the different Mexican varieties'.

Government had seen press reports regarding resentment among the peasants in Punjab and other parts of the country, against this recommendation of the Commission. Various views had been expressed in favour and against the views of the Commission through press and other media.

Government had adopted the policy of price support to the farmers to ensure that the producer got an incentive price, the consumer got foodgrains at a reasonable price and the present trend of foodgrains output was sustained. To achieve these objectives of the price policy, the Food Corporation of India had been especially created to undertake massive marketing operations. In deciding the procurement price of wheat for the coming marketing season, Government would ensure that both the interest of the producer and the consumer were fully protected.

Answering question, the Minister said that the Government had no data on the basis of which it could say as to what was the cost of production of wheat or any other produce in the country. Government were making an effort to collect the data and it was hoped that by the next year, it would be possible to know the cost of production.

### **Price Policy for Wheat for 1972-73**

Making a statement on the price policy for wheat for 1972-73 on April 17, 1972, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed said that the Government, after considering the recommendations of the Agricultural Prices Commission in their Report on 'Price Policy for Rabi foodgrains for 1972-73 season', the views expressed by Mem-

bers in Parliament and by the Chief Ministers at a Conference held in New Delhi on April 13, 1972, had taken the following decisions:—

(i) The procurement price for wheat for the 1972-73 season be continued at the level fixed for the previous season, i.e. Rs. 76 per quintal for the indigenous common white and the different Mexican varieties and between Rs. 71 and Rs. 74 per quintal for the indigenous red variety.

(ii) The existing issue price of wheat at Rs. 78 per quintal be continued for the year 1972-73 also.

To enable the Government to announce the procurement prices of wheat for the next year's harvest well before the commencement of the Rabi sowing Season, a special study of the cost of production of wheat was being expeditiously undertaken.

#### **Disparities in Sugarcane Prices**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported grave situation in Tamil Nadu and other States owing to disparities in sugar-cane prices not in proportion with the price of sugar sold in the market or with the recovery of sugar assessed in the factories resulting in high price to the consumers" was tabled by Sarvashri S. Radhakrishnan, D. K. Panda, M. R. Lakshminarayanan, Sarjoo Pandey and Hari Kishore Singh. The matter was raised in the House on March 16, 1972 by Shri S. Radhakrishnan.

Replying, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri F. A. Ahmed recalled that he had made a statement in the House on November 24, 1971 about the sugarcane prices which the sugar factories then proposed to pay. Since then the sugar industry in various States had enhanced the sugarcane price and the prices now being paid ranged from Rs. 7.37 per quintal to Rs. 12 per quintal. In the case of Tamil Nadu, the State Government had agreed to pay a minimum price of Rs. 8.50 per quintal for sugarcane purchased during the entire season.

The Government of India fixed only the minimum price of sugarcane payable by vacuum pan sugar factories and the actual price to be paid was to be settled between the sugarcane growers as sellers and sugar factories as buyers. The minimum price fixed by Government was linked to recovery of sugar from sugarcane, but the higher price to be actually paid and the question whether it should be linked to recovery were to be settled between the buyers and the sellers.

The steep rise in prices of sugar had been causing great concern to the Government and they had taken various measures to check the rise in price, such as reducing the period of delivery of released sugar, prohibiting factories from refusing to sell sugar if unsold sugar was available against a valid release order, directing sugar factories to sell at least 20 per cent of their monthly released quota each week, restricting the holding of stocks by the traders and banning inter-State movement of Sugar by dealers. A scheme had been introduced with effect from January 1, 1972, in consultation with the sugar industry, both in the joint stock and the cooperative sectors, under which the sugar industry had agreed to make available 60 per cent of the monthly released quota of sugar at a fixed price for distribution to domestic consumers through fair price shops. The availability of a reasonable portion of domestic consumers' requirements at a fixed price had thus been ensured.

The phenomenon of different prices being paid for sugarcane in different States was nothing unusual, particularly during times when there was no full control of sugar prices. The sugar factories had to pay within the limits of their own economics the necessary prices to obtain the requisite quantity of sugarcane in competition with other users of sugarcane.

Answering questions, the Minister said that it was brought to the notice of the Government that in Tamil Nadu the industry was not paying higher price. So the matter was taken up had the President of the South Indian Sugar Mills Association met the Food Secretary on March 13, 1972 and indicated that they would also be paying Rs. 8.50 per quintal for the sugarcane from the very beginning. If the State Government felt that the price given to sugarcane growers was not justified they would bring pressure on the industry in order to give higher price to sugarcane growers.

The price of cane had to be paid within a fortnight of delivery of cane. Government had drawn the attention of State Governments to the need for taking rigorous action for the purpose of payment to the growers for the cane delivered to industry.

So far as the price of free sugar was concerned, there was no doubt that there had been a steep rise in it. The Government was considering what further steps could be taken to prevent further rise.

### **Lack of Sale of Cotton in Gujarat**

A Calling Attention Notice on "the situation arising out of the reported lack of sale of cotton in Gujarat and some other States due to in position of stock credit and contract controls" was tabled by Sarvasbhai Prasannbhai Mehta, Pilco Mody and Natwar Patel. The matter was raised in the House on March 22, 1972 by Shri Prasannbhai Mehta.

Replying, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Shri A. C. George said that the cotton prices reached their peak levels in January, 1971 as a result of short crop of 53 lakh bales. Due to the acute shortage of cotton, the annual production of both cloth and yarn was the lowest in 20 years. The exports were adversely affected. Government, however, took certain measures to arrest the rising trends.

The initial estimate of the current year (1971-72) crop was 55 lakh bales. As a result of favourable weather conditions in most of the cotton growing areas excluding Maharashtra, the production would be around 59 lakh bales. It could not, therefore, be expected that unprecedented levels which prevailed during the 1971 season could be sustained during the current season. The prices had been declining since the past few months with the increased arrivals of cotton from Gujarat, Mysore and Punjab. The present prices compared well with the prices ruling in 1969|1970, which was a normal year.

Some adjustments in the credit curbs were made before the bulk arrival of new crop. Due to increased arrivals in the market, these adjustments had proved to be inadequate. Consequently, the volume of purchases could not be increased to levels which could produce a stabilizing effect.

The Government which had been watching the situation closely curtailed the programme of import of foreign cotton by about 2.5 lakh bales.

The Cotton Corporation had already opened a large number of purchase centres in various States and purchases in larger volume were continuing.

In order to provide incentives to cotton growers next year, the Government have under consideration several measures, such as, securing suitable relaxation in credit restrictions and extending period of delivery in respect of non-transferable specific delivery contracts.

Answering questions, the Minister said that it was not correct that the Cotton Corporation had not acted promptly so far as Gujarat was concerned. The Corporation had already purchased from Gujarat 3900 bales and 20,000 bales more were being purchased immediately.

### **Drought and Famine Conditions in certain States**

A Calling Attention Notice on the "reported severe drought and famine conditions in certain parts of Orissa, Rajasthan, Bihar, West Bengal and other States and assistance to be given by the Central Government to meet the situation" was tabled by Sarvashri Nawal Kishore Sharma, Phool Chand Verma, Chintamani Panigrahi, Dinen Bhattacharya and Surendra Mohanty. The matter was raised in the House on April 14, 1972 by Shri Phool Chand Verma.

Replying, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, Shri Annasahib P. Shinde said that the primary responsibility for undertaking relief measures in areas affected by natural calamities including drought and famine rested with the State Governments concerned. Nevertheless, the Central Government, through its various Ministries, kept in constant touch with the State Governments so as to be fully in the picture and to be in a position to provide assistance as might be necessary.

At present, drought relief measures were continuing in parts of Maharashtra, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh where drought conditions occurred last year. In Orissa also, relief operations, necessitated by last year's cyclone and floods were continuing. Fresh reports of scarcity conditions prevailing in parts of Rajasthan and small pockets in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had been received recently. In all cases, as reported to the Government of India, the State Governments had undertaken necessary relief measures.

The measures included starting of works to create employment opportunities, suspension of land revenue, distribution of gratuitous relief, supply of drinking water where necessary, opening of fair price shops, distribution of loans for agriculture and rehabilitation programmes. Central assistance, as required by the concerned State Government, was given according to a prescribed procedure, and wherever necessary, Central teams for the assessment of the situation and to fix the ceiling of expenditure to be shared between the Centre and the State would be deputed.

The Government of India was in constant touch with the State Governments and all steps to provide relief as demanded by the situation would be taken with the cooperation of the State Governments.

Answering questions, the Minister said that it was not correct to say that there had been any starvation deaths. No State Government had reported to the Centre any starvation deaths.

As far as the question of drought relief was concerned, the Government of India had already taken up a programme called the Rural Works Programme for providing permanent relief to the drought-prone areas. About Rs. 100 crores had been provided for the project during the Fourth Five Year Plan. Activities and works of a productive nature were taken up under this scheme.

#### **Drought conditions in West Bengal**

A discussion under Rule 193 on a matter of urgent public importance regarding "drought conditions in West Bengal", was raised on May 23, 1972 by Shri Samar Guha.

Initiating the discussion, Shri Samar Guha said that for quite some time in most of the districts of West Bengal, particularly in the districts of Malda, Purulia, Bankura and Midnapur, the drought situation had become so terrible that most of the streams, tanks and tubewells were drying up. Most of the *ous* crop had been destroyed and the loss was estimated to the tune of Rs. 36 crores.

Unless the problem of scarcity of drinking water was tackled expeditiously, there was every possibility of a large-scale outbreak of the epidemic of gastro-enteritis.

West Bengal should be declared as a drought area. It would create a national, and to a certain extent international, awareness about the seriousness of the situation there and would also create a sense of urgency, not only at the Central level but also at the State level, that the whole problem should be tackled expeditiously.

The need of the hour was to supply drinking water. Tube-wells would take time. The Government should immediately acquire as many jeeps and lorries as they could, so that they might supply drinking water immediately to those areas where the scarcity was worse.

The discussion continued for more than two hours in which 12 Member took part\*.

Replying to the debate, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, Shri Annasaheb P. Shinde informed the House that during the last one year the Central Government had provided assistance by way of drought relief and loans to the tune of Rs. 150 crores to meet the requirements of various State Governments.

Normally in April and May, there was pre-monsoon showers in West Bengal. But this year they practically failed. This dry spell had not only created drinking water problem but also affected jute and *ous* paddy cultivation. It was apprehended that jute production was likely to be very seriously affected.

The State Government had categorically denied any starvation deaths. In fact, the condition in the country today was such that starvation death in any part of the country on account of the non-availability of foodgrains could not just happen. In fact, the food position was so comfortable as it had never been in the past. In West Bengal, the food which was stored in the godowns was to the tune of almost 5-1½ lakhs to 6 lakhs tonnes of rice and wheat.

West Bengal was one of the States where there was an elaborate network of fair-price shops. At present about 15,000 fair-price shops were operating in the rural areas. If there was any need to open more fair-price shops, the West Bengal Government would take the necessary steps.

At the moment there were 92,000 tubewells, most of which had come recently. The West Bengal government was trying to have 12,000 more. With this programme along with the rural electrification, in the years to come, West Bengal would have a very large acreage of summer paddy and jute crop.

The West Bengal Government had placed funds and foodgrains worth Rs. 1.85 crores for test relief works. The CARE was undertaking a scheme for works programme costing about Rs. 1 crore. The

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\*The Members who participated in the discussion were Sarvashri Samar Guha, Priya Ranjan Das Munsî, Jyotirmoy Bosu, Subodh Hansda, Indrajit Gupta, S. N. Singh Deo, B. K. Daschowdhury, Chintamani Panigrahi, Shyam Sunder Mohapatra, R. R. Sharma, Nawal Kishore Sharma and Ramavater Shastri.

State Government had also sanctioned Rs. 93.45 lakhs exclusively for distribution to the old and infirm persons.

A sum of Rs. 1.95 crores had been made available to the Health Department by the West Bengal Government to see that drinking water facility was made available to a very large number of villages.

As far as the Central assistance was concerned, West Bengal relief operations would not be allowed to suffer for lack of funds. No administrative draw-backs would come in the way of providing relief.

### **Arrangements for Deep-Sea Fishing**

Making a statement on April 26, 1972 regarding arrangements for deep-sea fishing, the Minister of State in the Ministry Agriculture, Shri Annasaheb P. Shinde stated that the Government had not yet made an effective start in the commercial exploitation of off-shore and deep sea fish resources. The Fourth Plan envisaged introduction of 300 off-shore and deep sea fishing vessels. The Government's approach had to utilize indigenous capacity for construction of fishing vessels to the extent feasible and to encourage the utilisation of indigenously constructed vessels. A fairly liberal subsidy had been offered for the purpose.

While expertise in the construction of fishing vessels was being further developed, the Government during the year 1968-69 had authorised the import of 30 off-shore and deep-sea fishing vessels to serve as a stimulus to the development of off-shore and deep-sea fishing. The Government also recognized the need for some induction of foreign expertise for the purpose of developing off-shore and deep-sea fishing capability. In this context, the feasibility of entering into a suitable agreement with the USSR for coöperation in the field of marine and inland fisheries was under consideration.

The off-shore and deep-sea fish resources offered immense scope not only for helping to bridge the protein gap in the dietary needs of the country but also for augmenting earnings of foreign exchange through the export of selected high-priced varieties of fish.

### **The Question Hour**

#### *Total Number of Questions*

During the Fourth Session of Fifth Lok Sabha, 19,256 notices of questions (17,500 Starred, 1,416 Unstarred and 340 Short Notice) were received. Out of these 1,080 were put down as Starred, 8,226 as



Unstarred and 6 as Short Notice Questions. After the Lists of Questions were printed, 4 Starred Questions and 251 Unstarred Questions were deleted from the Lists of Starred and Unstarred Questions respectively, on account of their being withdrawn by the Members concerned or transferred from the Ministry to another.

*Daily Average of Questions included in the Lists of Questions and orally Answered*

Each Starred List contained 20 Questions whereas the average number of questions in the Unstarred Lists came to 147 as against the maximum limit of 200 questions prescribed for the purpose. On an average 10 questions were orally answered on the floor of the House on each day when there was Question Hour—the minimum number orally answered being 7 on the 26th April, 2nd, 15th and 17 May, 1972 and the maximum being 14 on the 14th March, 1972.

*Half-an-Hour Discussions*

Of the 77 notices of Half-an-Hour Discussions received during the Session, 5 were put down on the Order Paper, but only 3 Half-an-Hour Discussions were actually discussed during the Session.

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## RAJYA SABHA—SEVENTY-NINTH SESSION

The Seventy-Ninth Session of the Rajya Sabha which commenced on March 13, 1972 adjourned *sine die* on April 14, 1972. During the Session the House held 23 sittings aggregating 117 hours and 42 minutes. Some of the important discussions held and other business transacted by the House during the Session are briefly mentioned below:—

### **Discussion on Motion of Thanks\* on the President's Address**

On March 14, 1972 initiating the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address to the two Houses of Parliament assembled together on the previous day, Shri Triloki Singh said that no sooner had the elections to the Lok Sabha been over than the country was faced with a ghastly situation in Bangla Desh. Ten milion refugees ran and took shelter in the territory of India in the course of only nine months. The country had fought back the Pakistani aggression to a successful end within just 14 days.

The massive victory at the polls of 1972 had placed a tremendous responsibility on the shoulders of the Congress Party and the Government. Much greater tasks now lay ahead. The slogan of *garibi hatao* must be translated into practice and all energy of the Government must be geared to that end.

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, replying to the debate, said that in spite of the gigantic problems the Government had had to face all along, and more especially that of law and order, it had not made any excuses to slow down the pace of its socio-economic programmes.

She added that the call for self-reliance was not a mere slogan; nor was it a wishful thinking. On the contrary, it sought to give sharp focus to a time-bound programme of scientific measures which the

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\*Laid on the Table of Rajya Sabha on March 13, 1972.

Government had already formulated in some detail and would implement with the same determination which it had shown during the critical months of November and December, 1971.

#### **General Discussion on the Railway Budget (1972-73)**

On March 20, 1972 Shri T. V. Anandan, raising a general discussion on the Railway Budget said that the credit for the surplus Budget went to the Parliamentary Convention Committee which had submitted an interim report on the Railway Budgetary System. It was hoped that the Railway Ministry would take advantage of the recommendations of the Convention Committee.

In future, the Chairmen of the Railway Service Commissions should not be public men, but men who were in the service of the Central Government.

The Minister of Railways, Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, replying to the debate said that though Members had spoken appreciatively of the efforts for improvement that were continuously being made by the Railway Administration, some had resorted to extreme type of criticism which was not justified.

There had been considerable improvement in the punctuality of the trains. The punctuality drive had, however, suffered a little during the 14-day war in December, 1971, because of the black-out and also because several passenger and goods trains had to be cancelled in order to accommodate special trains. But in February the punctuality was resumed again.

#### **General Discussion on the General Budget (1972-73)\***

Shri T. Chengalvaroyan, initiating the discussion, said that this year's Budget was retrospective, prospective, circumspective and introspective. The Budget was a master-piece of economic realism harmonising progress with stability, growth with justice, diversification with consolidation, implementation with discipline and incentives with checks.

The present Finance Minister knew how to raise funds and also how to spend them wisely. In this Budget there was neither a fiscal bite nor a political bark. It was pleasing to see that our economy on the whole had retained its vitality and vigour in spite of the most

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\*Laid on the Table on March 16, 1972.

catastrophic circumstances like the colossal problem of the refugees and the Pak'istani aggression. On the whole, our economy now was on an even keel so that we could make a gigantic effort for growth, social justice and self-reliance.

The Minister of Finance, Shri Y. B. Chavan, replying to the debate, said that the present Budget was, in the first instance, oriented to meet two very important national priority requirements. One of these was the requirements of Defence and the other was the question of the liberation of Bangla Desh and all that it meant. It was not that the refugees had gone and, therefore, the problem had ended for us. It had not ended; in a way it had begun for us.

The Budget had made a very bold effort by making provision for Plan growth and for the implementation of the Plan. The Minister said that in our fight against poverty, we could not speak merely in general terms. First of all, we would have to isolate those areas of poverty which were very inconsistent with our present socialistic or democratic aspirations. For instance, there were people without having any drinking water and homestead. These were the real areas where we had to make assaults against poverty.

The Government had accepted the socialist programme and would strive hard to see that the concentration of economic power was reduced.

#### **Fourth Plan Mid-Term Appraisal**

On April 11, 1972 speaking on a motion moved by him for consideration of the Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal, Shri C. Subramaniam, Minister of Planning and Minister-in-charge of the Department of Science and Technology, said that in the matter of employment, our strategy would have to be threefold. The country needed a better implementation of existing schemes in the Plan which specifically generated employment and incomes in the rural areas. We would also have to correct the poor progress on the new schemes for small farmers, marginal farmers, rural artisans and agricultural labour and for rural employment. The schemes for rural employment would have to be dovetailed with provision for relieving unemployment among the educated. The provision for this purpose had been substantially stepped up from Rs. 25 crores last year to Rs. 60 crores in 1972-73.

The Government was also working on a Plan to absorb large numbers of qualified scientists and engineers in the different programmes in the field of science and technology.

Replying to the debate the Minister said that unless the Planning organisation was aware of the political trends, the political thinking and the political changes which were taking place in the country, planning might become an exercise of the ivory-tower type.

The Planning Commission had made a frank and honest assessment of the state of affairs. It had tried to highlight what had been achieved and more than that, to point out where the defects and deficiencies had crept in, with the hope that they would be remedied.

The formulation of the Fifth Plan was taken up after the 1972 mandate. It would take at least two years to finalise the Plan. Efforts had been made within the existing Plan and within the existing structure to introduce new directions to the programmes, so that this might even be a preparatory ground for the Fifth Plan.

Reasonable time would have to be given to Government to take decisions, and on the basis of these decisions to bring forward legislations, and on the basis of such legislations to have implementation. If they went wrong, certainly the Members were entitled to question them, but to charge them even now would certainly not encourage them to take decisions.

#### **Reference to Jammu and Kashmir in the Sino-American Joint Communique**

On March 14, 1972, Shri A. G. Kulkarni called the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the reference to Jammu and Kashmir in the Sino-American Joint Communique issued after President Nixon's visit to China and the reaction of the Government of India thereto.

The Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, in his statement said that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India. The Government had made this position clear in the United Nations and to the entire international community. Reference by any country inconsistent with this position amounted to interference in our internal affairs. The Chinese stand in the communique was particularly regrettable. It was also unfortunate that the US Government should have acquiesced in a reference being made to Jammu and Kashmir in the communique.

Replying to the points raised by hon. Members, the Minister said that even when the Security Council passed the Resolution on December 21, 1971, the Indian position had been made clear that India would be prepared to discuss bilaterally any matters arising out of the Indo-Pakistan conflict. The Secretary-General had also been informed that the Government of India was prepared to have direct talks with the Government of Pakistan at any time, at any level, and without any preconditions.

### **Inhuman Treatment to Indian Students in U.S.A.**

On April 6, 1972 Shri N. G. Goray called the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the reported harassment, intimidation and inhuman treatment meted out to the Indian students and immigrants in some parts of the United States and the steps taken by the Government to protect their interests.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri Surendra Pal Singh said that the Government had seen press reports about harassment and intimidation of Indian and other foreign students in Detroit, for alleged violation of US immigration rules regarding gainful employment. The Indian Embassy in the United States was ascertaining the facts regarding the matter. An Indian official from New York had been sent to Detroit to meet Indian students and local immigration authorities. His report was awaited. Press reports indicated that the U.S. State Department as well as two distinguished Senators were seeking explanations from the Immigration authorities concerned.

Replying to the points raised by the Members, the Deputy Minister said that the interests of the Indian students in America were being looked after by the Indian Consul-General in New York, by the Indian Embassy in Washington and by other Indian agencies in that country.

The matter was reported for the first time in the first week of April and immediately thereafter the Indian Ambassador in Washington got in touch with the U.S. State Department and brought the matter to their notice. The action taken by the Detroit Immigration authorities was something about which the Government were unhappy. But one should not read too much into it, as the whole thing was a localised issue, and the Indian students in other places in the United States were not affected.

### Legislative Business

Some of the important laws passed during the Session were as follows:—

#### *The Hire-purchase Bill, 1968\**

On April 3, 1972 the Minister of State in the Ministry of Law and Justice, Shri Niti Raj Singh Chaudhury, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill, said that in India, he need for a separate law on the subject had not been felt until recently as hire-purchase transactions had not been resorted to on a large scale except in the field of automobiles. In England and other foreign countries, with the growth of hire-purchase business, the absence of a specific law on the subject had sometimes given rise to certain abuses and evils, especially in relation to the hirer who was usually the weaker party to the transaction. With a view to avoiding such abuses and evils, the Law Commission had, in its Twentieth Report on the Law of Hire-Purchase, made detailed recommendations for the enactment of a law in respect of hire-purchase.

The present Bill, sought to implement these recommendations of the Law Commission subject to certain modifications suggested by the Study Team on Road Transport Financing and some of the administrative Ministries. The scope of the Bill was limited. It did not purport to codify the law relating to hire-purchase agreements. It only sought to define and regulate the rights of the owners and the hirers and of persons claiming under them in certain circumstances. It left all other matter relating to hire-purchase agreements to be governed by the law in force relating to contracts.

The motion for consideration of the Bill was adopted and the Bill was passed on April 3, 1972.

#### *The Marine Products Export Development Authority Bill, 1972\*\**

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Shri A. C. George, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill, on April 11, 1972, said that the marine products industry was one of the few industries which had maintained a heartening rate of growth in export earnings over the last few years. From a meagre export of Rs. 4 crores during the year 1961-62, it rose to Rs. 17.37 crores during the year 1966-67, which was the year in which the rupee had undergone devaluation. In 1971-72, the exports were of the order of about Rs. 40 crores

\*Introduced in the Rajya Sabha on July 22, 1968.

\*\*Laid on the Table, as passed by Lok Sabha, on March 30, 1972.

Still it had touched only the fringe of the vast potentialities available for this industry. According to a survey conducted by the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade in 1969-70, it was estimated that our exports of marine products could be increased to about Rs. 61 crores by 1973-74, and to about Rs. 118 crores by 1978-79 if only we took a few positive steps. Besides effecting an increase in the volume and the value of the exports of shrimps and lobsters, there was considerable scope for exporting other varieties of fish and fish products like tuna, sardines, pomfret, Bombay duck, bream, crabs, eels, etc.

After careful consideration, the Government of India had come to the conclusion that a statutory authority to be known as the Marine Products Export Development Authority should be created which would be responsible for the development of off-shore and deep-sea fishing regulation for handling, refrigeration and processing of fish to ensure quality of the products, encouraging diversification of various processes and product-diversification of the industry, marketing strategy and rendering financial assistance to the various sectors of marine products industry with special reference to export. Power had also been taken by the Government to control the import and export of the marine products.

The motion for consideration of the Bill was adopted on April 11, 1972 and the Bill was passed on the same day.

*The Industrial Disputes (Second Amendment) Bill, 1971\**

On April 6, 1972 the Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation, Shri R. K. Khadilkar, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill, said that the problem of closure of industrial undertakings leading to loss of production and unemployment of a large number of workmen had become increasingly grave of late. Employers had declared closure of certain industrial establishments without notice or advance intimation.

The provisions of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act were not adequate to prevent such closures. At the 16th Session of the Indian Labour Conference held in May 1958 the question of closures was discussed and it was agreed that no shift working should be discontinued without two months' notice to the workers as well as to the Government. It was also agreed that in the case of units of

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\*Introduced in the Rajya Sabha on Dec. 6, 1971.



engineering industry, the period could be reduced in individual cases, if the State Government was satisfied that because of the circumstances of any particular unit a shorter period of notice was adequate.

With the enactment of the Industrial Disputes (West Bengal) Amendment Act on August 20, 1971, the Government set in motion a legislative process which would be completed when the Bill now before the House became law. This process was designed to achieve three objectives—to try and take action to cure the malady which led to closures; to try and take necessary measures well ahead of time in order to prevent closures; and where the mischief was already done and closures had already been effected, to initiate action and try to undo mischief to the extent possible.

The motion for consideration of the Bill was adopted on April 6, 1972 and the Bill was passed on the same day.

*The Indian Copper Corporation (Taking Over of Management) Bill, 1972\**

The Minister of Steel and Mines, Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill, on April 10, 1972 said that copper was one of the most crucial non-ferrous metals with a wide range of industrial and technological uses. Inevitably, its production was a matter of great importance to the country. So far as copper production was concerned, the country was far behind. The gap between production and demand was around a lakh of tonnes and the present imports of copper were to the tune of Rs. 60 crores.

The Government had only taken over the management. There were two reasons for doing this. First it had yet to be decided as to what were the principles on the basis of which compensation should be given. The second, and perhaps more important, reason was that the Twenty-fifth Amendment of the Constitution was yet to be ratified by a sufficient number of State Legislatures to become law, and the Government wanted to be perfectly clear on the protective umbrella of this Amendment. It was for both these reasons that the Government had adopted the course of taking over first the management only and would come in with a Bill for actual acquisition later on.

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

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\*Laid on the Table, as passed by Lok Sabha, on April 6, 1972.

**Obituary References**

During the Session, the Chairman made a reference to the passing away of King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva of Nepal. The House observed one minute's silence as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

The Chairman also made references to the passing away of two sitting members—Sarvashri M. H. Samuel and B. K. Gaikwad—and five former members of the House, viz. Sarvashri S. N. Ramaul, V. S. Sarvate, B. M. Gupta, M. Muhammad Ismail and Syed Nausher Ali. The House observed one minute's silence as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

## RAJYA SABHA—EIGHTIETH SESSION

The Eightieth Session of the Rajya Sabha which commenced on May 8, 1972 adjourned *sine die* on June 3, 1972 after the House had held 21 sittings aggregating to 119 hours and 47 minutes. Some of the important discussions held and other business transacted by the House during the Session are briefly mentioned below:—

### **Reported unprovoked attack by Pakistani troops in Kaiyan area**

On May 9, 1972, Shri N. G. Goray called the attention of the Minister of Defence to the reported unprovoked attack by the Pakistani troops supported by artillery on the Indian positions in Kaiyan area, (south east of Tithwal) in Kashmir on May 5, 1972 and the steps taken by the Government to meet the situation.

The Minister of State for Defence Production in the Ministry of Defence, Shri Vidya Charan Shukla, said that since the declaration of cease-fire between India and Pakistan at 7.00 p.m. on December 17, 1971 there had been a number of violations and some border clashes along or across the actual line of control. These disputes and differences had largely been resolved by local commanders.

Of late, the number and intensity of Pakistani violations and intrusions had shown an increase, particularly in the Jammu and Kashmir area. The attack on May 5, 1972 by the Pakistani troops was the strongest intrusion committed so far by Pakistan.

Kaiyan area measuring 13.2 square miles in Lipa valley had been captured by Indian troops in the Tithwal sector during the 14-day war. The Pakistanis had been firing at the posts across the line of actual control in this area off and on, and the Indian troops had, from time to time returned the fire.

As India did not want to escalate the conflict the Indian Army Headquarters contacted the Pakistani Army Headquarters on May 6, 1972 and offered a ceasefire to be followed by a flag meeting between

the local commanders to discuss, demarcate and restore the actual line of control. As a result, both the Army Headquarters ordered a cease-fire which came into effect at 7.30 p.m. on May 6, 1972.

Replying to the points raised by the Members, the Minister said that the relationship between India and Pakistan since the cease-fire on December 17, 1971 had been uneasy. Various attempts had been made from both sides to normalise the situation, and in pursuance of these attempts an emissary level meeting had taken place recently to prepare the ground for a summit meeting between President Bhutto and the Prime Minister of India.

### **Discussion on the Working of Ministries**

The House discussed the working of some Ministries in the light of their Annual Reports for the year 1971-72 presented to Parliament.

#### *Ministry of Industrial Development*

On May 9, 1972, Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, initiating the discussion, said that one expected in the Report of the Ministry of Industrial Development a reflection of the mood of the nation clearly manifested in the two massive mandates during the period under review. The Report however, started on a note of pessimism, and it corroborated the apprehension expressed in the Mid-term Appraisal (Fourth Plan) Document.

It appeared from the Report, and the Minister himself had admitted in his reply to the discussion on the Demands relating to his Ministry in the Lok Sabha, that because of the poor performance in certain sectors, particularly steel, sugar, textiles, transport equipment and others, the overall industrial development and growth rate had declined. It was difficult to understand how the targets would be reached and self-reliance attained. That being the position, it would not be possible for the Government to fulfil its commitments about the abolition of poverty and giving employment to the millions of unemployed people and programmes and the pledges given to the electorate cannot be implemented.

The Minister of Industrial Development, Shri Moinul Haque Choudhury, replying to the discussion, said that the slow-down of all investments in the public sector, the fructification of the comparatively meagre investment proposition in the past few years and the declining production in critical sections like cotton, textiles, steel and sugar had been the reasons for the sluggish march of industrial production during the last two or three years.

Steps had been taken to sustain production through certain amendments to the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act. These were designed to provide greater speed and flexibility in the taking over of undertakings, as the large number of sick industries and their closures were one of the causes of the slow rate of growth.

As for the criticism that larger business houses and foreign concerns were being given a free hand, one had to remember that according to Government's policy these would be allowed, on merits and along with other entrepreneurs, to participate in the core and heavy investment sectors, and expansion would be allowed to them in other sectors only in the interests of cost efficiency or export obligation. That policy had been evolved only two years back after careful consideration and in line with the recommendations of the Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee. Once such a decision had been taken, it had to be implemented.

#### *Ministry of Agriculture*

On May 10, 1972 Shri Krishan Kant, initiating the discussion, said that agriculture was the basic industry of India. Seventy to eighty per cent of the population lived in villages on agriculture and fifty per cent of the national income came from the rural areas. The green revolution had touched only twelve per cent of the rural households. As a matter of fact, with the coming of the green revolution, disparities between the poor and the rich peasants had grown. All the money which had been pumped into the rural economy through credit or otherwise, had gone to help the rich peasants only and the farmer who did not have anything still remained where he was.

The Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, replying to the debate, agreeing that agriculture being the largest sector of the economy, said that any change in its socio-economic structure was likely to have its effect on the national life of India.

As regards sugar, a policy had to be adopted at least to provide relief to the domestic consumer or to the vulnerable sections of the people. It was in this context that it was decided to provide sugar, at a lesser price to domestic consumers by reserving 60 per cent of the sugar for distribution through fair-price shops. Only 40 per cent of the sugar was allowed to be sold in the free market. The Government had taken up a large number of schemes for the small farmers which included the marginal-farmer scheme, the drought-affected areas

scheme, the dry-farming scheme, the crash scheme for unemployment, etc. Through all these schemes an effort was being made to remove the disparity between the rich and the poor farmers.

*Ministry of Education and Social Welfare*

On May 11, 1972, Dr. Bhai Mahavir, initiating the discussion, said that the situation in the field of education in the country was deplorable. Every day there were news of attacks on the Vice-Chancellors of Universities and Principals of Colleges. It would be wrong to suggest that all these attacks etc. were being indulged in by the so-called Naxalites. Most of these incidents had taken place because of indiscipline among the students and caste prejudices and rivalries. Even appointments were being made on caste considerations and not on merits. Unless and until the Government gave a serious thought to this situation and found out a real solution to this problem, it would be very dangerous for the country.

It was, therefore, necessary that those who were responsible for making appointments of teachers should not be victims of prejudices and political considerations. At the same time, the teachers should realise their responsibility and should engage themselves in the task of nation-building.

The Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, replying to the discussion, said that the Government wanted to train the young people to take decisions, and it was better that they were given this training in a suitable atmosphere rather than allow them to stumble and learn from their mistakes. The Gajendragadkar Committee recommended widespread participation of students and even the whole control being given to students in a number of activities where they were in a position to take decisions. The Committee had also recommended joint committees where their participation with senior members could take place at the level of consultation.

The Gajendragadkar Committee had given detailed reasons as to why it wanted participation of students at various levels of university administration. They had pointed out that there were two very important factors which had to be taken into account. The process of learning required the active participation of the one who taught and the one who learnt. It could not be a one-way traffic if it was to be a meaningful process.

As regards the development of Hindi, the Minister said that he was unhappy over the progress that had been made in the propagation of

Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking areas. Everything had not been done to bring out quality literature in Hindi which would make a modern, advanced student consider it worth his while to read, or to acquire modern knowledge through the medium of Hindi. The Government was working on various proposals to accelerate the production of quality books in Hindi. The Government was conscious of the need for improvement in quality.

#### *Ministry of Defence*

On May 15, 1972, Shri Lal K. Advani, initiating the discussion, said that he was really amazed how the incidents of border violations were being viewed casually by the Government of India. The Government should let Pakistan know that these violations were not going to be taken in a casual manner and that there would be no summit meeting between the two countries unless the border posts were handed back to India and the cease-fire line was restored to what it was on December 17, 1971.

India must be self-reliant not only in wheat and fertilisers but also in military hardware. Now that the Government had started exporting arms, there was need for ensuring a machinery to systematically look after this field. Much more could also be done in the field of aircraft manufacture.

The Government of India should shed itself of false phobias and false notions and come out frankly and openly and say that the country needed to have a nuclear bomb of its own and that a nuclear bomb would be manufactured.

The Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram, replying to the points raised by the Members said that the universal commendation and encouragement given to the Armed Forces would, undoubtedly, give them the necessary strength to maintain the records that they had established and to improve upon them.

The Minister added that after the ceasefire, Indian forces were in position along the ceasefire line. Occasionally there had been violations of the ceasefire. And in most cases there had been flag meetings of the local commanders and matters had been sorted out. In the case of violation in the Tithwal area, Indian forces at two posts were outnumbered. They fought bravely and gallantly, but ultimately both the posts were captured by the Pakistani forces.

After the ceasefire, as during the war, the intentions of Pakistan had been to internationalise the disputes. As a result of this aggression by Pakistan, the old ceasefire line of 1948 had been blurred at many places. The present ceasefire line had been effected as a result of the unilateral offer made by India which was accepted later by President Yahya Khan. India's stand had been that whatever disputes arose or were existing between the two countries, should be resolved bilaterally without intervention by any third country.

The Minister appealed to the newspapers in the country not to publish anything without verification from authoritative sources. Certain wrong reports had appeared in the papers about firing and violation of ceasefire in the Shakargarh area, but no posts other than the two in the Tithwal area had been lost by India. The Armed Forces had clear instructions to effectively meet any violation of the ceasefire.

The preparations made by Pakistan after the cessation of hostilities had been taken into account in looking after India's defence preparedness. Certain steps were being taken for modernising the three wings of the Armed Forces. Government's efforts were being directed to see that the research and development activities were strengthening to the maximum extent. Work would not be permitted to suffer for want of requisite funds. All the same, it would be the endeavour of India to have bilateral discussions with Pakistan in order to solve mutual differences so that a lasting peace could be established in the sub-continent. The speeches of President Bhutto, sometimes contradictory, need not be taken very literally; placed in a condition as he was, such contradictory speeches might be excusable to some extent.

In nuclear science India has secured a place among the scientifically advanced countries of the world. Constant research was in progress in this field. Indian scientists were exploring the possibility of subterranean explosion of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. It was aimed at having 28,000 mega-tonnes of nuclear energy. But India did not propose to undertake manufacture of nuclear bombs at this stage. India primarily stood for peace and had taken a leading part in international discussions for disarmament. India's policy continued to be what it had been so far.

#### **Suicide by Dr. V. H. Shah, Senior Agronomist, I.A.R.I., New Delhi**

On May 18, 1972, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, initiating a discussion of Short Duration under Rule 176 said that everybody was profoundly shocked to read the news about the death of Dr. V. H. Shah of the



Indian Agricultural Research Institute. Before that, Dr. Joseph had committed suicide and the matter had been discussed in the House. Later, another scientific worker of the NDRI, Shri S. S. Batra of Bangalore, had committed suicide by drowning himself. Yet another scientific worker in Kalyani in West Bengal had committed suicide. In no country one saw such tragic instances when scientists committed suicide out of frustration and with the feeling that they had been aggrieved. The Government should take note of it and take steps to remove the circumstances which compelled these scientific workers to commit suicide. Unfortunately, the Government was not doing so.

Favouritism had accumulated in high positions in the Indian Agricultural Research Institute so much so that some people at least, had no faith in the management, and they went to the length of putting an end to their lives. The fact that a scientist had put an end to his life, was in itself, a consideration which should overwhelm the Members. A little emotion would therefore certainly be aroused in such cases, but it should not be taken that the Members were persuaded to take up this matter because of emotions alone. The fact was that the Members were interested in the proper functioning of the scientific institutions.

The Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, replying to the discussion, said that before the year 1966, recruitment was done through the Public Service Commission. It was only since 1966, after examining the discontent which prevailed in the institution, that it was decided that the appointments in the ICAR and the IARI should be made by a selection Committee composed of scientists, and it was since then that this procedure had been followed. According to that procedure the Government maintained a list of all experts in the various disciplines, and out of that list, the Chairman was selected by the Minister out of three or four names suggested by the Director-General and then two names were added as advisers. These people made the selection and on the basis of their report the appointment was made. The Government did not interfere with the recommendation made by the scientists in selecting a proper person for the appointment.

A Committee of eminent scientists was already looking into the working of the I.A.R.I. its achievements and shortfalls. Their report would be a candid assessment of the functioning of the I.A.R.I.; and it was hoped that it would lead to better result in future.

The Second Committee, which would be constituted very soon, would look after the recruitment and other procedures and would be

essentially manned by scientists. The association of some Members of Parliament with the Committee was not felt necessary as the problems faced by the scientists would be known to them better. However, the question of including an academician or someone who had vast administrative experience in the field of education or allied fields and who happen to be Member of Parliament would be considered.

**Allegation about Publication of a large number of Election Posters by a Private Company in Violation of the Company Law**

On June 1, 1972, Shri Nageshwar Prasad Shahi, initiating a discussion under Rule 176, said that the people were now coming to realise how the ruling party had got money from the capitalists by violating laws. Resources were collected from Goenka and others in cash and kind. Since the companies were not allowed under the law to give contributions in cash to the political parties, the ruling party got posters and other publicity material prepared by the managing directors and other officers of the companies. The question was why Shri Goenka gave so much to the Congress party? Shri Goenka was involved in the import of certain materials and illegal disposal of the same. He had earned about a crore of rupees from these illegal transactions. A case against Shri Goenka was also pending with the C.B.I. So, he thought it fit to publish these posters for the Congress. The episode raised a few serious questions: Would democracy exist in the country? What would be the level of integrity of political parties in the country? Whether the laws of the country would continue to be circumvented and improper benefits continue to be derived as had been done in the present case?

The Minister of Company Affairs, Shri K. V. Raghunath Reddy, replying to the discussion said that very reckless, wild, baseless and fantastic allegations had been made by certain Members and there was no need to reply to them because the fantastic character of the allegations itself would prove that they were baseless.

Shri R. P. Goenka was not a director of Shri Saraswati Press and he was not even a shareholder of that Press. There was no mention in any of the Company's Balance Sheets that Shri R. P. Goenka paid Rs. 5 lakhs out of his own coffers. If there had been a mention of it in the Balance Sheet, he would have been behind the prison bars. The Government had deputed an officer of the status of Additional Director of Inspection and Investigation to look into the documents of the Saraswati Printing Press to see whether there was any payment made either by Duncan Brothers, or by Shri R.P. Goenka himself.

Nevertheless as far as the amounts relating to (Order No.) 189/72 were concerned the entire amount had been paid by the A.I.C.C. Secretary by a cheque. What was produced as a photostat copy was a job order. The order had been transformed into quadruplicate copies. This job order had been taken away from the Saraswati Press and it had been printed into a photostat copy and mystery was sought to be created around it as if some crime had been committed by somebody. As far as order 189/72 was concerned, what was found in the photostat copy was Rs. 8 lakhs. But the order from time to time used to be increased. It never remained static at 8 lakhs. Therefore, from time to time oral orders used to be placed with the press.

According to the facts found by the Director of Inspection, who had carried out an inspection, there was absolutely no violation of the Companies Act under Section 293(a) thereof.

### **Legislative Business**

Some of the important Bills passed during the session were as follows:

#### *The Finance Bill, 1972\**

On May 22, 1972, The Minister of Finance Shri Y. B. Chavan, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill said that the Bill had not undergone any major modifications during its consideration in the Lok Sabha and the few changes that had been made were mostly of a verbal nature or were intended to bring out the intention underlying the provisions more clearly.

The stress in the Fifth Plan would be to earmark a substantial part of the aggregate expenditure for ensuring development amongst the least privileged sections, for improving the conditions of the very poor and for making concentrated and special efforts for bringing development to the backward regions of the country. It was a major objective of the Government's policy to bring about a greater equality in the distribution of incomes and wealth and to bring about a greater degree of social justice. The plans and policies of the Government had been oriented towards the achievement of these goals.

The motion was adopted and the Bill was returned to the Lok Sabha on May 23, 1972.

\*The Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha was laid on the Table on May 19, 1972.

*The Appropriation (Railways) No. 3 Bill, 1972\**

On May 24, 1972 Shri Mohd. Shafi Qureshi, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Railways, moved the motion for consideration of the Bill and said that the Railways, for the first time, had begun to show surplus in their budget. While presenting the budget for 1971-72, the Minister had indicated a deficit of about Rs. 6.87 crores. That deficit had not only been wiped out but there was a further surplus of about Rs. 6 crores. This efficient performance had been possible because of the strenuous efforts made by the Chairman, Members and other officers of the Railway Board.

The process of decision-making had not been completed regarding the conversion of lines. It was hoped that the decision-making process and the surveys and examinations would be completed as soon as possible.

The motion was adopted and the Bill was returned to the Lok Sabha on May 25, 1972.

*The National Service Bill, 1972†*

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri K. C. Pant, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill on May 29, 1972, said that in the wake of the Chinese aggression, the Government had formulated a Compulsory Liability Scheme whereby engineers and doctors up to the age 40 and 45 years respectively, whether in Government service or in public sector undertakings, were made liable to render service in the Armed Forces or on work relating to defence efforts anywhere in India or abroad for a period of four years. The Bill aimed at ensuring an adequate number of suitably qualified engineers and doctors for the defence of the country and for other activities of national importance, such as family planning programmes and health services for the rural areas, and construction of dams in remote and difficult areas, etc. National Service as defined in Clause 2 of the Bill included not only service with the Armed Forces but also any service which was likely to assist the defence of India and civil defence or the efficient conduct of military operations. Clause 3 of the Bill sought to restrict the period of such service to a period not exceeding four years.

The motion was adopted and the Bill was passed on May 29, 1972.

\* The Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha was laid on the Table on May 22, 1972.

† The National Service Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha was laid on the Table on May 25, 1972.

*The Constitution (Twenty-Eighth Amendment) Bill, 1972\**

On May 30, 1972, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and in the Department of Personnel, Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill, said that before the Transfer of Power in 1947, recruitment and the prescription of the more important conditions of service of persons appointed to certain services was being made by the Secretary of State. With a view to ensuring that the Administration was not weakened by the loss of experienced officers, the Government of India had offered to guarantee to those members of the Secretary of State's Services, who continued to serve under the Government of India after the Transfer of Power, their then existing conditions of service in respect of scales of pay, leave, pensionary rights and safeguards in the matter of discipline, and had expressed the hope that sentiments of patriotism would impel Indian Officers to continue to serve their country.

These guarantees were incorporated in the Indian Independence Act, 1947 and, in addition, suitable endorsements were also made in the covenants or the agreements of those officers of the Secretary of State's Services, who were willing to serve the Government of India. Subsequently, when the Constitution of India was enacted, Article 314 assured continuance of the special conditions of service.

Because of the guarantees contained in Article 314, the changes made from time-to-time in the conditions of service of Government servants in general could not at all be effected in the case of the officers of the former Secretary of State's Services. The concept of a class of officers with immutable conditions of service was incompatible with the changed social order. It was, therefore, considered necessary to amend the Constitution to provide for the deletion of Article 314 and for the inclusion of a new Article 312A which conferred on Parliament the power to vary or revoke by law the conditions of service of the officers aforesaid and contained appropriate consequential and incidental provisions. The motion for the consideration of the Bill was adopted and the Bill was passed on May 31, 1972.

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\*The Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha as the Constitution (Thirty-first Amendment) Bill, 1972 and the short title of the Bill was changed by that House to Constitution (Twenty-Eighth Amendment) Bill, 1972. The Bill, as passed by the Lok Sabha was laid on the Table of Rajya Sabha on May 29, 1972.

*The Constitution (Twenty-Ninth Amendment) Bill, 1972\**

On May 31, 1972, the Minister of Law and Justice and Petroleum and Chemicals, Shri H. R. Gokhale, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill, said that the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963, which was the parent Act, was already included in the Ninth Schedule. In the course of implementation of that Act, the State Government had faced serious practical difficulties, and in order to overcome them, that Act was extensively amended by two amending Acts, viz. the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act, 1969, and the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act, 1971.

Certain crucial provisions of the principal Act, as amended, were challenged in the Kerala High Court, creating a climate of uncertainty in the effective implementation of land reforms in that State. Although the High Court of Kerala had generally upheld the scheme of land reforms, as envisaged in the principal Act, as amended, a few crucial provisions had been struck down by the High Court.

The Supreme Court in its judgments delivered on the 26th and 28th April, 1972, had likewise generally upheld the scheme of land reforms as envisaged in the Principal Act, as amended, but had agreed with the High Court invalidating certain provisions.

In view of the judgments pronounced by the High Court and the Supreme Court, it was felt that there would be far-reaching adverse effects on the implementation of the programmes of land reforms. In order that the implementation of land reforms in the State of Kerala might not be jeopardised, it was considered necessary to give protection under Article 31(b) of the Constitution to the amending Acts of 1969 and 1971. For the purpose it was proposed to include these Acts in the Ninth Schedule through the present Bill.

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

*The Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill, 1972†*

On June 2, 1972, the Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, moving the motion for consideration

\*The Bill was introduced in Lok Sabha as the Constitution (Thirty-second) Amendment Bill, 1972 and the short title of the Bill was changed by that House to Constitution (Twenty-ninth) Amendment Bill, 1972. The Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha was laid on the Table on May 28, 1972.

†The Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha, was laid on the Table of Rajya Sabha on June 1, 1972.

of the Bill, said that there had been a persistent demand to bring forward the present Bill when the Call-Attention motion on the postponement of examinations of the Aligarh Muslim University was being discussed. The Bill had been discussed at great length by the other house, and in deference to the wishes expressed by the Members there, many amendments had been accepted. These had been incorporated in the present Bill.

The Bill was substantially based on the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Committee on the "Governance of the Universities" which the Government had accepted in principle. A major change in the Bill was that Section 12(a) of the principal Act, which gave to the University the power to admit colleges to the privileges of the University, or the power to affiliate colleges maintained by others, had been done away with.

Another important change was that the post of Treasurer had been abolished and in its place, there would be a Finance Officer appointed by the Executive Council. The same provision had been introduced in the Banaras Hindu University and the Jawaharlal Nehru University.

In the appointment of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor, a modification had been made so that instead of being elected by the Court, they would be appointed by the Visitor out of a panel of names submitted to him by the Executive Council.

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

#### *The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 1972\**

On June 3, 1972, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and in the Department of Personnel, Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, while moving for consideration of the Bill, said that the purpose of the Bill was to enlarge the scope of the provisions of the Indian Penal Code to deal with activities of individuals which were prejudicial to the maintenance of communal harmony, and to make provisions to deal with associations which indulged in activities, prejudicial to the maintenance of communal harmony.

The House had, time and again, expressed its condemnation of the various parochial and divisive forces which stood in the way of national

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\*The Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha was laid on the Table of Rajya Sabha on June 1, 1972.

integration and diverted the attention of the people from the more basic and pressing problems of poverty and social injustice. These forces weakened the nation in facing the external threats to national security. The Government could not, therefore, spare any efforts in dealing ruthlessly with the organisations and individuals who by their constant propaganda sought to keep alive an atmosphere of mistrust and ill-feeling between different sections of the people. The Bill had been brought before the House with a view to strengthening the hands of the Government in dealing with such elements.

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

#### **Obituary References**

The Chairman made a reference to the passing away of Dr. P. V. Kane (Ex. Member); Shri D. Sanjivayya (sitting Member); Shri N. M. Anwar (Ex. Member); Shri Prithviraj Kapoor (Ex. Member). The House observed one minute's silence, all Members standing, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

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## STATE LEGISLATURES

### Andhra Pradesh

#### ANDHRA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Twentieth Session of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council was held from **March 22**, to April 8, 1972. There were 14 sittings of the Council altogether.

#### *Resolutions*

The Council discussed and passed a resolution moved by Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, Chief Minister, on April 5, 1972 seeking to ratify the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1972, as passed by the two Houses of Parliament.

On April 7, 1972 the Council discussed and adopted the following resolution moved by Shri Battam Sriramamurthi, Minister for Education:—

“Whereas this Council considers that there should be a ceiling on urban immovable property:—

And Whereas the imposition of such a ceiling and acquisition of urban immovable property in excess of that ceiling are matters with respect to which Parliament has no power to make law for the State except as provided in articles 249 and 250 of the Constitution of India;

And Whereas it appears to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council to be desirable that the aforesaid matters should be regulated in the state of Andhra Pradesh by Parliament by law;

Now, therefore, in pursuance of clause (1) of article 252 of the Constitution, this Council hereby resolves that the imposition of ceiling on urban immovable property and acquisition of such property in excess of the ceiling and all matters connected therewith or ancillary and incidental thereto should be regulated in the State of Andhra Pradesh by Parliament by law.”

Earlier, on April 4, 1972, the House discussed the following non-official resolution moved by Shri G. Atchutarama, M.L.A.:—

“This House recommends to the State Government to recommend to the Central Government the need in the present circum-

stances for Indianisation, which means the subordination of all narrow loyalties like those of religion, caste, region, language or dogma to the overriding loyalty to the nation, of all fissiparous elements, especially those with extra-territorial loyalties or allegiance, overt or covert to the two-nation theory or multi-national theory. Indianisation alone will bring about national integration for which all sections of the society have to strive for."

The discussion was, however, not concluded and further consideration was postponed.

### **Goa, Daman and Diu**

The first session of the third Legislative Assembly commenced on March 24 and lasted till March 30, 1972 when it was prorogued. In all 5 sittings were held.

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri J. A. Rane, Speaker *pro-tem* subscribed the oath/affirmation to the Members before they took their seats in the House. Thereafter, Shri N. S. Fugro was elected as Speaker. On March 28, 1972 Shri C. U. Chodankar was elected to the office of the Deputy Speaker.

#### *Administrator's Address*

The Administrator of the Union Territory delivered his Address to the Members on the opening day of the Session (March 24, 1972). A motion of thanks to the Administrator was moved by Shri J. A. Rane and passed by the House after discussion.

#### *Financial Business*

The Supplementary Demands for the year 1971-72 were granted after discussion on March 27, 1972. The Goa, Daman and Diu Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 1972 was passed on the same day.

The Finance Minister (Chief Minister) presented the Annual Financial Statement (Budget) for the year 1972-73 on March 28, 1972. The Goa, Daman and Diu Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972 was passed on March 29, 1972.

### **Gujarat**

The first session of the Fourth Gujarat Legislative Assembly was held from March 20, 1972 to April 8, 1972. Altogether there were 16 sittings lasting 41 hours 30 minutes.

### *Legislation*

During the session, 6 Government Bills were introduced and all were passed by the House.

### *Questions*

There were no Starred Questions during the session. Out of 198 notices of Short Notice and 56 Unstarred Questions received from the Members, 70 and 48 respectively were admitted, but only 57 Short Notice Questions were actually replied to. The replies to the 48 Unstarred Questions had not been received from the concerned Departments till the last date of the session.

### *Financial Business*

The annual budget for the year 1972-73 was presented to the Assembly on March 22, 1972. A motion for vote on account amounting to Rs. 1,02,16,64,000 was discussed and passed by the House on March 24, 1972.

### *Resolutions and Motions*

#### *(i) Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971*

On April 7, 1972, the House adopted the statutory motion moved by the Chief Minister, Shri Ghanshyambhai Oza, ratifying the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971 as passed by Parliament.

#### *(ii) Narmada Project*

On April 3, 1972, the Assembly passed the following resolution moved by Shri Fulsing Solanki, M.L.A., without any dissenting voice:—

“The Narmada Project is Gujarat's vital unsolved problem. In view of the recent power shortage in the State, the implementation of the Narmada Multi-purpose Project has become an urgent matter. The country to-day has reached such a stage of development that it can hardly afford any delay in this direction.

So far as Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh are concerned, the Narmada Project is the main step towards 'Garibi Hatao' programme. After the recent Pakistani aggression, the desert areas of Kutch border need to be developed on top priority basis; and from this point of view also, expeditious implementation of the Narmada Project is necessary.

In the light of all these things this House recommends to the Government to take necessary action without any further delay for bringing about a just solution to the Narmada Project problem”.

### **Haryana**

The Haryana Vidhan Sabha held its session from January 10, 1972 to January 18, 1972. In all nine sittings were held. The Vidhan Sabha was dissolved on January 21, 1972.

#### *Tributes to Armed Forces*

On January 11, 1972 the House made references to the—

- (i) Martyrs who laid their lives in the Eastern and Western Borders of India; and
- (ii) Martyrs of Bangla Desh and the civil population of India who had suffered because of the war.

The following resolution was moved by the Chief Minister and passed on the same day:—

“This House pays its heartfelt tributes to all those officers, J.C.Os. and Jawans of our armed forces and armed police, who laid their lives at war fronts and to all those civilians and truck drivers and conductors, who were killed in Pakistani bombardment as also to the families of all such martyrs. This House also commends the brave soldiers of the *Mukti Bahini*, Indian Armed Police and Indian Armed Forces, who showed dauntless courage and exceptional chivalry and also expresses its heartfelt sympathies for lakhs of peace-loving and innocent people of Bangla Desh, who had to undergo innumerable tortures and miseries on account of crack-down of Pakistani brutes since March last.”\*

#### *Victory in War with Pakistan*

The following official Resolution was moved by the Chief Minister and passed by the House on January 18, 1972:—

“The House expresses its profound joy on the magnificent victory of our country in the recent war with Pakistan. The country has emerged more united and stronger and the principles and policies which were always followed by our country have been fully vindicated. This is a victory of freedom, democracy and secularism against suppression, totalitarianism and religious fanaticism.

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\*Original in Hindi

The House expresses its sense of pride on the performance of our valient armed forces and is grateful to them for their brave and courageous deeds. The House also extends its heartfelt sympathy to the families of all the martyrs from the armed forces and from the civilian population who laid down their lives in defence of the motherland and also towards those armed forces personnel and civilians who were wounded and disabled during the war.

The House welcomes the emergence of the sovereign Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh and resolves that the felicitations of the House be conveyed to the Bangla Desh Government through the Central Government."

### *No-Confidence Motion against Deputy Speaker*

On January 18, 1972 Sarvashri Satya Narain Syngol, Mangal Sain, Hardwari Lal, S.P. Jaiswal and 15 other Members wanted to move a motion of lack of confidence in the Deputy Speaker. The Speaker ruled the motion out of order and disallowed it from being moved, observing:

"Hon'ble Members will kindly agree that the Constitution of India provides one remedy for the removal of the Deputy Speaker as enshrined in Article 179(c) by giving notice of a Resolution. Furthermore it has been provided that no resolution to this effect shall be moved unless atleast fourteen days notice has been given of the intention to move the resolution. In this case, the Members will appreciate neither the removal has been sought nor the necessary period prescribed for the purpose has been kept in view. Moreover, while observing on a point of order regarding the admissibility of the resolution for the removal of Mr. Speaker Mavalankar, the then Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha observed.

'Unless there are specific charges which could be met and of which due notice has been given, this resolution is clearly out of order.'

Besides, it has also been provided that when special provisions have been made regarding such resolutions as distinct from the general provisions relating to resolutions the special provisions are to be applied."

### *Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971\**

On January 18, 1972 the Chief Minister moved the resolution seeking to ratify the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971. The resolution was passed by the House on the same day.

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\*The Bill passed earlier by the two Houses of Parliament seeks to amend Article 31 and add a new Article 31C relating to compulsory acquisition of property and payment of compensation therefor.

### Himachal Pradesh

A session of the Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha was held on March 10, 1972 and a second session consisting of 9 sittings was held from March 27 to April 7, 1972.

#### *Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971\**

On April 6, 1972 the Vidhan Sabha discussed and passed a resolution moved by the Chief Minister seeking to ratify the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971 as passed by the two Houses of Parliament.

#### *Ceiling on Urban Property*

On April 6, 1972 the Vidhan Sabha discussed and unanimously passed the following resolution moved by the Chief Minister:—

"Whereas this Assembly considers that there should be a ceiling on urban immovable property;

And Whereas the imposition of such a ceiling and acquisition of urban immovable property in excess of that ceiling are matters with respect to which Parliament has no power to make laws for the States except as provided in Articles 249 and 250 thereof;

And Whereas it appears to this Assembly to be desirable that the aforesaid matters should be regulated in the State of Himachal Pradesh by Parliament by law;

Now, therefore, in pursuance of clause (1) of Article 252 of the Constitution, this Assembly hereby resolves that the imposition of a ceiling on urban immovable property and acquisition of such property in excess of the ceiling and all matters connected therewith or ancillary and incidental thereto should be regulated in the State of Himachal Pradesh by Parliament by law."

### Meghalaya

The Meghalaya Legislative Assembly held its session from March 25 to April 7, 1972. Altogether 8 sittings were held.

#### *Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971\**

On April 4, 1972, the Assembly adopted a resolution moved by the Chief Minister seeking to ratify the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971 as passed by both Houses of Parliament.

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\*Ibid.

*Indira Gandhi Hill University*

On April 6, 1972, Shri S. D. D. Nichols Roy, Minister of Industries, in the absence of the Chief Minister, moved a resolution in the House relating to the establishment of the Indira Gandhi Hill University in the North Eastern Region of India. Nine Members took part in the discussion on the resolution which was later adopted unanimously.

**Nagaland**

A session of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly was held from March 11 to 28, 1972. The Assembly held 13 sittings in all.

*Government Resolutions*

On March 13, 1972 Shri Hokishe Sema, Chief Minister, moved a resolution for the ratification of the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971, which was adopted unanimously.

Another resolution, moved by the Chief Minister, congratulating the Prime Minister for her able leadership and the armed forces of India for displaying exemplary valour during the recent war in Bangladesh, was adopted by the Assembly unanimously on March 14, 1972.

**Pondicherry**

The Budget Session of the Legislative Assembly was inaugurated by the Lieutenant-Governor on March 27, 1972. It held 18 sittings before adjourning on April 24, 1972.

*Financial Business*

The Budget for the year 1972-73 and the Statement showing the Supplementary Grants for the year 1971-72 were presented to the House on the same day.

There was a General Discussion on the Budget on April 3 and 4, 1972.

The Demands for Grants for the year 1972-73 were voted upon by the House from April 5 to 22, 1972.

*Legislative Business*

Eleven Government Bills were passed during this Session.

A Condolence Resolution on the passing away of Thiru Mohammad Ismail, President of the Indian Union Muslim League was carried *nem con.*

**Punjab**

After the 1972 elections to the State Legislative Assembly, the first session of the Assembly commenced on March 21, 1972. It held eight sittings till March 31, 1972, when it was adjourned to meet again on April 24, 1972.

*Motions and Resolutions*

The Assembly discussed and passed the following resolutions on March 30, 1972:

**1. On Victory in the Indo-Pakistan War**

"This House

(i) Places on record its deep sense of joy at the unparalleled and historic victory of the nation in the recent Indo-Pakistan war;

(ii) Congratulates the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Government of India for their wise, bold and fearless leadership during this crisis and the compassionate and patient manner in which the problem of 10 million refugees was tackled and solved;

(iii) Congratulates the Indian Armed Forces, their Commanders, Officers and Jawans for their brilliant feat of arms, their high quality of planning and leadership in war, and their courage and spirit of sacrifice in battle;

(iv) Expresses its heart-felt sympathy with the families of the martyrs and concern for their welfare and well-being;

(v) Welcomes the emergence of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh as a free democratic and secular nation and sends its warm greetings to Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and the People of Bangla Desh;

(vi) Places on record its appreciation of the assistance rendered by the Government and the people of USSR and other countries to India in the hour of crisis;

(vii) Congratulates the people of Punjab, who in keeping with the past traditions, displayed remarkable courage and bravery during the recent Indo-Pak war; and as in the past, pledges the support of the people of Punjab to the Prime Minister and the nation in defending the freedom, integrity and ideals of our beloved motherland."



## 2. Ceiling on Urban Property

"Whereas it appears to this Assembly to be desirable that the Parliament should make a law with respect to prescribing ceiling on urban immovable property in order to remove economic disparity and bring about socialism in the State;

Now, therefore, this Assembly hereby resolves that the Parliament may enact law prescribing and regulating ceiling on urban immovable property in the State."

### Tripura

A session of the Tripura Legislative Assembly consisting of 5 sittings was held from March 29, to April 4, 1972.

#### *Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971\**

On April 4, 1972 the Assembly discussed and passed a Government resolution seeking to ratify the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971 as passed by the two Houses of Parliament.

#### *Felicitations to Bangladesh*

On April 6, 1972, the House also discussed and passed the following Government motion:—

"The Tripura Legislative Assembly offers their felicitations to the Independent Sovereign Democratic Republic of Bangladesh.

The House also places on record its heartfelt regards to the departed souls of the Indian Jawans, citizens and Freedom Fighters of Bangladesh who have laid down their lives in the liberation movement of Bangladesh and prays that their immortal souls may rest in peace.

The House hopes that the existing mutual bonds of friendship between India and Bangladesh based on equal status and fraternity will further be strengthened and everlasting."@

### Uttar Pradesh

The Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Parishad held its session from December 31, 1971 to January 21, 1972 consisting of 20 sittings. The subsequent session of the Council commenced on March 20, 1972.

Besides passing a resolution ratifying the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971 as passed by the two Houses of Parlia-

\*Ibid.

†Original in Bengali.

ment, the Council discussed the following resolutions sponsored by the Government:

### *First Resolution*

"This House accords a hearty welcome to the emergence of a secular, socialistic and sovereign "Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh", which has achieved freedom from the dictatorial, cruel, barbaric and colonial Pakistani rule for 24 years and congratulates her public, Liberation Army—*Mukti Bahini* and Government while felicitating all of them. This House also emphasizes its demand for immediate release of Shri Mujib-ur-Rahman, the President of Bangla Desh, so that he may be able to lead the destiny of Independent Bangla Desh.

This House strongly condemns another unprovoked and shameful attack by Pakistan on India. This House praises the indomitable courage, bravery and dutifulness of the brave jawans of Indian Navy, Army and Air Force who have successfully defended the integrity and sovereignty of India. This House, while paying homage to the martyrs, who have laid down their lives in this war, expresses deep sympathy and grief for their bereaved families and assures them that this State is determined to provide them all possible help.

This House, while expressing gratitude, congratulates our Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Central Government for their political understanding, and strong and mature leadership provided by them at this most critical moment in the history of our nation. This House is proud of the fact that the country-men and the political parties have once again shown unprecedented unity and co-operation at the moments of national crisis.

This House expresses gratefulness to all those countries, especially U.S.S.R. and Poland, who lent their co-operation to our country at this juncture. This House also thanks France, U.K. etc. who while remained neutral have shown their sympathies for us. At the same time, this House expresses resentment to the policies of countries like U.S.A. and China who did not appreciate the realities of the situation and encouraged the heinous acts committed by Pakistan."\*

### *Second Resolution*

"This House expresses happiness over the release of Bangla Bandhu Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman and his arrival in our country today morning as President of Bangla Desh. This House also congratulates the public and Government of Bangla Desh on this historic occasion of rejoicing.

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\*Original in Hindi.

This House assures on behalf of 9 crores of people of Uttar Pradesh that we shall extend our complete co-operation in the efforts of Government of India for ensuring development and progress of Bangla Desh.

We pray for long life to Banga Bandhu and wish that Bangla Desh enjoys his benevolent and powerful leadership for a very long time.

This House requests all the nations in the world and United Nations to accord recognition to Bangla Desh."\*

#### **U.P. VIDHAN SABHA**

The above-mentioned three resolutions were also discussed and passed by the U.P. Vidhan Sabha which held its third session of 1971 from December 31, 1971 to February 15, 1972. During this period it held 11 sittings. Its first session of 1972 commenced on March 20, 1972.

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\*Original in Hindi.

## POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STATES<sup>1</sup>

[March 1—May 31, 1972]

### (A) General

#### *President's Rule Ends in Seven States*

Following the Assembly elections<sup>2</sup>, held in the first half of March 1972, and the subsequent installation of popular Governments by March 20, President's rule had ended in all the seven States, (*viz.* Bihar, Gujarat, Manipur, Mysore, Punjab, Tripura and West Bengal) where it had been in force for varying periods.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill*

The Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971, as passed by Parliament, received the assent of the President on April 20, 1972 and became law. Resolutions ratifying the amending Bill had been passed by 19 States earlier.<sup>4</sup>

### (B) Individual States<sup>5</sup>

#### ANDHRA PRADESH

#### *New Ministry Formed*

In the elections to the Andhra Pradesh Assembly, held on March 5 and 8, 1972, the ruling Congress party had secured 219 of the total

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<sup>1</sup>This feature, prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service (Lok Sabha Secretariat), is based on newspaper reports and no responsibility is accepted by the Lok Sabha Secretariat for the accuracy or veracity of the information or views contained therein.

<sup>2</sup>For a review of these elections see feature on "General Elections to State Assemblies, March 1972", p. 413.....ante.

<sup>3</sup>*The Statesman Weekly*, March 25, 1972, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>*Hindu*, April 21, 1972.

<sup>5</sup>In March 1972, elections were held to the Legislative Assemblies of 16 States, (*viz.* Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal

287 elective seats in the new House. Soon after the election results were out, on March 14, the Chief Minister Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao submitted the resignation of his Ministry to the Governor who, however, requested Shri Rao and the other Ministers to continue in office till the formation of a new Council of Ministers. Subsequently, on March 17, Shri Narasimha Rao was unanimously re-elected Leader of the Congress Legislature Party.<sup>6</sup>

On March 20, 1972, a new 29-member Ministry, headed by Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, was sworn in at Hyderabad. The new Ministry retained 16 members of the outgoing Ministry. It consisted of 19 Ministers of Cabinet rank, 11 of them from Andhra and eight from Telengana, and five Ministers of State from each region. According to reports, backward classes and weaker sections of the society had been given about 50 per cent representation in the new Ministry.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Pidathala Ranga Reddy, former Chairman of the State Legislative Council and a former Planning Minister, was unanimously elected Speaker of the new Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly on March 21, 1972. Thanking Members for their felicitations, Shri Reddy made clear his intention not to resign from the Congress party. While he had great respect for the tradition of the Speaker resigning from his party, he could not abide by it under the political circumstances that prevailed in the country. The position of the Speaker in the country to be free from any party label required several other traditions, which could bolster up his position during the elections and after the tenure of power was over, he added. Shri Reddy, however, assured Members of his impartiality and full cooperation.<sup>8</sup>

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Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mysore, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tripura and West Bengal), to the Legislative Assembly of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, and the Metropolitan Council of Delhi. For a review of their elections and the party-wise break-up of seats in each of the new Houses see the feature on "General Elections to State Assemblies, March 1972" at page 413 ante.

<sup>6</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 15, 1972, and *Times of India* (New Delhi), March 18, 1972.

<sup>7</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 21, 1972.

<sup>8</sup>*Indian Express* (New Delhi), March 22, 1972.

Shri C. Jagannadha Rao (Congress), was on March 28, elected Deputy Speaker of the State Assembly, defeating the Opposition candidate Shri Mohammad Rajab Ali (CPI) by 199 votes to 30. According to reports, the Opposition members had earlier requested the Government Benches to allow an Opposition legislator to become the Deputy Speaker, which was not, however, acceded to.<sup>9</sup>

#### *New Chairman of the Council*

Shri Thota Ramaswamy, a former Panchayat Raj Minister, was unanimously elected Chairman of the State Legislative Council on March 25, 1972. Shri Ramaswamy was the Leader of the House till recently.<sup>10</sup>

### ASSAM

#### *New Ministry*

Following the elections to the Assam Legislative Assembly, held on March 7 and 11, 1972, Shri Sarat Chandra Sinha was, on March 17, 1972, re-elected unanimously Leader of the State Congress Legislature Party, which commanded a strength of 95 in the new 114-member Assembly. Later, on the same day, Shri Sinha was sworn in as the Chief Minister by the Governor at Shillong. Other members of the Ministry—nine Ministers of Cabinet rank and three Ministers of State—were sworn in on March 21. Only two of Shri Sinha's colleagues in the outgoing Ministry were retained in the new Ministry. All the rest were newcomers.<sup>11</sup>

Two more Ministers of Cabinet rank were inducted on April 19, 1972, raising the strength of the Ministry to 15.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Ramesh Chandra Barooah, a nominee of the ruling Congress and a former Minister of Assam, was unanimously elected Speaker of

<sup>9</sup>Hindu, March 29, 1972.

<sup>10</sup>Hindustan Times, March 26, 1972.

<sup>11</sup>Times of India, (New Delhi) March 18, 1972, and Hindustan Times, March 22, 1972.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid, April 20, 1972.

the State Assembly on March 22, 1972.<sup>13</sup> Shri Golak Rajbanshi also a Congress nominee, was unanimously elected Deputy Speaker on April 6<sup>14</sup>

## BIHAR

### *President's Rule Extended; Revoked*

The President on March 9, 1972, issued a Proclamation extending Central rule in Bihar. The original Proclamation imposing President's rule in the State, issued on January 9, 1972, was valid only till March 8 midnight, as it could not be approved by Parliament which was due to meet for the first session of the year only on March 13.<sup>15</sup>

The Proclamation of March 9 was revoked by the President on March 19, following the swearing in of a popular Ministry.<sup>16</sup>

### *New Ministry*

In the Assembly elections held in March 1972, the Congress had gained a clear majority in Bihar by winning 167 of the 318 seats in the State Assembly. On March 16, the new legislators of the party met at Patna and unanimously passed a resolution authorising the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to nominate the leader of the Bihar legislature party. The Prime Minister nominated Shri Kedar Pandey.<sup>17</sup>

A new eight-member Congress Ministry, headed by Shri Kedar Pandey, was sworn in at Patna on March 19, 1972. During the next two days, 27 more Ministers were sworn in, raising the strength of the new Ministry to 35, of whom 13 were of Cabinet rank, 16 Ministers of State and six Deputy Ministers.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid, March 23, 1972.

<sup>14</sup>The Assam Tribune, April 7, 1972.

<sup>15</sup>Hindu, March 10, 1972. Under Article 356(3) of the Constitution, a Presidential Proclamation providing for Central take-over of the administration of a State ceases to operate at the expiration of two months unless before the expiration of that period it has been approved by resolutions of both Houses of Parliament.

<sup>16</sup>Hindustan Times, March 20, 1972.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid, March 17, 1972 and Hindu, March 24, 1972.

<sup>18</sup>Hindustan Times, March 20, 21 and 22, 1972.

*Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Harinath Mishra, a former Congress Minister, was unanimously elected Speaker of the newly constituted Bihar Assembly on March 21, 1972. Shri Mishra's name was proposed by Chief Minister Shri Kedar Pandey and seconded by Shri Daroga Prasad, a Minister without portfolio. Shri Shakoor Ahmad, also a nominee of the Congress, was elected Deputy Speaker on April 4, 1972. Shri Ahmad's election was also unanimous.<sup>10</sup>

*CBI Prosecutes Ex-Minister*

The Central Bureau of Investigation had prosecuted a former Minister of the Bihar Government for alleged abuse of his official position and use of Government vehicles for private purposes. The C.B.I. investigation had revealed that the Minister had not paid the charges for the use of a number of Government vehicles on the occasion of the marriage of his two sons in 1966. The charge-sheet was filed in the court of the Special Judge at Patna on March 16, 1972.<sup>20</sup>

This was one of the cases registered by the CBI at the request of the Bihar Government in 1970, as a sequel to the findings of the Aiyar Commission, which was appointed by the first United Front Government in 1967 to inquire into charges of corruption and misuse of power by certain former Ministers in Bihar.<sup>21</sup>

*CPI Extends Qualified Support to Congress Government*

The Communist party of India, which had an electoral adjustment with the Congress in Bihar, decided to support the Congress Government in the State for the implementation of progressive and democratic measures. Announcing this, the State Executive of the CPI said in a statement on March 16, that it would not hesitate, however, "to criticise and fight the Government if it deviates from its electoral pledges and attacks the interests of the people."<sup>22</sup>

*CPI M.L.A. shot dead*

Shri Manzarul Hussain Khan, a CPI M.L.A. who had been returned from the Ramgarh constituency in the recent Assembly elections,

<sup>10</sup>Ibid, March 22 and April 5, 1972.

<sup>20</sup>Times of India (New Delhi), March 17, 1972.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Hindustan Times, March 17, 1972.



was shot dead at Patna on March 19, 1972. Shri Khan, a labour leader who had been released on parole a few days before his election, was shot inside the MLA flat in West Patna.<sup>23</sup>

### *Opposition Walk-out from Joint Session*

An Opposition walk-out amid noisy scenes preceded the 30-minute address of the Governor to the joint session of the two Houses of the State Legislature on March 22, 1972. The walk-out was staged by the Socialist Party, the Congress (O) and the Jana Sangh in protest against what they called "the utter failure of the Government during President's rule to ensure a fair and peaceful poll for the State Assembly". The CPI and the PSP, which had forged a Progressive Democratic Front in the Assembly, did not participate in the protest walk-out.<sup>24</sup>

### *Assembly Prorogued*

The Bihar Assembly was prorogued by the Governor on April 14, 1972. Simultaneously, the Governor promulgated an Ordinance amending the Bihar Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads Act, 1961.<sup>25</sup>

### *Congress Regains Majority in State Council*

The Congress had regained majority in the Bihar Legislative Council. In the recent biennial elections, the party increased its strength from 45 to 52 in the 96-member House. Among the Opposition parties, the Socialist Party increased its strength by two and the Jana Sangh and the CPI by one seat each. The strength of the Congress (O), however, declined from 14 to 6.<sup>26</sup>

## GUJARAT

### *Shri Oza Heads New Congress Ministry*

Following a spate of defections from the ruling Congress (O) and continued political instability, Gujarat was placed under President's Rule on May 13, 1971. In the elections held in March 1972, the Congress swept the polls by winning 139 out of the total 167 seats

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<sup>23</sup>*The Statesman Weekly*, March 25, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 23, 1972.

<sup>25</sup>*Statesman* (Calcutta), April 15, 1972.

<sup>26</sup>*Times of India* (New Delhi), May 24, 1972.

(excluding one seat where the election was postponed due to the death of a candidate) in the State Assembly, while the Congress(O) was able to secure only 16 seats.<sup>27</sup>

With the announcement of the results of the Assembly elections, on March 15, 1972, the Congress Legislature Party in Gujarat unanimously elected Shri Ghanshyamdas Oza, then Union Minister of State for Industrial Development, as its Leader. Two days later, on March 17, a new 15-member Congress Ministry, headed by Shri Oza, was installed in office at Ahmedabad. Besides the Chief Minister, the new Council of Ministers had seven Ministers of Cabinet rank and an equal number of Deputy Ministers. Following his appointment as Chief Minister, Shri Oza resigned from the Union Council of Ministers.<sup>28</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Raghavji Thobanbhai Leuva (Congress) was, on March 21, 1972, unanimously re-elected Speaker of the State Assembly. Shri Rameshchandra Yukul Parmar was elected Deputy Speaker on March 28. Shri Parmar's election was also unanimous.<sup>29</sup>

#### *Shri Oza Elected to Assembly*

At the time of his appointment as Chief Minister, Shri Ghanshyamdas Oza was not a member of the State Assembly. Shri Oza contested the Assembly election from the Dehgam constituency, which went to the polls on April 16, 1972, and was declared elected defeating his immediate Jana Sangh rival, Shri Gabhaji Thakore, by a margin of 6,804 votes. The Dehgam constituency could not go to the polls at the time of the general elections, held in March, due to the death of one of the candidates.<sup>30</sup>

### HARYANA

#### *New Ministry Formed*

On March 14, 1972, with the announcement of the results of the Assembly elections to the Haryana Assembly, the newly-elected Cong-

<sup>27</sup>Hindustan Times, May 14, 1971 and March 17, 1972.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., March 16 and 18, 1972 and Free Press Journal, March 18, 1972.

<sup>29</sup>Hindustan Times, March 22, 1972 and Times of India, (Ahmedabad) March 29, 1972.

<sup>30</sup>Hindustan Times, April 18, 1972.

ress legislators of the State met at Chandigarh and unanimously elected the Chief Minister, Shri Bansi Lal, as the Leader of their legislature party which had 52 members in the new House with a total membership of 81. Later on the same day, Shri Bansi Lal, who had in the meanwhile submitted the resignation of his Ministry to the Governor, was again sworn in as the Chief Minister. Four other Ministers—three of Cabinet rank and one Deputy Minister—were sworn in subsequently, on March 17.<sup>31</sup>

It may be recalled that the outgoing Ministry, which was also headed by Shri Bansi Lal, had 16 Ministers of Cabinet rank and two Deputy Ministers. Two of them were denied the party ticket for the elections and six of them had been defeated.<sup>32</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Banarsi Dass Gupta, General Secretary of the Haryana Pradesh Congress, was unanimously elected Speaker of the newly constituted State Assembly on April 3, 1972. Immediately after his election as Speaker, Shri Gupta announced his resignation from the Congress Legislature Party.<sup>33</sup>

On April 5, Shrimati Lekhwati Jain, who was Deputy Speaker in the last Assembly, was again elected to that office.<sup>34</sup>

### HIMACHAL PRADESH

#### *New Ministry*

Following the March, 1972 Assembly elections, in which the ruling Congress had captured 51 seats in the new Himachal Assembly with an effective strength of 65,<sup>35</sup> the Chief Minister, Dr. Y. S. Parmar, was again unanimously elected leader of the Congress legislature Party in the State Assembly on March 15, 1972. On the same day, Dr. Parmar was sworn in afresh as the Chief Minister. Four other Ministers of Cabinet rank and three Ministers of State were included in the Council of Ministers on March 19. Only two members of the

<sup>31</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 15, 1972 and *Times of India* (New Delhi), March 18, 1972.

<sup>32</sup>*Times of India*, (New Delhi), March 18, 1972.

<sup>33</sup>*Hindustan Times*, April 4, 1972.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid*, April 6, 1972.

<sup>35</sup>Elections to three constituencies, which were snowbound in March, were to be held in June.

outgoing Ministry—both of Cabinet rank—were retained in the new Ministry. The new-comers included Shri Desraj Mahajan who was Speaker in the dissolved House and Dr. Salig Ram who was retiring as member of Rajya Sabha.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Kultar Chand, a former Parliamentary Secretary, was, on March 28, 1972 elected Speaker of the State Assembly. Shri Lekh Ram (Congress) was elected Deputy Speaker on March 30. Both the elections were unanimous.<sup>37</sup>

### JAMMU AND KASHMIR

#### *New Congress Ministry Installed*

In the Assembly elections, which concluded in Jammu and Kashmir on March 11, 1972, the ruling Congress party had captured 57 out of the total 74 seats<sup>38</sup> involved. On March 18, Chief Minister Syed Mir Qasim was unanimously elected leader of the Congress Legislature Party and, on the same day, a new five-member Ministry, headed by Shri Qasim, was sworn in at Jammu. It included three Cabinet Ministers, besides the Chief Minister, and one Minister of State. Earlier, on the previous day, Shri Qasim had tendered the resignation of his Ministry to the Governor, but was asked to continue in office till the formation of the new Council of Ministers.<sup>39</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker*

Shri Abdul Gani Goni, former Health Minister, was unanimously elected Speaker of the State Assembly on March 20, 1972. His name was proposed by the Chief Minister Syed Mir Qasim and supported by leading members of Opposition groups in the House.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 16 and 20, 1972.

<sup>37</sup>*Times of India* (Bombay), March 29, 1972. *Tribune* (Chandigarh), March 31, 1972.

<sup>38</sup>Election to the remaining one seat was postponed to June as the constituency was snow-bound in March.

<sup>39</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 19, 1972, and *Times of India* (New Delhi), March 18, 1972.

<sup>40</sup>*Times of India* (New Delhi), March 21, 1972.

## KERALA

### *Differences Among Ruling Coalition Partners: Leaders see no Threat to Ministry*

Ruling Coalition circles in Kerala were, on March 17, 1972, reported to be concerned over the campaign launched by the Youth wing of the Congress (one of the partners in the CPI-led five-party Coalition Government) against the Muslim League (another constituent of the Coalition). However, the President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, Shri K. K. Viswanathan, told newsmen at Cochin on March 21 that the present CPI-led Coalition Government in the State was working smoothly and that no change in the existing set-up of the five-party Coalition Ministry was envisaged, despite some discordant notes and ideological confusion among the ruling parties.<sup>41</sup>

Earlier, on March 19, 1972 the CPI State Council Secretary, Shri N. E. Balaram, told reporters at Trivandrum that his party wanted the existing Coalition in Kerala to continue. Answering a question, Shri Balaram denied that relations between the constituents of the ruling Coalition were getting worse. "On the other hand they are improving and are being strengthened", he said.<sup>42</sup>

### *Minister Passes Away*

Kerala Finance Minister, Shri K. T. George, who took suddenly ill and fainted in the State Assembly on April 3, 1972, died on the same night. Shri George was replying to a debate on the Kerala General Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, when he suddenly fainted slumped on his desk. He had joined the CPI-led Coalition Government on September 25, 1971, along with four other Congress nominees.<sup>43</sup>

### *Courts can Try Offences Committed on the Floor of the House*

The Trivandrum District Magistrate (Judicial), Shri S. Sivaraman, on April 19, 1972, held that a criminal act committed inside the Assembly Chamber an individual could not be considered part of the proceedings of the House, and that Courts were not barred from trying

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<sup>41</sup>Hindustan Times, March 19 and 22, 1972.

<sup>42</sup>The Statesman Weekly, March 25, 1972.

<sup>43</sup>Hindu and Hindustan Times, April 4, 1972.

criminal offences committed in the State Assembly Chamber, even if they amounted to a breach of privilege of the House. Upon this view, he set aside an order of the lower court dismissing the complaint of an Inspector of Police against a former CPI (M) Minister and three CPI (M) MLAs, and remitted the case for further inquiry according to law.<sup>44</sup>

Shri K. Sankaranarayanan Nair, Inspector of Police, was on special duty in the State Assembly on May 29, 1970, when he rushed to the Speaker's dais following an uproar in the House. He was reportedly assaulted by Shri Imbichi Bava, then Minister of Transport, and three MLAs. The lower court had dismissed Shri Nair's complaint on the ground that it had no jurisdiction to try the case as the incident "took place within the Assembly Chamber." Shri Nair then went in appeal to the District Magistrate.<sup>44A</sup>

#### *Government Accepts Inquiry Commission's Findings*

The Kerala Government, on April 24, 1972, approved the Inquiry Commission's report regarding allegations of "grave irregularities" in the admission of students and appointments and promotions in medical colleges against Shri B. Wellingdon, who was Health Minister in the former CPI (M)-led United Front Ministry of Shri E.M.S. Namboodiripad. The Commission, headed by Shri P. Govinda Menon, retired Judge of the Kerala High Court, had submitted its report to the Government, a month back.<sup>45</sup>

According to official sources, the Commission had found Shri Wellingdon guilty on three counts. These related to the admission of students in the Thirumalai Devaswom Medical College, Alleppy, and to certain appointment.<sup>46</sup> Ministerial sources were reported to have said that the State Cabinet, while endorsing the Commission's report, did not propose to pursue the matter.<sup>47</sup>

#### *New Minister Sworn in*

Shri K. Karunakaran, Kerala Home Minister and leader of the Legislature Congress Party, said in an interview on May 8, 1972, that

<sup>44</sup>*The Statesman Weekly*, April 22, 1972, p. 7.

<sup>44A</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>*Hindustan Times*, April 25, 1972.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>*Hindu*, April 26, 1972.

Shri Paul P. Mani, Congress MLA and Vice-President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, had been chosen as the Congress nominee to fill the vacancy in the Council of Ministers caused by the demise of Shri K. T. George. Shri Mani was sworn in as Minister on May 16.<sup>48</sup>

Following Shri Paul P. Mani's induction in the CPI-led Coalition Ministry, the Portfolios of the Congress Ministers were re-shuffled. In the reshuffled, the Finance Portfolio, held previously by late Shri K. T. George, was allotted to Dr. K. G. Adiyodi, and Shri Mani was given the Food and Civil Supplies portfolio.<sup>49</sup>

#### MADHYA PRADESH

##### *New Ministry Formed*

With the announcement of the results of the elections to the Madhya Pradesh Assembly, on March 14, 1972, Chief Minister Shri P. C. Sethi submitted his resignation to the Governor, but was asked to continue on office until his successor was appointed. Subsequently, Shri Sethi was unanimously re-elected as Leader of the Congress Legislature party which had a strength of 220 in the new 296-member House. On March 23, a new 11-member Council of Ministers, headed by Shri Sethi, was sworn in at Bhopal. The new Ministry comprised five Cabinet Ministers, including the Chief Minister, five Ministers of State and one Deputy Minister.<sup>50</sup>

##### *Election of Speaker*

Shri Tejlal Tembhre, Congress nominee, was elected Speaker of the Madhya Pradesh Assembly on March 25, 1972. His election was unanimous.<sup>51A</sup>

#### MAHARASHTRA

##### *New Ministry Formed*

In the elections, held in Maharashtra on March 5, 7, and 9, 1972 the ruling Congress Party won 222 of the total 270 elective seats in the State Assembly. On March 12, with the announcement of the election results, the Chief Minister Shri V. P. Naik submitted the resignation of his Council of Ministers to the Governor who, however,

<sup>48</sup>Hindu, May 9, 1972 and Free Press Journal, May 17, 1972.

<sup>49</sup>Hindu, May 18, 1972.

<sup>50</sup>Hindustan Times, March 24, 1972.

<sup>51</sup>Albid, March 26, 1972.

asked Shri Naik to continue in office till a new Ministry was formed. On March 14, Shri Naik, who had in the meanwhile been re-elected as the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party, was again appointed as Chief Minister by the Governor. Two days later, on March 16, a 21-member Council of Ministers, headed by Shri Naik, was sworn in at Bombay. The new Ministry had 12 Cabinet Ministers, eight Ministers of State and one Deputy Minister. While three Cabinet Ministers and five Ministers of State in the last Ministry were dropped, others were retained in the new Ministry, which also had nine new entrants, including the Pradesh Congress Committee Chief, Shri Vasant Rao Patil who was not a member of the State Legislature.<sup>51</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri S. K. Wankhede (Congress), former Finance Minister of Maharashtra, was unanimously elected Speaker of the State Assembly on March 22, 1972. In the election to the office of Deputy Speaker, held on the following day, Shri R. V. Bet, the Congress nominee, was declared elected, defeating his lone rival Shri R. K. Patil of the Peasants and Workers Party by 188 to 29 votes.<sup>51A</sup>

#### *Election of Council Chairman*

Shri V. S. Page, Chairman of the Maharashtra Legislative Council since 1960, was unanimously re-elected to that office on April 29, 1972. His installation was, however, put off to the opening day of the next session of the Council on June 4, 1972.<sup>52</sup>

### MANIPUR

#### *New Ministry Installed*

Manipur, which became a full-fledged State on January 21, 1972, had been under President's rule since October 16, 1969. In the elections to the 60-member Assembly of the new State, held in March 1972, no party was able to obtain a clear majority. The Congress—the largest single party in the new House—had a strength of only 17, followed by the Manipur People's Party with 15 members. However, with the support of some small parties and Independents the Manipur People's Party, led by Shri Mohammed Alimuddin, formed a coalition, known as the United Legislature Party, which claimed a strength of 33. On

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid*, March 13, 15 and 16, 1972 and *Times of India* (Bombay) March 17, 1972.

<sup>51A</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 23 and 24, 1972.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid*, May 1, 1972.



March 16, Shri Alimuddin was elected leader of the United Legislature Party.<sup>53</sup>

On March 20, 1972 a new five-member United Front Ministry, headed by Shri Mohammed Alimuddin, was installed in office at Imphal, bringing to an end the two-and-a-half-year old President's rule in Manipur. Besides the Chief Minister, two other Ministers were also from the Manipur People's Party, while the remaining two Ministers were Independents.<sup>54</sup>

The Manipur Ministry was expanded on May 1, 1972 when seven new Ministers—four Ministers of State and three Deputy Ministers were sworn in. With this, the strength of the Ministry rose to 12—five of them Cabinet Ministers. According to reports, all the constituent units of the United Legislature Party were now represented in the Ministry.<sup>55</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker*

Dr. Chandramani Singh of the ruling United Legislature Party was elected Speaker of the State Assembly on March 30, 1972. He defeated his Opposition rival, Shri Athiko Diaho (Congress); a former Finance Minister, by 40 votes to 20.<sup>56</sup>

### MEGHALAYA

#### *New APHLC Ministry*

In Meghalaya, which had attained full statehood in January 1972, the ruling All Party Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC) was voted back to office, having won in the March elections 32 seats in the new 60-member Assembly. On March 18, 1972, a five-member Ministry, headed by Captain Williamson Sangma, was sworn in at Shillong. All the members of the new Ministry were also members of the last Ministry. Subsequently, on April 8, two Ministers of State were sworn in, raising the strength of the Council of Ministers to seven.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Press Information Bureau Release on Manipur Poll Analysis, March 30, 1972 and *Hindustan Times*, March 17, 1972.

<sup>54</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 21, 1972 and *The Statesman Weekly*, March 25, 1972, pp. 3-4.

<sup>55</sup>*Hindustan Times*, May 2, 1972.

<sup>56</sup>*Hindustan Standard*, April 1, 1972.

<sup>57</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 19 and April 9, 1972.

*Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Prof. Radhan Singh Lyngdoh, nominee of the ruling All Party Hill Leaders' Conference, was, on March 25, unanimously elected Speaker of the State Legislative Assembly. Shri Lyngdoh had held the same office in the dissolved House—the provisional Assembly of Meghalaya.<sup>58</sup>

Shri Singjan Sangma, a Congress nominee, was elected Deputy Speaker on April 5, 1972. Shri Sangma's election was also unanimous.<sup>59</sup>

*Independent MLAs from New Party*

Ten Independent members of the Meghalaya Assembly on March 23, 1972, formed a party called the United Independents Parliamentary Party (UIPP) with Prof. Martin Narain Majaw as President. Prof. Majaw told a news conference at Shillong that he had applied to the Speaker to recognise the new party in the House. The main purpose of the party, he said, would be to try to topple the APHLC from power.<sup>60</sup>

## MYSORE

*New Council of Ministers*

A three-member Congress Ministry with Shri Devraj Urs as Chief Minister, was sworn in at Bangalore on March 20, 1972, ending the year-old President's rule in Mysore.<sup>61</sup> Earlier, Shri Urs, who was also President of the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee, was unanimously elected Leader of the Congress Legislature Party which had, in the recently concluded elections, captured 165 out of the total 216 seats in the State Assembly. At the time of his appointment as Chief Minister Shri Urs was not a member of either House of the State Legislature. He had not contested the recent Assembly elections.<sup>62</sup>

A second batch of 19 Ministers was sworn in on March 23, raising the strength of the Ministry to 22, of whom 13 were of Cabinet rank and nine Ministers of State.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>*Hindustan Standard*, March 26, 1972.

<sup>59</sup>*Hindustan Times*, April 6, 1972.

<sup>60</sup>*The Statesman Weekly*, April 1, 1972, p. 6.

<sup>61</sup>After the resignation of the Congress (O) Ministry, led by Shri Veerendra Patil, and the failure of the political parties in the State to form a popular Government, President's rule was imposed in Mysore on March 21, 1971—Also *J.P.I.* April 1971, pp. 171-72.

<sup>62</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 21, 1972.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid*, March 24, 1972.

### *Election of Speaker*

Shrimati K. S. Nagarathnamma, nominee of the ruling Congress, was on March 24, 1972, elected Speaker of the State Assembly by a voice vote. Besides Shrimati Nagarathnamma, there were two other aspirants—another Congress Member, Shri K. H. Ranganath and an Independent, Shri Naganna. While Shri Ranganath's nomination was not pressed, Shri Naganna could not secure the requisite support. Shrimati Nagarathnamma was reported to be the first woman Speaker in the country.<sup>64</sup>

### *New Chairman of Legislative Council*

Shri S. D. Goankar, a nominee of the Congress (O), was on April 10, 1972, elected Chairman of the Mysore Legislative Council, defeating his rival, Shri M. V. Rama Rao (Independent) who was supported by the ruling Congress. Shri Goankar had served as Deputy Chairman of the Council from 1966 to 1968.<sup>65</sup>

### *Government Bill Stalled in State Council*

The Congress (O), which is in a majority in the State Legislative Council stalled on April 20, 1972 the passage of the Land Reforms Amendment Bill by forcing an amendment during the second reading stage. The Assembly had adopted the Bill earlier.<sup>66</sup>

The Congress (O) amendment, adopted by 23 votes to 13, was described by its sponsor, Shri T. N. Narasinhmurthy, as more progressive than the amending Bill, as it sought to save tenants from eviction for non-payment of rent. With the adoption of the Opposition amendment, the Revenue Minister, Shri N. H. Gowda, declined to move the third reading of the Bill.<sup>67</sup>

## NAGALAND

### *Removal of Deputy Speaker*

The Nagaland Assembly, on March 20, 1972 passed a resolution by 28 votes to 23 for the removal of the Deputy Speaker, Shri K. V.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid* and *Times of India* (New Delhi, March 25, 1972, and *The Statesman Weekly*, April 1, 1972, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup>*Deccan Herald*, April 11, 1972.

<sup>66</sup>*The Statesman Weekly*, April 29, 1972, page 3.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, and *National Herald* (New Delhi), April 21, 1972.

Keditsu. The resolution said that Shri Keditsu no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Members of the House in view of "his partisan attitude disregarding the rights of Members". Shri Keditsu refuted the charges. Opposition leaders alleged that the charges had been brought because Shri Keditsu had left the ruling party.<sup>68</sup>

Subsequently, on March 27, Shri T. A. Ngullie, a nominee of the ruling Nagaland Nationalist Organisation, was unanimously elected Deputy Speaker.<sup>69</sup>

#### ORISSA

##### *Orissa PSP Merges with Congress*

The Orissa Praja Socialist Party formally merged with the Congress when a special convention of the party at Bhubaneswar on May 28, 1972, adopted a resolution ratifying the merger decision taken earlier by the party's executive committee. The resolution said that the merger decision was taken "to radicalise the politics of the country, to fight back all sorts of reactionary forces and to fulfil the aspirations of the people."<sup>70</sup>

#### PUNJAB

##### *Congress Ministry Installed*

In the Assembly elections, held in the State on March 11, 1972, the Congress gained an absolute majority winning 66 seats in a House of 104. The Akali Dal (Sant Group), which was the ruling party at the time of the dissolution, emerged as the second largest party with 24 members in the new House. Next came CPI with 10 representatives.

On March 17, a ten-member Congress Ministry, headed by Shri Zail Singh, the Leader of the Punjab Congress Legislature Party, was sworn in at Chandigarh. The new Ministry comprised five Ministers of Cabinet rank, two Ministers of State and three Deputy Ministers.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>*National Herald* (New Delhi), *Hindustan Times* and *Statesman* (Calcutta), March 21, 1972.

<sup>69</sup>*Times of India* (Bombay), March 28, 1972.

<sup>70</sup>*National Herald* (New Delhi), May 29, 1972.

<sup>71</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 17, 18 and 19, 1972.

### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Darbara Singh (Congress) was unanimously elected Speaker of the State Assembly on March 22, 1972. His name was proposed by the Chief Minister, Giani Zail Singh and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Jaswinder Singh Brar (Akali). Shri Darbara Singh was the Speaker in the last House also.<sup>72</sup>

Dr. Kewal Krishan, also a Congress nominee, was elected Deputy Speaker on March 28, by a voice vote. The Akali Dal had proposed the name of Shri Arjan Singh, but did not press for a division.<sup>73</sup>

### *C.P.I. Extends Conditional Support to New Government*

The Punjab unit of the CPI—electoral partner of the ruling Congress in the State—decided to give “conditional support to the Congress Ministry and have a positive and constructive approach towards it.” Announcing this at a Press Conference at Chandigarh on March 20, 1972, the State Unit Secretary, Shri Avtar Malhotra, said his party would urge the new Congress Government in the State to work out a time-bound minimum progressive programme and take effective steps to carry it out. He also made it clear that if the Congress tried to revive the State Legislative Council, his party “would firmly oppose such a move.”<sup>74</sup>

### *Assembly Adopts Resolution Empowering Centre to Enact Urban Ceiling Law.*

The State Assembly on March 30, 1972, passed by a voice vote an official resolution urging Parliament to enact legislation putting a ceiling on urban immovable property in the State. Moving the resolution, the Education Minister, Shri Umrao Singh, advanced “three good reasons” for making such a request to Parliament and to justify why the State Government had not approached the Assembly to enact such a law. First, an Act of Parliament would lay down a uniform pattern for the whole country. Secondly, such a law would cover the property of a person in other States too, which would be outside the purview of the State he belongs to. Thirdly, the huge compensation to be paid for

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<sup>72</sup>*Ibid*, March 23, 1972.

<sup>73</sup>*Indian Express* (New Delhi), March 29, 1972.

<sup>74</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 21, 1972.

the property acquired under the ceiling law will have to be met by the State Government if the State had passed the legislation. Not satisfied with the reasons advanced by the Minister, a Member from the Opposition side—Shri Ajaib Singh Sandhu (Akali)—alleged that the question of fixing a ceiling on urban property was being passed on to Parliament to delay matters, so that “the vested interests could dispose of their property.”<sup>76</sup>

Subsequently, however the Punjab Government decided to bring forward its own bill for imposing a ceiling on urban property. Two ceiling Bills, one relating to urban property and the other to agricultural land holdings, were introduced in the State Assembly on May 12, 1972, by the Revenue Minister, Shri Umrao Singh. The urban ceiling measure proposed that no family of five would own urban property worth more than Rs. 2.5 lakhs. The ceiling would be raised by Rs. 50,000 per member in excess of the normal family size of five, subject to a maximum limit of Rs. 4 lakhs for a family.<sup>76</sup>

## RAJASTHAN

### *New Ministry Formed*

Chief Minister, Shri Barkatullah Khan, was, on March 15, 1972, unanimously re-elected Leader of the Rajasthan Congress Legislature Party which had won, in the recent Assembly Elections 145 out of the total 184 seats in the State Assembly. On the same day, Shri Khan, who had submitted his resignation to the Governor, was invited to form a new Government.<sup>77</sup> On March 16, a ten-member Ministry, headed by Shri Barkatullah Khan, was sworn in at Jaipur. The new Ministry had seven Ministers of Cabinet rank, including the Chief Minister, and three Ministers of State.<sup>78</sup>

### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Ram Kishore Vyas, nominee of the ruling Congress party and a former Health Minister of Rajasthan, was unanimously elected Spea-

<sup>76</sup>Hindustan Times, March 31, 1972.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid, May 13, 1972. The Punjab Assembly was adjourned *sine die* on May 17, 1972, without considering the two ceiling Bills—The Mail, May 18, 1972.

<sup>77</sup>Hindustan Times, March 16, 1972.

<sup>78</sup>Times of India (Bombay), March 17, 1972.

ker of the State Assembly on March 20, 1972. Shri Ram Singh Yadav was elected Deputy Speaker on March 25, 1972.<sup>79</sup>

### *Assembly Adopts Urban Property (Ceiling) Bill*

The State Assembly on May 26, 1972, passed by a voice vote the Rajasthan Urban Property (Ceiling) Bill, which fixed the property limit for a family of not more than five at Rs. 3 lakhs. Under the Bill every additional member of a family in excess of five can have property up to the value of Rs. 25,000, but the value of all urban properties owned by a family should in no case exceed Rs. 4 lakhs.<sup>80</sup>

### TAMIL NADU

#### *Minister Resigns*

Shri A. Dharmalingam, Minister for Agriculture in the DMK Government, resigned from the office on March 8, 1972, and the resignation was accepted by the Governor on the same day. The Chief Minister Shri M. Karunanidhi told newsmen on March 9, that Shri Dharmalingam had resigned from the Ministry due to ill-health.<sup>81</sup>

Consequent on the exit of Shri Dharmalingam, Shri Manali P. Narayanaswami, a Member of the State Legislative Council, was, on March 10, inducted into the Ministry as Minister for Agriculture.<sup>82</sup>

#### *Election Set Aside*

The Madras High Court, on March 13, set aside the election of Shri P. Malaichami (DMK) to the State Assembly from Melur North constituency in the 1971 Mid-term poll. His rival, Shri M. Andi Ambalam Congress (O), who had challenged Shri Malaichami's election, was declared elected. In his petition, Shri Ambalam had alleged various irregularities in the conduct of the election and in counting of votes. The Court held that the election of Shri Malaichami was vitiated because of improper inclusion in his favour of void votes and valid

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<sup>79</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 21, 1972, and *National Herald* (New Delhi), March 26, 1972.

<sup>80</sup>*National Herald*, (New Delhi), May 27, 1972.

<sup>81</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 9, 1972 and *Indian Express*, (New Delhi), March 10, 1972.

<sup>82</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 11, 1972.

votes cast in favour of Shri Andi Ambalam. On scrutiny of votes, the Court, declared that Shri Ambalam had a majority of 96 votes.<sup>83</sup>

*State Government Initiates Legal Proceedings against former Congress C.M. and others*

The DMK Government was, on April 3, 1972, reported to have initiated legal proceedings against the former Chief Minister and Congress leader, Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam, certain other political leaders belonging to different Opposition parties and the editors and publishers of three Tamil newspapers, for making and publishing certain allegations against Shri P. K. Shanmugam, the State Food Minister.<sup>84</sup>

*Election of Council Deputy Chairman*

Shri M. P. Sivagnanam, Tamil Arasu Kazhagam leader, was elected, without contest, Deputy Chairman of the State Legislative Council on April 29, 1972.<sup>85</sup>

TRIPURA

*New Ministry*

A two-member Congress Ministry with Shri Sukhmoy Sengupta as Chief Minister was sworn in at Agartala on March 20, 1972. Six other Ministers—three of Cabinet rank and three Deputy Ministers—were sworn in on March 31, raising the strength of the Ministry to eight.<sup>86</sup> In the elections, held earlier in the month, the Congress had won 41 seats in the 60-member State Assembly. Tripura had attained statehood in January, 1972.

*Elections of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Manindralal Bhowmik, Speaker of the previous Assembly, was on March 29, 1972, unanimously re-elected Speaker of the New Tripura Assembly. Shri Usharanjan Sen (Congress) was, on the same day, elected Deputy Speaker. Shri Sen's election was also unanimous.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup>*Times of India* (Bombay), March 14, 1972.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid*, April 4, 1972.

<sup>85</sup>*Hindu*, April 30, 1972.

<sup>86</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 21 and April 1, 1972.

<sup>87</sup>*Times of India* (Bombay), and *Hindustan Standard* March 30, 1972.



## UTTAR PRADESH

### *Assembly By-elections*

The ruling Congress won all the ten by-elections to the State Assembly, held on March 11, 1972.<sup>88</sup>

### *Alleged Allurements to Legislators : Adjournment Motion Rejected*

Deputy Speaker, Shri Vasudev Singh, rejected in the State Assembly on March 29, 1972, an adjournment motion tabled by Shri Shambhu Nath Chaudhari (BKD) alleging that Members of the House were being pressurised, influenced and offered allurements of money for their votes by certain candidates for the biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha, scheduled for April 1. The Deputy Speaker said that the matter was beyond the jurisdiction of the House. Complaints, if any, and success secured on the basis of corrupt practices in the election, could be brought before the Election Commission, which could provide the remedy. Intervening in the discussion, Chief Minister, Shri Kamalapati Tripathi said that the allegations gave the impression that votes of the Members of the House were being purchased. Members making such allegations should disclose the names of the candidates who were employing these corrupt practices to the Chair, Shri Tripathi said. He also requested the Deputy Speaker to make enquiries.<sup>89</sup>

Later, on March 31, the entire Opposition in the State Assembly staged a walk-out for the day, alleging that the ruling party, the Congress, was employing all kinds of corrupt and unfair practices to influence Opposition members for the biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha. The Chief Minister emphatically denied these charges and said that as the Congress enjoyed a decisive majority in the House, it had no reason for influencing Opposition Members in connection with the Rajya Sabha poll.<sup>90</sup>

## WEST BENGAL

### *New Ministry Installed*

With the announcement of the results of the Assembly Elections, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Union Minister for West Bengal Affairs,

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<sup>88</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 13 and 15, 1972.

<sup>89</sup>*National Herald* (Lucknow), March 30, 1972.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid*, April 1, 1972.

was on March 17, 1972, unanimously elected Leader of the West Bengal Legislature Congress Party which had a strength of 216 in the 280-Member State Assembly.<sup>91</sup>

On March 20, a 28-Member Congress Ministry, led by Shri Sidhartha Shankar Ray, was sworn in at Raj Bhavan. The new Council of Ministers consisted of 16 Cabinet Ministers, nine Ministers of State and three Deputy Ministers. The New Chief Minister was not a member of the State Assembly.<sup>92</sup>

With the induction of the Ray Ministry, the Congress had returned to power in West Bengal after a lapse of five years. Two United Front Ministries, a Progressive Democratic Front Ministry and a Democratic Coalition Ministry had been in power in the State for different periods in the five years since the 1967 General Elections. President's rule, imposed on West Bengal in June 1971, was revoked shortly before the swearing-in ceremony took place.<sup>93</sup>

#### *Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Apurba Lal Mazumdar was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the new West Bengal Assembly at the inaugural session of the Assembly on March 24, 1972. Shri Mazumdar, a former Forward Block member was returned to the House as an Independent candidate. Shri Haridas Mitra (Congress) was, on the same day, elected Deputy Speaker. His election was also unanimous. Replying to felicitations on his re-election as Speaker, Shri, Mazumdar appealed to absentee Opposition Members of the Left Front to revise their boycott decision and attend the deliberations of "this democratic forum." He assured them that if they attended the Assembly they would be ensured of all the privileges and protection, enshrined in the Rules of Procedure of the House.<sup>94</sup>

#### *Left Front Boycotts Assembly*

Even before the new West Bengal Assembly was duly constituted, eight parties of the CPI (M)-led Left Front decided on March 18, 1972, to boycott the Assembly. Leaders of the eight parties—CPI(M), Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), Socialist Unity Centre

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<sup>91</sup>Hindustan Times, March 18, 1972.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid, March 21, 1972 and *The Statesman Weekly*, March 25, 1972, page 5.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Hindustan Standard and Times of India (Bombay), March 25, 1972.

(SUC) Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCPI), Worker's Party, Forward Bloc, Forward Bloc (Marxist) and Biplabi Bangla Congress—said in a joint statement that they had conclusive evidence of “many kinds of rigging methods” having been employed in a “concerted plan” in the recent elections to the State Assembly. “In this situation”, they said. “We have no other course but to express our protest by boycotting this rigged legislature”. In the just concluded Assembly elections, the Left Front had secured 19 seats in all (in a House of 280), of which 14 were accounted for by the CPI(M).<sup>66</sup>

The Chief Minister, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, on March 23-1972, appealed to the Left Front to revise what he called its ‘unrealistic’ decision of boycotting the Assembly. Shri Ray, who was addressing reporters at the Calcutta Press Club, declared that the Front’s decision would lead to many contradictions. The boycott decision, he said, had put a greater responsibility on the ruling party, as the Government would be denied the benefit of constructive counsel expected from the Opposition. He also called upon the Press to play the Opposition’s role by ‘constructive criticism’.<sup>66</sup>

Later, on March 28, making another appeal to the Opposition to give up its “boycott” of the Assembly, the Chief Minister told a Press Conference that the CPI(M) allegation that the elections in West Bengal were rigged was totally unfounded, “even on the basis of pure arithmetic”, because the CPI(M) had secured 29 per cent of the votes in the 1972 elections—only 3 per cent less than the votes polled by the party in the 1971 mid-term elections. One reason that made the big difference in the number of seats won was, Shri Ray said, that there was little opposition this time from the Congress (O), Bangla Congress, Forward Bloc, Muslim League, the PSP, the SSP, Gurkha League and the Lok Sevak Sangh. “We got all their seats and if you add their seats up with ours, you will see why we got the number that we have got”, Shri Ray added.<sup>67</sup>

However, the Left Front’s boycott continued. Addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi on April 7, West Bengal CPI-M Leader, Shri Jyoti Basu reiterated the charge that the recent Assembly

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<sup>66</sup>Tribune, (Chandigarh), March 20, 1972.

<sup>66</sup>The Statesman Weekly, March 25, 1972, p. 1

<sup>67</sup>The Statesman Weekly, April 1, 1972, p. 7.

elections in West Bengal were rigged, and demanded the setting up of a completely impartial tribunal to inquire into the conduct of the said elections.<sup>98</sup>

#### *Privilege Motion withdrawn on CM's Appeal*

A privilege motion was moved in the West Bengal Assembly on March 29 against CPI(M) leader, Shri Jyoti Basu, for his reported remarks at a mass rally on the previous day that "the present Assembly is a House of swindlers". Shri Abdul Bari, a Congress member, who moved the motion, said that Shri Basu had, committed a contempt of the House by his derogatory remark. He was supported by several others from the Congress and the CPI benches. The motion was, however, withdrawn after the Chief Minister, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, appealed to the House to forgive Shri Basu, by just ignoring his remarks. The House, he said, should remember under what circumstances the CPI (M) leader had made this comment.<sup>99</sup>

#### *Assembly Favours Central Law on Urban Ceiling*

The West Bengal Assembly, on May 2, 1972, adopted unanimously a resolution authorising Parliament to enact a legislation to impose a uniform ceiling on urban property throughout the country. The resolution was moved by the Minister in charge of land utilisation and land reforms. Opposing a CPI member's amendment calling for introduction of a Bill in the State Assembly providing for imposition of a ceiling on urban property in West Bengal, the Chief Minister, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, said that piecemeal enactment by the State would not secure the desired objective, which was that the ceiling should be applicable Uniformly to the entire country. For this, Central legislation was absolutely necessary, he said.<sup>100</sup>

### Union Territories

#### DELHI

#### *New Executive Council*

Following the elections held in Delhi on March 11, 1972 in which the Congress secured 44 seats in the Union Territory's 56-

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid*, April 15, 1972, p. 5.

<sup>99</sup>*Indian Express* (New Delhi), and *Statesman*, (Calcutta), March 30, 1972.

<sup>100</sup>*Hindustan Times*, May 3, 1972.

member Metropolitan Council, the party took over the reigns of the Delhi Administration from the Jana Sangh, after a lapse of five years, on March 18, 1972, when a new four-member Congress Executive Council, headed by Shri Radha Raman, Chief Executive Councillor, was sworn in. Shri Radha Raman, who did not contest the recent elections was nominated to the Metropolitan Council.<sup>101</sup>

*Election of Chairman and Deputy Chairman*

Mir Mishtaq Ahmed and Shri Jag Pravesh Chandra, both nominees of the ruling Congress, were elected respectively, Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Delhi Metropolitan Council, on March 21, 1972.<sup>102</sup>

*New Lt. Governor*

Shri Baleshwar Pradsad, former Adviser to the Assam Governor, was on March 24 sworn in as Lt. Governor of Delhi. Earlier, the Act Lt. Governor, Shri M. G. Pimputkar, had formally relinquished his charge.<sup>103</sup>

GOA

*New Ministry*

In the elections to the Goa Assembly, held on March 11, 1972, the ruling Maharashtravadi Gomantak Party (M.G.P.) had captured 18 of the 30 seats.

On March 23, 1972 the M.G.P. leader Shri Dayanand Bandodkar was sworn in to a third term as Chief Minister, heading a new four-member Ministry. The new Council of Ministers consisted of three Cabinet Ministers, including the Chief Minister, and one Minister of State. Later, speaking at a reception accorded to the new Ministers by the Goa Union of Journalists, Shri Bandodkar said that his Government would give top priority to securing Statehood for the Union Territory and introduction of land reforms.<sup>104</sup>

*Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Shri Narayan Shrinivas Fugro (Independent) was, on March 24, elected Speaker of the newly constituted Assembly of the Union Territory. Shri Fugro, who was the nominee of the ruling Maharashtra-

<sup>101</sup>*The Statesman Weekly*, March 25, 1972, p. 4, and *Hindustan Times*, March 19, 1972.

<sup>102</sup>*Hindustan Times*, March 22, 1972.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid*, March 25, 1972.

<sup>104</sup>*Times of India* (New Delhi), and *Hindustan Times* March 24, 1972.

wadi Gomantak Party, defeated his only rival Shri Jagdish Rao, the United Goans Party candidate by 20 votes to nine. The election to the office of Deputy Speaker was held on March 28. It was also a contested election in which the ruling party nominee, Shri Chandrakant Uttam Chodankar, won defeating his Opposition rival, Shri Raque Santana Fernandes (United Goans Party) by 18 votes to 10.<sup>106</sup>

#### MIZORAM

##### *No-confidence Motion against Government carried*

The Executive Committee of the Mizo District Council, in Budget Session since March 15, 1972, was, on March 20, voted out of power, when a no-confidence motion against it tabled by a Congress Member, was carried by a majority of one vote following a break-up of the ruling Mizo Parliamentary Party—a Coalition of the Mizo Union and the Mizo Congress. The break-up of the ruling Coalition came in the wake of a recent reconciliation between the Mizo Congress and the Congress Party.<sup>106</sup>

It may be recalled that under the North-East Areas Reorganisation Act, 1971 the Mizo District acquired the status of a Union Territory, named Mizoram. The new Union Territory was to have its own Legislative Assembly and Council of Ministers, which would replace the existing District Council and the Executive Committee. However, the existing set-up was to continue for the time being and in the meantime arrangements were made for holding the first general elections to the Territory's Legislative Assembly.

##### *Assembly Elections*

The newly-created Union Territory went to the polls on April 18, 1972, to elect its first Legislative Assembly and a Member of the Lok Sabha. In the final tally, the Mizo Union, which fought the elections on the issue of full statehood for Mizoram, won 21 of the 30 elective seats in the Assembly. The Congress secured six seats while the remaining three seats went to Independents. The Mizo Union also captured the single Lok Sabha seat.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup>Hindustan Times, March 25, 1972 and Times of India, (Bombay), March 29 1972.

<sup>106</sup>Hindustan Times, March 21, 1972.

<sup>107</sup>Indian Express (New Delhi), April 22, 1972 and Hindustan Standard, April 28, 1972.

*First Popular Ministry Installed*

The 21-member Mizo Union Legislative Party in the Assembly unanimously elected Shri C. Chhunga as its Leader on April 27, 1972. The First-ever Ministry of the new Union Territory of Mizoram was installed on May 3, when Shri Chhunga was sworn in as Chief Minister along with three of his colleagues.<sup>108</sup>

PONDICHERRY

*By-Election to Assembly*

Shri P. C. Purushothama Reddiar (Congress) won the by-election to the Pondicherry Assembly from the Ariyankuppam constituency, defeating the DMK nominee Shri M. Pandurangan by a margin of 1270 Votes on March 12, 1972. The by election was caused by the unseating of the former Speaker, Shri Perumal (DMK) by the Supreme Court on a poll petition.<sup>109</sup>

The Congress decision to set up a candidate against the DMK nominee in the by-election had caused the break-up of the one-year old alliance between the two parties, forged on the eve of the Mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha and the Tamil Nadu Assembly, held in March 1971.<sup>110</sup>

*Election of New Speaker and Deputy Speaker*

Following the setting aside of the election of the previous Speaker, Shri Perumal, Shri M. L. Selvaraj, Deputy Speaker of the Territory's Legislative Assembly, was unanimously elected as the new Speaker on March 29, 1972. Shri Selvaraj was the nominee of the ruling DMK. Shri Kemichetty Varaprasad Rao (Independent) was unanimously elected Deputy Speaker on April 5.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>Hindustan Times, April 28, and May 4, 1972.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid, March 13, 1972.

<sup>110</sup>See also J.P.I. April 1972, pp. 303-304.

<sup>111</sup>Hindustan Times, March 30, 1972, and National Herald (New Delhi), April 6, 1972.

## **Book Reviews**

### ***CO-EXISTENCE AND COMMERCE—GUIDELINES FOR TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: by Samuel .Pisar (ALLEN LANE, LONDON, 1971: Price £ 3.50 net.)***

The Stalinistic era of monopolisation and the establishment of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) on January 30, 1949 remained a spectre for those Western countries which considered the communist world as a parallel enemy camp. But, with the death of Stalin, it began to show signs of a great change. The new challenges of growing trade awareness have forced the Soviet Union to start re-thinking about its centralised economy dominated by the political ideology of communism. Too much "Statism" is giving place to decentralised economy giving freedom and incentive to local manufacturers in Soviet Russia and its satellites. These small and big communist countries have now begun to work on the policies of profit, sales and price motives. Like the internal contradictions of capitalism, contradictions in Soviet Communism have also been visible. This is exactly the theme of the opening chapters by the author.

Further, by giving a detailed analysis of the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism, the author has ably proved its wrongness in the changed economic atmosphere of East and West relationship. The theory of historical determinism has also given way, in the opinion of the author, to new trends of economic and market re-orientation. The logic that the economy of capitalist countries will go on disintegrating due to cyclic depressions and economic backwardness recurring every decade has also proved wrong. Instead of this, capitalist democracies are now showing signs of viable economy and stability. The author has thus brilliantly put forward the exposition and successfully made out a case for co-existence between East and West, which in Mr. Samuel Pisar's opinion is now becoming a reality.

By figurative calculations and sketches, Mr. Samuel has tried to show the growing desire on the part of West Germany, Italy, France and other European countries on the one hand and also between Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria etc. on the other to establish and deepen trade relations with each other.



For example, through a comparative study of figures, Mr. Pisar shows that whereas in 1956, Soviet exports to the West were \$ 580 million they went up to \$ 2260 million in the year year 1969. So also in 1956, Soviet imports, from the West were \$ 600 million and they increased, during the year 1969, to a figure of \$ 2500 million.

This growing eagerness for mutual trade is not only visible in European capitals, but even NATO and other American satellites are coming up independently to have their trade relations with each other.

The author states that formerly the view of the Marxist thinkers was that proletarian revolution would first take place in the backward and under-developed countries. This has gone wrong. The interesting feature of the book is to show how even the newly-born independent states are receiving help and trade co-operation from Russia, against this ideology, which is the ancestral home of communism and which had believed that economically and culturally backward colonies, if they are to catch the communist ideological fire due to acute discontentment and more and more tensions, should be allowed to be created by fanning the fire of revolution and preventing them from getting aid from outside. But, in contrast, more and more aid is being given by the U.S.S.R. which is helping to create stability in these backward countries.

In the opinion of the author, trade in Europe with Eastern countries has been possible due to economic indivisibility rather than political cleavage. Italy has been the most persistent of all European countries to advance its business relationship with the East, throwing away the hopes of imminent revolutions.

The author has also dealt in detail the American point of view regarding trade relations with East, its reservations and apprehensions. Expansion of trade relations with East may be possible now due to changed political and economic relationship. The U.S.A. is becoming one of the greatest suppliers of machinery to East.

Mr. Pisar has also discussed the suppressed rights of an author in a communist society. Only committed ideology prevails, which may only suit the administration and nothing is allowed to see the light of the day which is not publicly useful, *i.e.* all rights of freedom of speech, expression, art and literature are subordinated to the whims of the administration.

In the last, the author opines that if the East and West trade is to realise its full potential in an improving political climate, the institutional framework within which it is currently conducted must be drastically modified. The East-West trade problems can be handled by an internationally sponsored but independent system of regulation. A code can be framed of fair practices in trade, though it cannot resolve outstanding political issues, but its pragmatic use can be made. Mr. Pinar has been so jealous and keen in getting these trade relations established that he has not missed even to draw a list of eighty norms which can form the ethics of international trade. This looks something extraordinary, how hard and fast rules could gain permanency to serve these relations in such a dynamic and ever-changing world of today.

One may not agree with the norms and details of the author's proposed concepts, but he has proved worthy of his task in presenting to the Eastern and Western politicians and tradesmen, a common meeting ground where the mutual and economic trade relations could be developed in spite of divergent ideology. This book is positively to go a long way in patching up the East and West relationship and also mitigating the dirty ground of confrontation. If one-world business is to be a reality, then the writings of this practising lawyer of international fame will have to be taken into account.

—N. K. SANGHI, M.P.

*THE AMENDING PROCESS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION*  
by Dr. Hari Chand (Metropolitan Book Co. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi 1972)

The author is an Associate Professor at the Indian Law Institute, New Delhi. As a research student, at the London University, the Golak Nath case gave him the stimulus to study the amending process in the Indian Constitution. He was so fascinated by it that he took it as the subject for his Ph.D. thesis.

In view of the recent amendments to the Indian Constitution, the subject is of absorbing interest to lawyers in general and to students of the Constitution and political thinkers in particular, in this country. It was debated at great length and sometimes with a good deal of acrimony, while the 24th and 25th amendments were under discussion in the Parliament.

Students of constitutional law usually pay inadequate attention to the provisions relating to the amending processes of constitutions, but, in fact, as Orfield contends, the power of amendment by its very nature is a "power of a higher grade and of more potential importance than any other power provided for in the Constitution". The author is right when he says. "In the Constitution of India, the formal process of—amendment assumed unparalleled importance the day the Supreme Court exploded a veritable bombshell in the Golak Nath case. The case can be characterised as unique in the history of judicial review in India if not in the whole world."

In chapters III and IV, the author embarks on a searching analysis of the amending process, contained in Article 368 of the Constitution. The clause by clause examination of the Article, of its general as well as entrenched provisions, is carried out with considerable legal acumen and scholarship, and with due regard to the rules of interpretation. The author comes to the conclusion that Article 368 contains both power as well as procedure of amendment and further that there are no express or implied limitations on the power of amendment, provided the—Parliament complies with the procedure prescribed in the Article.

The thesis, though published this year, was completed in 1969, long before the 24th amendment was passed by the Parliament. The problem raised by the Golak Nath decision namely, whether Parliament has or has not the power to take away or abridge the rights enshrined in Part III of the Constitution is discussed by the author in a manner which shows his argumentative skill and powerful logic. After an impartial scrutiny of the law and relying on the authority of great jurists and constitutional experts, he reaches the conclusion that each and every provision of the Constitution is amenable to amendment and there is no provision which can be said to be unamendable by Parliament acting under Article 368. He thinks that the view taken by the Supreme Court in the Shankari Prasad case in this regard was sound and should be reverted to in future.

Though he believes in a progressive interpretation of the Constitution, he is good enough to express his overwhelming sense of respect and regard for the Supreme Court in acknowledging "the depth of sincerity and loyalty of the Supreme Court Judges in discharging their duty, undaunted by subsequent consequences."

The reader will gladly agree with the words of Walter Bagehot, given by the author, at the end of the book: "Progress is only possible in those happy cases where the force of legality has gone far enough to bind the nation together but not far enough to kill out all varieties and destroy nature's perpetual tendency to change."

—Y. S. MAHAJAN, M.P.

*THE INFILTRATORS—THE EUROPEAN BUSINESS INVASION OF AMERICA* by Nicholas Faith (Hamish Hamilton, London—£3|15).

The title of this book is misleading enough to attract readers to it. For one would expect a book on infiltrators to be all about spies or illegal immigrants. But the book is about Europe's recent economic invasion of America.

America, which 150 years ago received and built up its great industries on capital from Europe and which in the latter part of the 19th century till about the middle of this century furnished capital to Europe and other countries all around the world, is now seeing European capital and companies coming and settling in America to sustain its industrial economy. The author shows that this capital investment from Europe not only exists and thrives but that it is also entirely different in character from the American capital and investment in Europe. For whereas the American industrial presence abroad, however innocent in its motives, appears colonising and imperialistic, the Europeans in the USA look like explorers with a visible respect for what goes on around them. Unlike the Americans abroad, they have come to America to learn and to teach their parent companies, for most of these European companies registered in the U.S.A. are subsidiaries to the parent companies in Europe; they have not come to impose alien notions of the way business is carried on. Thus, the relationship between the Europeans and their American hosts is based on mutual respect, whereas that of the American companies in the rest of the world was based on an implied condescension towards their host companies.

The investment figures for 1969 showed that the European manufacturers were moving faster into the US than were the Americans into Europe. The net value of the manufacturing assets they controlled in the US went up by a fifth while the value of US investment in Europe rose by just over an eighth.

The European invasion is not merely of statistical importance. It seems to look so completely different from that described by Jean—Jacques Servan-Schreiber as 'the American Challenge' in Europe. The American invasion in Europe and elsewhere has reproduced the same types of organisation, technique, products and industrial skills as had been employed in the U.S.A., and mainly concentrated on four industrial groups namely: Vehicles, chemicals, and electrical and mechanical engineering. The Europeans have invaded on a much wider front, involving as they do, the English ICI, the Italian Olivetti, the German Volkswagen and the Swiss Nestle.

These main contentions of the book have been proved and illustrated from the activities of some of the chief European companies that have taken part in this European economic invasion of America. The Minister of Foreign Trade and his officials, industrialists bursting with superfluous capital and the general public interested in the industrial development of India will find a study of the details interesting and instructive. Will Indian capital ever see the time when the Indian invasion of America might begin? A study of this book will show how it may be done.

—M. RUTHNASWAMY, M.P.

*INDIAN MANAGER—His Social Origin and Career* by Sagar C. Jain,  
Somaiya Publications Pvt., Ltd., Bombay 1971.

Writing a review on industry in India is like expressing a positive opinion on life and existence, but then one has to do so, because only then can we proceed to achieve a solution. The back-ground information is very well provided in the book "Indian Manager" by Sagar C. Jain, but then in reaching for an answer, it become difficult, because although we are a secular democratic nation, if one were to scratch the skin, we will find that one is either a Northerner, or Southerner, or Westerner or Easterner other than a part-cog in a caste group or religious group etc., and as a rule we are not prepared to accept our background limitation.

How then are we going to achieve modernism? To be able to do so, in the sense of knowing oneself one should accept what has been written in the book critically. Refer to Chapter IV "The Religions of the Managers" where on p. 84 it has been stated "Muslims are grossly

under-represented in all the three sectors. In no sector is their share of managerial jobs very much more than one per cent (which is about one-tenth of their share of population), but in the foreign sector they seem to have been almost completely ignored". I feel that we need to make concrete amends. It is no use merely saying that this is because of the background of British rule and the end of Moghal rule etc. After twenty-five years after Swaraj we should be aware of facts, otherwise we may have to face a number of difficulties.

I would also like to refer to Chapter V "Caste and Regional Origins of the Managers" where by implication we are prone to stateism or regionalism; for on page 112 it is said, "Why did the Punjabi firm go all the way from West Bengal to Punjab to find nearly half of its managers? Certainly, if it was simply a matter of finding suitable talent, several other States should have had much larger share than they have now".

As one goes through the book, one has to learn to accept reality as other see it. In Chapter III "Occupational and educational Origins of the Managers", it has been stated that "data about the Indian population clearly indicate that education, particularly higher education, is the privilege of only a few in India, and that Indian Managers belong to that tiny group of people who have this privilege" (p. 37). The comparative position of educational standards among the top U.S. executives and Indian Managers has been given in Table 10 on p. 39. It becomes clear therefrom that in terms of formal education, managers in India are a well-educated group, and are indeed ahead of their counterparts in the U.S.A., where there is still a feeling since President Lincoln's time of the possibility of moving from "log house to Presidency".

It is here that the attitude of the reader comes into play, for when reading through the book one cannot escape the feeling that the only way of altering the position is to bury and destroy by burning the past, if one wants to progress. The book does not give a solution, for I would like to quote from chapter VII at p. 184, where the author clearly says by way of summing up: "The importance of the gap in the social origins of Indian managers and the consequent gulf between managers and workers have directly or indirectly helped to shape the Indian industrial relations system in its present form. But the point is already made. The importance of the gap in the social origins of Indian Managers and workers has not been recognised sufficiently by students of the Indian industrial relations system. Unless this is done, all

efforts to bring about any change in its mould and operation are likely to be as unsuccessful as they have been in the past." With this the book ends, and the reader who was waiting to be told a living answer becomes disappointed.

I am a member of Parliament, and as such the people expect an answer in my actions in a Parliamentary sense, as an initiator of action. I am therefore going to suggest something which I feel can and should be implemented. We should take a living example of Japan, which is one of the leading industrial and agricultural nations in the world. In Japan, industry and education are linked together. This is known as the "Majie" system where a young man at the end of his 14th or 15th year is expected to choose his career as an industrial worker or scholar or a Polytechnic. I would like this system to be implemented rationally. This may be termed as a living example of what Mahatma Gandhi meant symbolically as Basic Industry and Basic Education.

To achieve all this, education must be given a new direction.

—P. V. G. RAJU, M.P.

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## Summaries of Books

### *THE EDUCATED WOMAN IN INDIAN SOCIETY TODAY—a Study carried out by the YWCA of India [Tata Mc Graw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., Bombay; 1971]*

This publication attempts to draw attention to the status of the educated women in Indian society today, and examines their position in relation to equal opportunities for education, gaining access to employment and the need for further education making them eligible for fuller participation in the social, economic and political life of the country. It comprises a number of articles contributed by educationists, economists, social scientists, doctors and journalists.

The book has been divided into two parts. Part I contains articles which state the factual position in regard to the educational structure within which the educated women of India have grown up, the dimension of employment that has so far been achieved by them and the conditions in which further employment may be sought. It examines in detail four important professions,—teaching, social work, medicine including surgery, and nursing—in which a large number of women are employed, but in which there is evidently place and demand for the extended employment of suitable women. It concludes with a chapter outlining the beginning of the growth of professionalism among women and establishes that the concept is still young for the climate in which it has grown and will continue to grow.

#### *Definition of Educated Woman*

The educated woman in India is defined as follows:

In a country of about 270 million girls and women, every one of the one million women or so with a first degree between the ages of 20 and 58 years is a potential leader. Whatever she has done or not done by 20, she has a first degree and, within our definition is therefore 'educated' for leadership.

Muriel Wasi, General Editor of the volume and one of the contributors, writing under the heading 'Perspective: the Educational System and the Educated Woman of India' refers to the small number of



educated women in India and says:

In our existing population of about 540 million, roughly half i.e. 270 million, are women and girls. Yet it would seem that little over a million today could be included in our definition of 'educated women'. The disproportion in numbers is startling. Why is this?

A part of the explanation for the relatively small number of educated women in India within our definition is that high percentage in relevant age groups, i.e. between 6 and 11 years of age, and 11 and 14 years of age at elementary level, have still not been enrolled in schools. In the first group, 6—11, only 59 girls in every 100 are in school. This means that 41 in every 100 are still without schooling opportunities. At the upper primary stage, i.e. 11—14 years, only 19 out of every 100 girls are in school. This means that 81 out of every 100 are still out of school. At secondary level only 10 girls in every 100 in age group 14—17 are in school which means that 90 in every 100 of this age group are unprovided for.

Reckon this in millions and you will understand how, as we move upwards in the pyramid of formal education, there are fewer and fewer literate and educated women. We have also to remember that India has, at elementary level, among the highest rates of wastage and stagnation in the modern world. When these points are borne in mind it is not difficult to see why, out of a population of about 270 million girls and women, not much more than one million eventually qualify for inclusion within our category of an educated woman.

### *Deployment of Educated Women*

In Chapters 3 and 4 of the book, the contributors attempt to provide an answer to the question as to how those women who have had educational opportunities stand in terms of actual and potential national utility. In regard to the deployment of educated women, Idrak and Zarina Bhatti, say:

Let us now turn to the deployment of educated women. Teaching is by far the predominant single area of employment for them. In 1966 it provided employment to as much as three-fourths of all educated and trained women. Within the profession, primary school teaching accounted for about 70 per cent of the teachers, followed, at some distance, by secondary school teaching (20 per cent). Not only is teaching the most important existing profession for women; it is also likely to grow in importance. In fact, within the short span of three years, 1963 to 1966, from two-thirds of all professional employment for women it has come to account for three fourths.

The next most important profession seems to be clerical work, employing 11.8 per cent of all employed professional women. If this profession is viewed in its wider context as 'secretarial work' including stenographers and typists, it employs nearly 15 per cent of India's professional women. But, and this may seem strange,

there is a perceptible decline in the importance of this profession for women, as employment in it declined from 17.0 per cent in 1963 to a little less than 14.3 per cent in 1966. While there is some decline in all the three components of the profession, the decline is more marked in clerical work.

Nursing comes next in importance, employing a little over 7 per cent of the professional women. Its importance has declined slightly over the past three years. The decline is, however, the most marked in other professions which include administration, arts, accounts, engineering and technology journalism, etc. All these professions employed only 2.5 per cent of all trained and educated women in 1966 against nearly 7 per cent in 1963.

While some professions seem to be growing in importance at the cost of others, the number of women in each profession has increased. Further, and this is perhaps more significant, where the numbers have risen, the increase has been quite rapid. Thus, in 1966 teachers were over 50 per cent more than in 1963, which amounts to the high rate of growth of 16.17 per cent a year. Typists increased at the rate of 9.3 per cent per year; clerks and stenographers a little over 5 per cent per year; nurses 6.6 per cent per year; and physicians of all kinds by 1.3 per cent per year.

The decline in the number of women employed in the administrative services seems to have been the most substantial, from 10,351 to 6,237. Another substantial decline is in social and labour welfare workers, 2063 to 1427. Other professionals registering a decline are commercial artists, musicians, engineers and technologists.

### *Utilisation of Educated Women*

Zarina Bhatti suggests ways of assessing investment in women's education and utilising their education to higher national advantage. by the polic- 'w,fwr -d..

She observes that there should be a general awareness among educated women, and specially among the professionally trained women, that they have a social responsibility to utilise their training for general benefit of the society. And if this awareness is shared by the policy-makers, ways can be devised to utilise the educated woman-power without seriously disrupting their domestic life.

India is still in the earlier stages of development and cannot afford not to utilise people who have reached a high level of education. At the same time, it cannot afford to have our educated women neglect the upbringing of their children, because nothing is more necessary to raise the level of the 'basic training' given at home than the direct attention of the mother. Both can be done admirably through a scheme of rearrangement of the working time so as to accommodate part-time women-employees in the professions in which a large number of them are already employed.

In Chapter 5, the contributors go in factual depth into four professions—teaching, social work, medicine (including surgery) and nursing—in which large numbers of women are employed. They consider the present achievement and the need for further development.

*Conclusions regarding Professionalism among Women*

In Chapter 6, L. S. Chandrakant and Muriel Wasi, stating their conclusions in regard to professionalism among women in India, observe:

It is clear finally from our survey of professional women in the four important professions that we have chosen for special study, that women tend in India today to be more sensitive than men about the element of status in a profession. This is not really to be wondered at. Some part of their sensitivity is connected with remuneration, but professional status also contains elements that are unrelated to a salary or income. For instance, women today go in larger numbers into elementary school teaching than nursing, yet nursing is better paid than teaching at this level. The overwhelming prestige of medicine (including surgery) over the other three professions of social work, teaching and nursing is in some part related to the rewards, actual and potential, of medicine (including surgery) but is evidently not equitable with the superior returns that medicine gives.

Part of the status-consciousness among Indian women-professionals is evidently caused by the fact that professionalism is still young in India, and that women have to prove to a still-sceptical male public, as well as perhaps to themselves, that they can undertake professional work as competently as anyone else at home or abroad. This factor is, it would seem important in stimulating the expertise that characterises lifelong professionalism. Those women who enter upon professional courses either not intending to stay in the course but using their eligibility for such courses to mark time for marriage or, intending solely to increase their marriage, market value by completing the course, are nationally unproductive, since they keep others who are potentially more productive from entering professional courses. There could naturally be no objection to a fully qualified medical woman deciding to marry, provided she continued to practise after marriage.

Nothing need deter an Indian woman of the seventies from any profession, old or new, that she chooses to enter, except her own predilections and prejudices. Nothing need today reduce her power to meet the exacting demands of her profession, except the demands of marriage and a private life of her own. It may still be that, to some small extent, marriage stands between a woman and her total commitment to a profession at the highest level in India. This may resolve itself with technological progress, expanded social

services, the weakening of the family tie. But till the woman-professional spells out uncompromisingly for herself at least her first and second priorities, there can be no guarantee that the conflict that still exists in India in some measure between a woman's total private happiness, and her total fulfilment as a professional, will be reconciled, so that she gets the best of both worlds.

### *Prospects for Development*

Part II of the book consists of considered expert opinion on various facets of the development of educated Indian women, the enlargement of their employment potential and the extension of their productive use in the nation's economy. The contributors attempt to indicate trends and to spell out priorities. Chapter 7, in this Part, gives a bird's eye-view of how Indian women stood in the established professions and how they could, if suitably qualified, explore new avenues in professions such as law, librarianship, science and technology, pharmaceutical industry, commerce, electronic and computer technology, fine arts, journalism and writing and public service. Chapter 9 in its four sections advises as to how the achievements in the four strongholds of teaching, social work, medicine and nursing could be consolidated. In Chapter 10, the contributor, Perin H. Mehta urges the necessity of vocational guidance and placement services for women, in order to ensure that services of educated women are used most productively and to avoid waste by persuading those who are not suited to particular professions such as medicine and surgery or nursing to avoid them and choose other avenues fitting with their aptitude and talents:

### *Voluntary Organisations*

Chapter 11 makes the case for the continuation of voluntary organisations that serve women. It admits that voluntary organisations tend, once their tradition is established to rest on their laurels. The Editor remarks: They need constantly to be revitalised. The case for the closer association with one another of voluntary organisations for women that are engaged in similar work requires to be examined and better coordination requires to be achieved.

### *Conclusion*

The General Editor of the volume makes the following observations in conclusion:

The notion that an educated woman who has paid for her own education, or had it underwritten by her family, does not owe her society a debt must be smashed for good. Every educated woman in India is a privileged person, because she has had money, that is in acutely short national supply, invested in her. Professional

women have had even more invested in them than women who have received a general education upto, and including a first degree. Both must render back at least what they have received from the society of their birth. They must be educated to feel that their lives are parasitic if they do not repay this debt. There are hundreds of 'educated' women some of them professionals, who are married, raise children and then, when their children are grown up, sit back playing the role of home-makers with a reasonable-sized domestic staff to help them.

These women must be galvanised into productive service. Documentation must precede action, but action must be well considered if it is not to be even more wasteful than the present inaction. Married professional women—teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses, and others—must be registered, stimulated by incentives, by re-education and by publicity to come back full-time or part-time into the arena of public service. Once drawn in, they will find that the fuller lives they lead are of deep personal benefit to themselves.

We commend to all educated women of India, and in particular to women professionals, service, full or part-time, of the Indian community. In such service we are convinced, will they truly freedom find.

*GROWTH AND INSTABILITY IN INDIAN AGRICULTURE* by S. R. Sen F.R.S. and K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta; 1971.

This volume, by a former Planning Commission official, includes nine essays and lectures on different aspects of the Indian agricultural and demographic situation. It starts with an analysis of growth and instability in Indian agriculture and then proceeds to discuss the problems of planning aiming at agricultural development, population control and eradication of poverty. The author concludes the work with his assessment of the prospects of development in India.

*Green Revolution:*

Presenting a picture of agricultural production in India in retrospect, and assessing the prospects of the success of a Green Revolution, the author observes that the index number of agricultural production went up from 100 in 1949-50 to 158.5 in 1964-65. After the drought was over, foodgrains production went up to 95.5 million tonnes in 1967-68. It was, no doubt, a most welcome recovery from the trough of 72.6 million tonnes in 1965-66 but it was not very much higher than the production that would have materialized had the previous rate of 2 million tonnes increase per annum not been disturbed by the droughts of 1965—67.

From the point of view stated above, the production of 95.5 million tonnes in 1967-68 and 97 million tonnes expected in 1968-69 are not really so spectacular as to justify the description "Green Revolution". The overall progress made during these two years has, no doubt, been but it will be too optimistic to say that it is revolutionary. Any objective student of the Indian agricultural scene would agree that the so-called "Green Revolution" has not yet taken place in India if the criterion is the rate of agricultural growth.

But at the same time, one must concede that certain developments have taken place and certain conditions have been created, specially during the last three years, which, if properly utilised by the Government and people of India, should lead to a "Green Revolution" in the not too distant future. If the revolutionary element in the Indian agricultural scene is not yet manifest in terms of growth of production, it can be discerned in the changes that have taken place in the technology of Indian agriculture, in improved input, supply position and price policy and in the attitude of the Indian farmer.

The change in technology has been sparked off by the introduction of new high-yielding, high fertilizer absorbing, photo insensitive varieties of wheat, rice, maize and two millets—jowar and bajra.

The high yielding varieties have understandably given rise to a new hope in India but agricultural development never takes place along a smoothly rising curve. More commonly it takes place in the form of a series of alternate spurts and plateaus. Constant research, both technological and economic, is needed to anticipate the likely plateaus and to take corrective measures in time so that the plateaus are as short as possible and spurts reasonably sustained.

Present indications show that the technologists, with some support at national and international level will perhaps be ready with their part of the answer. But it is by no means certain whether the economists, administrators and policy-makers will be ready with theirs. If they are, India will soon have a "Green Revolution" which will ensure the 5 per cent annual rate of agricultural growth which is her Fourth Plan target. If they are not, the promised "Green Revolution" will either not come or even if it comes, it will have a rather short life.

### *Removal of Poverty through Development*

Describing how development can be made to play a role in the alleviation of poverty, the author says that the problem of development today is not merely to make poor nations rich but also to alleviate poverty and reduce disparity within each nation. Other things, especially the population situation, remaining the same, agricultural development should, *prima facie*, help alleviate absolute, although not necessarily relative poverty, to the extent that it increases national income. However, it is not merely developments in the agricultural sector alone but also in the non-agricultural and population sectors which have to be considered together in formulating policies and programmes, which would help alleviate both absolute and relative poverty. A sustained improvement in per capita income and standard of living and a lasting alleviation of poverty are possible, only if there is complementary development of the agricultural as well as industrial and trading sectors on a continuous basis, coupled with efforts at keeping the population within reasonable limits and bringing up the children, who have been born in the depressed sectors of the society, especially those facing "extreme poverty", in such a way as to enable them to take adequate advantage of the fruits of modern science and technology. The main steps that need to be taken are:

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(i) supplementing economic "pulls from above" by social "pushes from below" through a comprehensive programme for socio-economic development,

(ii) balancing, while intensifying "crop based" technological research and development effort by "area based" technological as well as social research and development effort, keeping in view the special needs of un-irrigated areas in particular,

(iii) helping and inducing movement, especially of the rural poor, from traditional to modernizing occupations and environments,

(iv) stepping up family planning (along with public health and nutrition) effort, especially among these groups,

(v) concentrating attention on the physical and mental development of the children and youth, especially of the "extreme" and "seriously" poor, and providing to them appropriate "ladders" for both economic and social advancement, and

(vi) using a part of the surplus or additional food produced in developed as well as developing countries to supplement other resources for providing—

(a) specially directed food aid to meet the "nutrition gap" of the children,

(b) food scholarships to reduce the "education gap" of the youth, and

(c) rural works to provide supplementary employment to the adults belonging to groups suffering from "extreme" and "serious" poverty.

The policies and programmes of national as well as international planning and aid agencies need to be re-oriented, especially during "The Second Development Decade of the U.N.", so as to give special attention to the question of development of the poorer classes within each country, especially those suffering from "extreme" and "serious" poverty. For, otherwise the so called economic gains derived from a narrower development approach are likely to get nullified sooner or later through the social turmoil which the present "growing gaps" are bound to generate.

### *Strategy for Agricultural Development*

The main considerations in determining policies and programmes for the development of agriculture may be briefly summed up as under :

(i) Optimum utilization of the resources endowment of the country both from the point of view of short as well as long terms;

(ii) meeting the urgent requirements of agricultural products and achieving the desired targets of production; and

(iii) setting in motion a process, especially through the progressive application of science and technology, which will lead to continuous and sustained improvement in the agricultural productivity of the country.

Of these three, it is really the last which constitutes the core of the basic strategy for agricultural development.



Policies and programmes for the development of agriculture cannot, however, be considered in isolation from the policies and programmes for the development of the economy in general. For instance, industry processes agricultural products and also provides the fertilisers, pesticides and implements, that it needs while agriculture supplies food and raw materials to industry and provides market for its products. Provision of transport communication and power is essential for the development of both.

### *Problem of Population Growth*

The fact that there is no unique relationship between the growth of population and growth of agricultural production can be demonstrated by certain data from India itself. Between 1900 and 1919 India's population increased by 0.25 per cent per annum while her agricultural production increased by 0.58 per cent per annum. Between 1920 and 1939, India's population increased by 0.95 per cent per annum while her agricultural production increased at a much smaller rate viz., 0.20 per cent per annum. Between 1940 and 1948 the situation became even worse. Population increased at the rate of 1.52 per cent per annum but agricultural production actually declined by about 0.97 per cent per annum. Between 1950 and 1960, however, the trend was completely reversed. Population no doubt grew at a faster rate, viz. 1.96 per cent per annum, but agricultural growth instead of becoming slower accelerated sharply to as much as 3.5 per cent per annum.

It is estimated that our population which was 439 million in 1961 will increase to 1275 million by 2011 *i.e.* by 2.90 times in 50 years, if the present trends of birth and death continue. At the present trends of production, food production is likely to increase by only 2.64 times in 50 years and the retail availability of food to fall from 2033 calories and 51.8 gms. of protein in 1961 to 1958 calories and 50.4 gms. of protein in 2011 as against the nutritional requirement of 2425 calories and 66 gms. protein per capita per day, representing a shortfall of 19 per cent for calories and 23 per cent for protein. This is a rather grim prospect but it is not beyond remedy. Through appropriate measures for modernising our agriculture, it should not be difficult to meet this shortfall.

The real problem facing us is not so much the rate of growth of population, although our problems would have been less and the health of the people better if family planning can be popularised. The real problem is to create conditions under which the application of science and technology could increase per acre production progressively.

The prospect for the next decade as given in the Fourth Plan is to step up national income in real terms at the rate of 6 per cent p.a., increase agricultural production at the rate of 5 per cent p.a. and industrial production at the rate of 9 per cent p.a., reduce the rate of growth of population from 2.5 per cent p.a. to 1.7 per cent p.a. increase per capita income at the rate of over 31½ per cent p.a. take a number of measures to increase the volume of employment in rural as well as urban areas and to reduce economic disparity significantly.

But in spite of this significant development during the last 20 years and even better economic prospect for the next 10 years, the social problems to be faced by India are not likely to be less. Present indications are that they may become in some respects even more difficult.

There is a growing disparity (a) between the "more privileged" and the "less privileged" in a number of areas and (b) between irrigated or industrialised areas and other areas and (c) less readiness than before for the "less privileged" classes and people in backward areas to accept this growing disparity without protest. Thanks to modern communication, these people have become aware of what is being done in other parts of the world to eliminate or reduce the man made causes of disparity and want the same to be done for them also.

But measures for economic development *e.g.* technological innovations represent essentially a "pull from above".

These who happen to be in a "higher" or relatively privileged (or advantageous) position (in respect of capital, education, business contracts, etc.) benefit first from this "pull" and the "gap" between this and the "lower" or under-privileged groups tends to increase.

It is through a subsequent process of "diffusion" that the benefits may get passed on to "lower" groups and the "gap" may become narrower.

The so called "green revolution" in India has benefited mainly the irrigated areas and has increased very considerably the gap between farmers in irrigated and unirrigated areas. It has done better in wheat areas which are homogenous and have better varieties than in rice areas which are more heterogenous and have relatively poorer varieties. The gap between peasant proprietors, tenants and landless labourers has tended to increase more in the latter areas.

In industry, technological changes have generally tended to favour big industries as against small industries. Most of the innovations have been capital-intensive and favourable to large-scale operations. The fact that money rate of wages has tended to be higher than the shadow rate of wages while the money rate for capital goods, especially if obtained through "aid" or an over-valued foreign exchange rate, has tended to be lower than the shadow rate has accentuated this tendency.

In commerce, the-use of the mass media for advertisement and power of discriminating monopoly by large operators has worked against the poorer and less privileged groups.

Most of the research either on commodities or on techniques has been biased towards the large-scale operator, who provided the funds. Further most of this research has been carried out in developed countries to meet the needs of those countries and when transferred to a developing country like India has usually favoured the privileged groups, who have been able to provide facilities nearer those obtaining in developed countries. There has been very little research which has been specially directed to the needs of the developing countries, especially of their under-privileged groups or backward areas.

**Corrective Measures**

The corrective measures in the context of a mixed economy of the type that obtains today in India may be—

(a) providing on a large enough scale special socio-economic measures (e.g. child nutrition, medical aid and family planning, modernizing education, apprenticeship facilities and scholarships, social and geographical mobility, agrarian reforms, rural works, and rural electrification which will provide a “push from below” to the under-privileged groups to supplement the “pull from above” which most economic development measures usually represent. Rural electrification is particularly important, both as a modernising influence and helping to reduce migration to cities;

(b) concentrating aid on special terms to the backward areas and under-privileged communities so that the “pull from above” represented by technological innovations and other economic development measures may have a relatively greater and more direct impact on them and provide them with a reasonable hold on the “ladder of economic progress”;

(c) encouraging procedures and techniques which would specially favour backward areas and less privileged groups and provide them with a number of auxiliary “ladders” which will help them to get on to the main “ladder of progress”;

(d) supplementing “commodity and technique” based research “by” area based research and adopting the results of the former to the specific needs of backward areas; the needed solution has to be found not by avoiding modern technology but by directing modern technology in the right direction;

(e) giving special emphasis on such research as would favour these areas and groups;

(f) adopting measures which will help reverse the present distorted relationship of money and shadow price of capital and labour;

(g) inducing or compelling big enterprises to promote subsidiary or satellite enterprises which would favour backward areas or under privileged groups.

***PUBLIC ENTERPRISE IN PRACTICE: THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE OF NATIONALISATIONS OVER TWO DECADES***

*by Richard Pryke (Macgibbon & Kee, London; 1971)*

In this books, the author has undertaken a systematic investigation of the economic performance of the nationalised industries in Britain during the period 1948—1968. The study covers the operations of the industries and undertakings which are included in the public sector *viz.*,

coal, gas, electricity, railways, the air corporations, British Road Services and the nationalized road passenger services.

The author examines the economic record of the public sector as a whole and deals both with major policy issues and with the problems of their execution.

Part One deals with productivity in which the growth of the nationalised industries' productivity is compared with that of private industry in Britain and in other countries. An attempt is made to discover whether the main nationalised industries are operating at a higher or lower level of efficiency than their foreign counterparts.

In Part Two, the financial record of the nationalised industries is examined and special attention is devoted to the reasons behind the railways' losses and the heavy deficit which BOAC incurred in the early sixties.

In Part Three a survey is made of the industries' investment planning and the way in which they have attempted to calculate the rate of return on their capital investment.

Finally, in Part Four, the author seeks to discover whether the nationalised industries have absorbed resources which could with advantage have been devoted to an alternative use, whether there has been a significant waste of resources, particularly in the coal industry and the railways, or whether losses are justified on welfare grounds. In the concluding chapter the conventional wisdom that sees ownership as irrelevant to performance is subjected to searching criticism.

#### *Share of Nationalised Industries*

Britain had a mixed economy. Yet as measured by its contribution to the national income, or any other yardstick, the public sector formed only a small part of the economy. In 1967 the sector had a net output of £ 2,500 million which represented 7.3 per cent of the gross domestic product. Even if the Post Office, the other public corporations which have not been treated as part of the sector, and the recently nationalised steel companies are included the proportion rises to only about 11 per cent. The further inclusion of local authority trading service would scarcely, alter the position.

It is interesting to compare the net output of public enterprise with that of private enterprise. In 1967, companies and un-incorporated business had a net output of £ 23,900 million, which means.

that private enterprise was nine and a half times as large as public enterprise. Even manufacturing industry, which may be regarded as the private sector *par excellence*, had a net output of £11,300 million, which means that it was four and a half times as large. Remarkable as it may seem, the net output of the whole public enterprise sector is less than that of the engineering industry in Britain alone.

The public sector not only forms a relatively small part of the economy but its share of domestic output has been declining and its production has been increasing less rapidly than that of the rest of the economy. In 1950 and 1958 the public enterprise sector accounted for 8.2 per cent of the GDP, but by 1967 the proportion was down to 7.3 per cent and is likely to go on falling. Between 1948 and 1968 manufacturing production nearly doubled and GDP rose by around 70 per cent but the output of the nationalised industries increased by only 35 per cent. After growing rapidly between 1948 and 1951 public sector production was more or less stagnant until 1959. Since then it has been increasing at a modest pace.

Turning from the sector's output to that of the individual undertakings it is found that they tend to be located at either end of the growth spectrum. Some have been expanding much faster than the industry in general while others have been contracting. The first group contains the air corporations and electricity. During the period 1958—68 the airways traffic increased by 13.2 per cent per annum and the electricity industry's output increased by 7.8 per cent each year, which was a faster rate of growth than that of any other major industry.

At the other end of the spectrum were the coal industry, the nationalised buses and the railways. In 1958, coal production was scarcely higher than it had been in 1948 and the output of the buses and the railways was significantly lower. Between 1958 and 1968 coal production declined by 3.3 per cent each year, bus traffic fell by 2.7 per cent per annum and rail output by 1.3 per cent. There were only two private industries whose output declined as fast as or faster than this. Between 1958 and 1968 shipbuilding experienced a fall of 3.7 per cent each year and the spinning and weaving of cotton, flax and man-made fibres fell by 2.1 per cent per annum.

The gas industry and British Road Services were located in the middle of the growth spectrum. However, neither has had a steady rate of growth. The gas industry's production, which was previously stagnant, has been growing rapidly since the early sixties and the

output of BRS leapt up after 1963 largely because of its take over activities. Prior to this, its output had been more or less stable since the period of disposals came to an end.

Because the fortunes of the nationalised industries have differed so greatly, with some growing fast and others contracting, there have been marked changes in their relative importance during the past twenty years. On the one hand there has been a large rise in the electricity industry's and the air corporations' share of the sectors net output. For electricity, the proportion has increased from about 13 per cent in 1950 and 20 per cent in 1958 to over 30 per cent in 1967; while the air corporations' share, though still small, has shot up from less than 2 per cent in the beginning of the period to 5 per cent at the end. On the other hand the relative importance of coal and railways has declined. In 1950 and 1958 the NCB accounted for about 40 per cent of the sector's net output but by 1967 the proportion was less than a quarter. Between 1950 and 1958 the rail share slumped from 28 per cent to about 21 per cent. In 1967 it was 23 per cent but this increase was more apparent than real as it was due to the fact that the railways were by then in receipt of a large subsidy from the Government.

#### *Nationalised Industries as Economic Entities*

On the one hand, the public sector has had a significantly better performance in respect of technical efficiency than the private sector; on the other, the operations of the nationalized industries have, when judged by ideal economic standards modified by what it was reasonable to expect, led to remarkably little misallocation. As technical efficiency, is far more important than allocative efficiency the nationalized industries must, on the whole, be judged an economic success, and it seems likely that they have had a favourable impact on the national welfare. What would have happened if they had remained in the hands of their former owners it is impossible to know and for the most part unrewarding to speculate, but in view of the quality of their performance it is difficult to believe that it would have been of the same standard had they not been transferred to public ownership.

The conclusion that nationalised industries are on the whole an economic success is obviously in conflict with the generally accepted view that the ownership of an industry is largely irrelevant to its performance but that, if anything, the nationalized industries are probably slightly less efficient than those which are privately owned.

How are we to account for the general conviction, which is reflected in these statements, that ownership is irrelevant and that the economic performance of the nationalised industries has been undisputed? One important explanation is that these views were formed during the early years of public ownership. At that time the new public undertakings were having to cope with the difficult problems of welding hundreds of separate concerns together and creating the necessary administrative machinery. During this period it was all too easy to form the impression that the managerial problems of the nationalized industries were more than transitional difficulties and bore witness to the supposed inherent disadvantages of large-scale organization. The nationalized industries overcame their teething troubles with surprising success, but this was obscured not only by the investigations of the public administrators in general, and of the Act on Society in particular, but also by the way in which these troubles were unnecessarily prolonged and intensified by the decentralization which the politicians encouraged or enforced.

What was more important in forming attitudes towards public enterprise that its early administrative difficulties was its patchy economic performance.

Unfortunately the hasty superficial judgments formed during the earliest and most difficult years of nationalization soon hardened into unquestioning and unquestioned conviction.

The belief that the nationalised industries have a mediocre record and that ownership is irrelevant to economic performance is a dogma which arose during the first and most difficult years of public ownership, and has lived on to become a serious obstacle to rational inquiry and rational conviction.

#### *Reasons for Creditable Performance*

In view both of British and foreign experience, it must be concluded that the creditable way in which public enterprise performs is something more than a coincidence. The relationship between good behaviour and public ownership must henceforth be regarded as one of cause and effect. The question then arises as to why nationalized industries tend to have a better economic performance than private industries.

The most obvious reason why the nationalized industries have performed so well is that their acquisition by the State led in most cases



to a much needed managerial shake-up and clear-out. It is surely no accident that the least successful nationalized industries have been those in which it did not occur.

Another obvious way in which nationalization promoted efficiency was by rationalizing structure of the industries which were affected. It created undertakings large enough to secure the full economies of scale which were to be had. This was particularly important in gas and electricity, where the fragmentation of the industries and their division into company and municipal sectors had become a serious obstacle to progress. Quite apart from the scope for technical economies, the unification of ownership and large-scale operation provided other advantages.

The different nationalized industries and undertakings handle their own collective bargaining and do not, like all save a few of the very largest private firms, leave the job to employers' associations. This has been one of the explanation for the progress which the nationalized industries have made in the field of productivity bargaining. Because of their size, the nationalized industries have been able to take an industry-wide view and to stop their wage structure degenerating into an irrational chaos due to the competitive bidding for labour at a local level, and to piecemeal concessions made in order to buy off trouble. They have, therefore, naturally avoided one of the main causes of industrial strike unlike the private industry or where, as in coal, they inherited a bad system of wage payment, they have been able to remedy this situation and improve their industrial relations.

It seems likely, although it cannot be proved, that the financial constraints under which public enterprise operate have a significant impact upon their functioning. It would be surprising if the strong incentive which the nationalized industries have to pay their way and meet their financial targets without raising their prices did not result in their searching more vigorously for ways to cut their expenses. Cost reduction is the only way of escape from the difficult position in which they find themselves. This may help to explain the success which most of the nationalized industries seem to have had in increasing their productivity, the emphasis which so many of them have placed on work study and productivity bargaining, and the rapid rate at which most cost reducing innovations have been adopted.

Besides the constraints under which the nationalized industries have had to labour, public ownership has resulted in their operations being subjected to detailed investigation. Although this has had some un-

fortunate consequences it has probably on balance made a significant contribution towards efficiency. There can certainly be no doubt that the nationalized industries have been inquired into far more thoroughly than any other part of the economy. The transfer of the fuel and power industries to public ownership had been preceded by official investigations which exposed their weaknesses and outlined the way they could be remedied. And since the nationalized industries have been in public ownership, and especially during the past decade, there has been a stream of reports on their working. The Select Committee on Nationalized Industries, since it got down to work in 1957, has investigated the Air Corporations twice, and each of the other nationalized industries once, except for British Road Services and the Provincial Buses which have never been covered. In addition it has inquired into the subject to Ministerial control and the exploitation of North Sea Gas. During the course, of these investigations, the Committee has asked 23,100 questions and has received almost 1,900 pages of written evidence and has gone on to produce reports containing nearly 1,100 pages.

It seems clear that the outside inquiries into their operations have, in general, had the effect of speeding-up change and of ensuring that obvious cases of inefficiency are tackled in a determined manner.

Apart from these examples, the pressure which is exerted on the nationalized industries to implement recommendations and to remedy the weakness which have come to light also makes it seem likely that the numerous reports on the nationalized industries have led to faster progress and more determined action. The pressure arises from the general publicity which the nationalized industries have received, from the prodding which the industries will get from their Ministries, and from the likelihood that some future inquiry will want to know what action has been taken.

Another and related feature of public enterprise which has probably contributed to its above-average performance, is the supervision and control which the Government has exercised.

The most important way in which the Ministries promote and assist in the successful working of the nationalized industries is by asking questions and demanding explanations, and by ensuring that the industries plan ahead. In this way Government ownership and departmental supervision discourage ill-conceived policies and promote rational behaviour.

### *Motivations of Nationalised Industries*

The final way in which public ownership may help to explain the nationalised industries' surprisingly good performance is that they have a different purpose and motivation from that of most private firms. In theory, the main aim and driving force of private enterprise is to make a profit although in practice many firms seem content to job along, hoping for a quiet life and pursuing a policy of live and let live. What is important to recognize is that, regardless of the level of profit with which they rest content most private firms do not have any alternative aim to profit-making.

In contrast, the aim of those in charge of the nationalized industries is to meet the needs of the consumer at the lowest possible price, to act as model employers and in general to help maximize the welfare of the nation. This does not mean that profits are irrelevant but in public enterprise they are a constraint and not a driving force. Those who manage nationalized industries are expected to end up earning a profit but this is not the object of the exercise but merely one of the rules of the game. This difference between the purposes of public and private enterprise has, been forcefully pointed out by Lord Beeching who, because of the leading positions which he has occupied in both sections, is eminently qualified to judge:

The nationalised industries are expected to meet some need for goods or services, the nature of the need being judged, in part at least, not by them but by the Government. They are expected to meet that need in a manner which is judged to be socially desirable, and which is specified, in relation to the various aspects of their business, by the Government, but not always consistently so. At the same time, they are expected to pay their way by remunerating their capital, taking one year with another. In effect, therefore, the making of an adequate profit is not a primary objective, but it is a condition which they nevertheless expected to satisfy after doing a number of other obligatory things. The primary objective of any company in the private sector, on the other hand, is to make the best possible return on the capital provided by the shareholders.

Lord Beeching regards private industry's singleminded pursuit of profit as an advantage, but what needs to be stressed here is that those in charge of the nationalized industries cannot but be aware that their primary duty is to make the best possible use of the national assets entrusted to them, and in this way promote the welfare of the community in general and of their customers and employees in particular. This follows from the fact that the industries are owned by the nation and



*National Interest and Public Enterprises*

Service to the community is in some ways a dangerous principle on which to conduct industrial undertakings. In the past, the nationalised industries have pursued ill-conceived policies because they, or more usually the Government, believed that the national interest should take priority over their commercial well being.

Fortunately, the risks which are run when the nationalised industries disregard their own best interests are now better understood and it has become more difficult for the Government to get them to adopt policies which are likely to endanger their financial position.

One of the reasons why the Government establish financial targets for the nationalised industries in the early sixties was the hope that by defining their financial obligations more clearly it would be less easy for them to pursue policies, or be loaded with duties, which could not be justified in commercial terms. The setting of financial targets, no matter how they were arrived at, has provided the nationalised industries with some protection against unreasonable interference and back-door pressure.

The existence of the Select Committee on Nationalised Industries makes it unlikely that Ministers will in future try to give 'lunch table directions' to the chairmen of nationalised industries. The Committee has been so successful at ferreting out under-cover intervention that Ministers can no longer hope that their actions will remain secret. The Select Committee has, however, done more than this, for, as a result of its constant advocacy, it has helped to establish the principle that where the nationalised industries are required to do something which is against their own commercial interests, they should be compensated by the Government.

*THE BLUE BERETS* by Michael Barbottle [Leo Cooper, London, 1971]

This is a guide book to the more prominent of the peace-keeping efforts that the UN have mounted over the last twenty-five years. The author is a consultant on peace-keeping studies to the International Peace Academy.

It briefly describes the causes and effects of each conflict, the conduct of the operations themselves and adds certain basic statistics as to the cost in terms of peace or war.

In six separate chapters, the author traces in detail the record of U.N. peace-keeping in Egypt 1956—1967, Congo 1960—1964, Cyprus 1964—71, West Irian 1962-1963, Military Observer Missions 1946—1971 (including those in Palestine, Lebanon, Yemen, and India-Pakistan) and Korea 1950—1953.

#### *Peace-keeping Role of Security Council*

To begin with, it is the Security Council that has the authority under the United Nations Charter to 'take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace'. Over the years, this authority to use enforcement action has been tempered to that of peaceable intervention in order to meet political expedience. With the exception of the Korean war, all UN peace-keeping operations and missions have been at the request of, or with the consent of, one or all the parties concerned—the 'host' country or countries. In any event, the power of the veto, which can be exercised by any of the permanent members of the Security Council—Britain, France, Nationalist China, USA and USSR, can render powerless the peace initiatives of the Council, and can be effectively used to block the adoption of any resolution before it. It is difficult to foresee any circumstances in which there would be unanimity among the four big powers in respect of international enforcement action. There are, however, ways in which a dead-lock in the Security Council can be overcome through action by the General Assembly, but in the process the authority becomes weaker. Even the practice of peaceable intervention is invariably challenged by France and Russia as having no legal status under the Charter, though this has not prevented them from supporting resolution approving it in the past.

#### *Effectiveness of Peace-keeping Machinery*

The rigid political control over the UN's military operations has not helped to simplify or make efficient the peace-keeping machinery. The Military Staff Committee, established under Article 47 of the Charter to advise and assist the Security Council, has for years been a committee in name only. There is no operative military staff at UN Headquarters available for operational and logistic planning. For ten years, from 1958 to 1968, the UN Secretary-General had a military adviser, General Indarjit Rikhye of India, but when he left UN service the post lapsed. All UN military peace-keeping operations are mounted by the UN Secretariat in conjunction with the contributing countries which agree to provide contingents. There are no months of planning.

no opportunities for reconnaissance; there is no stand-by professional military force or built-in administrative|logistic support. When the whistle blows everything has to be put together from whatever resources might become available and assembled, in the fashion of a meccano set, to match the requirements of the moment. The call for help to the United Nations often comes suddenly, insistently and without temporizing from the government or governments concerned.

Untill the decision has been taken in the Security Council authorising the Secretary-General to go ahead with establishing the Force or Mission, only the most tentative soundings can be made towards raising the kind of force that will be required. Any military operation requires careful planning, sound organisation and an administrative backing that will ensure that the force deployed is well-found from the start.

The *ad hoc* has never been a successful counter to the deliberate. But the lack of any pre-planning and preparation, and the fact that there is no ready-made UN army standing by, makes the *ad hoc* unavoidable, and until a more realistic attitude is adopted within the United Nations there is little likelihood of the existing brand of instant peace—keeping being replaced by anything more deliberate.

Certain countries, in particular the Nordic countries, retain specific units which have been earmarked for service with the UN. Because of the relative smallness of their armed forces, they rely on volunteer reservists to man these units. This is why so many of the soldiers serving in peace-keeping operations are volunteers. On the other hand contingents found by Canada, India and Pakistan contain 100 per cent Regulars (as Britain's is in Cyprus). The Irish make up their successive contingents with volunteers from their regular army, with the result that man for man the Irish soldier is probably the most experienced UN soldier having served five or six times on peace-keeping operations. Over the years, these contributing countries have taken part in most of the operations that the UN has mounted, but they are by no means the only ones. One of the rules of the game is that the host country has a right to say what nationalities it is prepared to accept on its territory. This can pose great difficulties for those in the UN responsible for finding contingents—a total of 35 contingents were needed for the Congo. Also, at the time of Suez it was mutually agreed by the permanent members of the

Security Council that it would be undesirable for them to provide contingents for UN peace-keeping—a decision that has been modified since by Britain's participation in the UN Force in Cyprus.

### *Measures Needed for Removing Weakness in Existing Machinery*

Expressing the view that a revision of the Charter in respect of improvement of machinery of international peace-keeping is out of the question, at least in the foreseeable future, the author suggests the following measures to remove the weaknesses in the existing machinery and to make it operationally more effective:

(1) The Charter itself is broad in its directions regarding the use of peace-keeping forces. To apply these effectively, there needs to be a set of Standing Procedures or a Statement of Guiding Principles which the Security Council could use for mounting and developing peace initiatives. These procedures or principles, while being consistent with the Charter itself, would help to remedy the existing anomalies by ensuring that the implementation of the Council's authority for peace-keeping would remain constantly in tune with modern times and would meet the requirements of progressive development and change, thereby providing greater flexibility of initiative. They would in no way challenge the overriding authority of the Charter, but whereas it might not be practicable or desirable to revise the latter, the procedures or principles could be subject to adjustment.

(2) The provision of an 'early warning system' in the form of an advisory group to the Security Council could alert its members sooner to the potential areas of conflict in the world. In doing so, the group could focus attention on the build-up of tension in a particular part of the world so that the Security Council would be better prepared to moderate the dangerous tendencies before they went beyond the point of prevention. A somewhat similar recommendation was made in the United Nations by Brazil, but she set the advisory group within the department of the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs. It is doubtful whether this positioning of the group would be acceptable to the Security Council.

(3) The establishment of a contingency planning staff to mount and co-ordinate all peace-keeping operations and observer missions. It should be a joint civilian/military staff with a civilian chairman (to underline the fact that the responsibility for mounting UN peace-keeping forces and missions is a civilian not a military one). Its military members could be in a purely advisory capacity but their presence on the staff is essential to the understanding of the military operational requirements of whichever force or mission it is.



*Execution of Peace-keeping Measures*

It should not be thought that the problems would end with the implementation of ideas such as those above. The *ad hoc* nature of peace-keeping and the unwritten requirement that the force/mis- sion must be acceptable to the host country remain stumbling blocks to full effectiveness. The first can to a large extent be overcome by training; not the national training of earmarked troops in individual countries, but by joint training in geographical regional groups and on a transnational basis. Some of the soldiers that have been involved in past peace-keeping operations have been found deficient in training and discipline. An interchange of experience and military know-how could greatly help in the preparation of UN contingents and reduce the degree of operational and administrative chaos that is the feature of most *ad hoc* ventures—for in the field of UN operations everyone is a learner, even the most sophisticated and best-trained professional soldiers.

But training of the military alone is not enough. Peace-keeping| peace-making is an operation of 'jointmanship'. Equally, the preparation must be training in jointmanship—not only between diplomats, soldiers and the civil servants of the secretariat, but also with the other professionals and specialists that are needed for the reconstruction of community life, the doctors, engineers, technicians of all kinds and the voluntary services. All agencies have a place, and what past experience has established is the need for an integrated effort involving the soldier peacekeeper, the diplomat peacemaker, the civil servant administrator and, by no means least, the 'professionals' of reconstruction, both social and structural.

*INDIAN MANAGER: HIS SOCIAL ORIGIN AND CAREER* by Sagar C. Jain [Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., Bombay; 1971.]

This study written by an Indian social scientist currently employed in the U.S.A. is concerned with managerial and other high talent manpower in Indian industry. It presents the findings of a comprehensive survey conducted in India during early 1963 covering upper and middle level managers and other high level personnel of equivalent ranks employed in manufacturing and processing concerns, each employing at least two thousand persons. An effort was made in the survey to cover all such concerns in the country and to include all of their personnel who are defined by the term "manager" is used to describe these persons.

*Personal date and education of Indian Manager*

Out of 1982 managers covered by the study, only six were women. The average age of the Indian managers at the time of the study was 41 years which makes the Indian managers relatively younger than their counterparts in Britain and the United States. Nearly 80 per cent of the Indian managers have come from urban areas and only 20 per cent were brought up in rural areas.

Indian managers are a very highly educated group; nearly 87 per cent of the managers covered have college or professional degrees. Further, a significant proportion of these managers have had their education and training in countries like Britain and the United States. From available studies of the managers in industrially advanced countries, it appears that managers are usually a well educated group. But in terms of formal education, the Indian managers are ahead of them all.

*Occupational and Educational Origins*

Indian managers have by and large come from families having high status occupations and a considerable education. Speaking relatively, this is most true of the managers in the foreign sector and the least true of those in the public sector. Further, as compared to the American and the British managers, the Indian managers have higher occupational origins.

When relationships between the education of the Indian managers and their occupational and educational backgrounds are examined, it is found that those coming from higher occupational and educational backgrounds generally have more education than the others. This relationship however, is not absolute. This is seen from the fact that while the managers from the public sector relative to managers from the other two sectors have the most humble origins but have the most education, the opposite is true of managers from the foreign sector.

This leads to the conclusion that for gaining an entry into Indian management a high occupational-educational background, in addition to higher education, is helpful. But a low occupational-educational background, even when coupled with low education, does not completely prevent all men of ambitions from rising into managerial positions.

### *Religions of Managers*

All major religions of India are represented among the managers but not to an equal extent. While some religious groups like Zoroastrians and Jains have disproportionately large shares of managerial jobs, a group like Muslims has gone almost completely unrepresented. Hindus, Sikhs, Jews and Buddhists are also not fully represented according to their shares in the population of the country, but Christians are over-represented.

Why are there these disparities in the representation of the various religions among the managers? In this connection three possible explanations were examined:

1. Members of the various religious groups may not be equally well qualified for managerial jobs.
2. Members of the various religious groups may not have the same amount of interest in business careers.
3. Since industrial enterprise and ownership in India are unevenly distributed among the various religious communities in India, it is possible that the observed disparities, are caused by religious discrimination.

It was found that all three of these have been responsible, in varying degrees, for the inequality of representation of the religions among the managers.

### *Caste and Regional Origins*

It must be observed that (i) the various caste groups have received different treatment in the hands of different groups of entrepreneurs in India; and (2) Hindu employers belonging to different castes have tended to favour the members of their own caste for managerial positions.

Industrial employers in India have tended to favour people from their own states and regions for employment in managerial positions.

### *Careers of Managers*

The Indian managers have, and large, risen from white-collar occupations. This means that the Indian managers have little first hand experience of what it means to be a labourer or of a job inside a workshop.

More than two-thirds of the Indian managers began their careers in high level occupations, nearly fifty per cent as supervisors and managers, and over twenty per cent as professional, government officials and business owners. Proportions of such managers are significantly smaller among the American and the British managers. Although Indian managers started their careers in relatively high occupations, their later progress was slow. After fifteen years of work, only 8 per cent of these men occupied major executive positions. These facts indicate that intra-generational occupational mobility is much more limited in India than in the United States or Britain.

The careers of the managers have been very largely influenced by their education. Those having more education started their careers in higher occupations and went further than those with less education. However, other factors like occupational, religious, caste and regional origins also have had varying degrees of influence on the careers of Indian managers. Occupational origin seems to have mattered only at the time when the managers started their careers but its influence got gradually neutralised during the later stages in the careers of these men. Religion and caste origins have been more lasting influences on the careers of the managers than occupational origin. Those taking their first job with employers from their own religion and caste started out in higher level occupations than did the others. Further, they were able to maintain this initial lead throughout their careers. Those working for employers from their own native states did not start their careers in higher occupations, but they rose faster than others.

Only one-third of the Indian managers have worked for a single employer, while many of them have worked for as many as four or more employers. Those who started their careers in high level occupations have moved less frequently than those who started out in low level occupations. The latter group has used inter-firm mobility as an important device for furthering their careers.

#### *Profile of a Typical Indian Manager*

The typical Indian manager is a male in his very early forties. He was born and brought up in a town or a city in one of the more urbanized states. He comes from an elite occupation family; and has at least one college degree, probably in engineering or science. He started

his career in a high status white-collar occupation and after approximately fourteen years of work has reached his present position. He is most likely to be a high caste Hindu and least likely to be a Muslim or a low caste Hindu. This sums up his typical traits.

#### *Managers in Public Sector*

The management in the Indian public sector concerns cannot be described as "political". If there are any political appointees among the public sector managers, their proportion is not very significant. Further, if any political worker has been given a managerial position in a public sector concern, it is because he has the requisite education, training or work experience.

#### *Managers in private sector*

The employers in the Indian private sector obviously favour persons from their own religion and caste for managerial positions. The question as to whether they also favour persons from their own native State was further proved in the light of the fact that when the location of plants (which may substantially bias the employers in favour of local talent) was neutralized, it was established that employers did favour persons from their own native States over all others.

However, the employers in the Indian private sector are not completely guided by communal considerations alone. They will recognize the importance of manning their organizations with men of suitable education and training. This is seen first from the fact that the level of education among the managers in the employment of the various concerns of the private sector is uniformly high. Secondly, the "outsiders" from a highly educated community enjoy much greater chances of employment as managers than relatively poorly educated "insiders". Thus we find that Zoroastrians, who have the most education of all the groups in India have a greater representation in the Hindu and Jain concerns than Hindus and Jains themselves. Similarly, Jain, the next most educated group, have a greater representation in the Hindu and Sikh concerns than Hindus and Sikhs themselves.

All these facts lead us to conclude that an employer in the Indian private sector is likely to favour persons from his own community when the choice is to be made between two equally well-qualified candidates.

one from his own community and the other from some other community. When the choice is between a qualified "outsider" and the unqualified "insider" he is unlikely to hire the latter.

### *Calibre of Indian Manager*

More than once it has been alleged that Indian Managers are a poorly educated and a poorly trained group. On the contrary the Indian managers are a very highly educated group—an over-whelming majority of them have a college education received at well reputed institutions in India and abroad. In fact they have more education than their counterparts in the United States and Britain. However, a question may be raised as to whether Indian managers have the type of education appropriate to a managerial career.

Now "what is the right kind of education for a manager" is a moot question. But it is often argued that a manager to be effective should have a systematic understanding of the managerial process. Only a tiny percentage of the Indian managers have formal education in management. Less than two per cent of the Indian managers possess university degrees or diplomas in business and industrial management; an additional ten per cent have degrees or professional certificates in commerce and accounting. Considering the criticisms that have been made of commerce education in India for its lack of direction, very low standards and general neglect of basic management courses in its curricula, it is hard to believe that this ten per cent of the managers has had a great deal of opportunity to learn about the science of management. Some engineering curricula include a course or two in industrial management but they usually deal with "scientific management" and rarely with management science or organizational behaviour.

A lack of formal education in management can sometimes be compensated for through systematic on-the-job training. However, such training has also not been very wide spread in India. Not more than 25 per cent of the managers have gone through such a programme, and the rest seem to have learned about management through the hit-and-miss method. Further, little is known about the management apprenticeship or trainee-manager programmes in the various companies. If they focus only on acquainting the trainees with company policies and procedure, then they certainly do not accomplish very much in terms of providing them with a systematic understanding of the basic managerial process.

During the last few years management education has caught the fancy of the Indian government and Indian business. As a result there has been a rapid increase in the facilities for such education. The most spectacular growth is in the field of short-term executive development programmes.

Contrary to popular belief, the Indian managers are a very highly educated group. However, most of them lack formal education and training in the art and science of management education in the country, the Indian managers are getting in increasing exposure to what, why and how of management.

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## **APPENDICES**

- I. Statement showing the work transacted by the Fifth Lok Sabha during the Fourth Session.**
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  - B. (i) Rajya Sabha (State-wise)**
    - (ii) Rajya Sabha (Party-wise)**
  - C. State Legislative Assemblies.**

## APPENDIX I

*Statement showing the work Transacted during the Fourth Session of the Fifth Lok Sabha:*

1. Period of the Session—	13th March to 1st June, 1972.
2. Number of meetings held —	57
3. Total number of sitting hours—	360 hours and 03 minutes..
4. Number of divisions held—	23

5. GOVERNMENT BILLS :

(i) Pending at the commencement of the session . . . . .	8
(ii) Introduced . . . . .	28
(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Rajya Sabha . . . . .	10
(iv) Returned by Rajya Sabha with any amendment/recom- mendation and laid on the Table . . . . .	3
(v) Referred to Select Committee . . . . .	NIL
(vi) Referred to Joint Committee . . . . .	3
(vii) Reported by Select Committee . . . . .	3
(viii) Reported by Joint Committee . . . . .	NIL
(ix) Discussed . . . . .	41
(x) Passed . . . . .	37
(xi) Withdrawn . . . . .	NIL
(xii) Negatived . . . . .	NIL
(xiii) Part-discussed . . . . .	NIL
(xiv) Discussion postponed . . . . .	NIL
(xv) Returned by Rajya Sabha without any recommendation . . . . .	11
(xvi) Motion for concurrence to refer the Bill to Joint Com- mittee adopted . . . . .	1
(xvii) Pending at the end of the session . . . . .	12

6. PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS :

(i) Pending at the commencement of the session . . . . .	73
(ii) Introduced . . . . .	35
(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Rajya Sabha . . . . .	NIL
(iv) Returned by Rajya Sabha with any amendment and laid on the table . . . . .	NIL
(v) Reported by Joint Committee . . . . .	NIL
(vi) Discussed . . . . .	8
(vii) Passed . . . . .	NIL
(viii) Withdrawn . . . . .	6
(ix) Negatived . . . . .	NIL

(x) Circulated for eliciting opinion . . . . .	1
(xi) Part-discussed . . . . .	1
(xii) Discussion postponed . . . . .	NIL
(xiii) Motion for circulation of Bill negatived . . . . .	NIL
(xiv) Referred to Select Committee . . . . .	NIL
(xv) Removed from the Register of Pending Bills . . . . .	2
(xvi) Pending at the end of the session . . . . .	100
<b>7. NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS HELD UNDER RULE 193 :</b>	
(Matters of Urgent Public Importance)	
(i) Notices received . . . . .	100
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	6
(iii) Discussion held . . . . .	6
<b>8. NUMBER OF STATEMENT MADE UNDER RULE 197 :</b>	
(Calling-Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance)	
Statements made by Ministers . . . . .	38
<b>9. Half-an-hour discussions held . . . . .</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>10. STATUTORY RESOLUTIONS :</b>	
(i) Notices received . . . . .	1
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	1
(iii) Moved . . . . .	} NIL
(iv) Adopted . . . . .	
(v) Negatived . . . . .	
(vi) Withdrawn . . . . .	
<b>11. GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS :</b>	
(i) Notices received . . . . .	} NIL
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	
(iii) Moved . . . . .	
(iv) Adopted . . . . .	
<b>12. PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTIONS :</b>	
(i) Received . . . . .	10
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	10
(iii) Discussed . . . . .	6
(iv) Withdrawn . . . . .	3
(v) Negatived . . . . .	2
(vi) Adopted . . . . .	NIL
(vii) Part-discussed . . . . .	1
(viii) Discussion postponed . . . . .	NIL
<b>13. GOVERNMENT MOTIONS :</b>	
(i) Notices received . . . . .	3
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	3
(iii) Moved . . . . .	2
(iv) Adopted . . . . .	1
(v) Discussed . . . . .	2

14. PRIVATE MEMBERS' MOTIONS :

(i) Received . . . . .	82
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	26
(iii) Moved . . . . .	2
(iv) Adopted . . . . .	NIL
(v) Discussed . . . . .	2
(vi) Negatived . . . . .	NIL
(vii) Part-discussed . . . . .	NIL
(viii) Withdrawn . . . . .	NIL

15. MOTIONS RE : MODIFICATION OF STATUTORY RULE :

(i) Received . . . . .	} NIL
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	
(iii) Moved . . . . .	
(iv) Adopted . . . . .	
(v) Negatived . . . . .	
(vi) Withdrawn . . . . .	
(vii) Part-discussed . . . . .	

16. Number of Parliamentary Committees created if any during the session . . . . . NIL

17. Total Number of Visitors' Passes issued during the session . . . . . 36,730

18. Maximum number of Visitors' Passes issued on any single day, and date on which issued . . . . . 1137 on 31-5-1972

19. NUMBER OF ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS :

(i) Brought before the House . . . . .	1
(ii) Admitted and discussed . . . . .	NIL
(iii) Barred in view of adjournment Motion admitted on the subject j . . . . .	NIL
(iv) Consent withheld by Speaker outside the House . . . . .	20
(v) Consent given by Speaker but leave not granted by House . . . . .	NIL

20. TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ADMITTED :

(i) Starred . . . . .	1080
(ii) Unstarred (including Starred Questions converted as Unstarred Questions) . . . . .	8226
(iii) Short-notice Questions ] . . . . .	6

21. NUMBER OF REPORTS OF VARIOUS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES PRESENTED TO THE LOK SABHA :

(i) Estimates Committee . . . . .	8
(ii) Public Accounts Committee . . . . .	22
(iii) Committee on Public Undertakings . . . . .	12
(iv) Business Advisory Committee . . . . .	6
(v) Committee on Absence of Members from the sittings of the House . . . . .	3
(vi) Committee on Subordinate Legislation . . . . .	1
(vii) Committee on Petitions . . . . .	4

(viii) Committee of Privileges . . . . .	NIL
(ix) Committee on Private Member Bills & Resolutions . . . . .	6
(x) Committee on Government Assurances . . . . .	1
(xi) Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes . . . . .	9
(xii) Joint Committee on Offices of Profit . . . . .	1
(xiii) Rules Committee . . . . .	NIL
(xiv) Committee on the conduct of a Member during President's Address (1971) . . . . .	1
(xv) Joint Committee on Amendments to Election Law (Parts I & II) <i>Ad hoc</i> . . . . .	1
22. Number of Members granted leave of absence . . . . .	18
23. Petitions presented . . . . .	NIL
24. Names of New Members sworn with dates and Constituencies :	

S. No	Name of Members Sworn	Date on which sworn	Constituency
1.	Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra . . . . .	13-3-1972	Darbhanga—Bihar
2.	Shri Vasantrao Purushottam Sathe . . . . .	16-3-1972	Akola—Maharashtra
3.	Shri Raghunandan Lal Bhatia . . . . .	16-3-1972	Amritsar—Punjab
4.	Shri Chandra Mohan Sinha . . . . .	18-3-1972	Mayurbhanj—Orissa
5.	Shri Karnesh Marak . . . . .	20-3-1972	Tura—Meghalaya
6.	Shri Muhammad Khuja Bukhsh . . . . .	21-3-1972	Murshidabad—West Bengal
7.	Shri Giridhar Gomango . . . . .	22-3-1972	Koraput—Orissa
8.	Shri Biren Engti . . . . .	28-3-1972	Diphu—Assam
9.	Shri Sangliana . . . . .	11-5-1972	Mizoram
10.	Shri Arvind Kumar Mohanlal Patel. . . . .	31-5-1972	Rajkot—Gujarat

## APPENDIX II

### A. Statement showing the work Transacted during the Seventy-Ninth Session of Rajya Sabha

1. Period of the Session—	13-3-1972 to 14-4-1972	
2. Number of meetings held—	23	
3. Total number of sitting hours—	117 Hrs. and 42 m's.	
4. Number of Divisions held—	one . . . . .	8 QJs.
<b>5. GOVERNMENT BILLS :</b>		
(i) Pending at the commencement of the session . . . . .		15
(ii) Introduced . . . . .		4
(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Lok Sabha . . . . .		11
(iv) Returned by Lok Sabha with any amendment/recommendation and laid on the Table . . . . .		Nil
(v) Referred to Select Committee . . . . .		Nil
(vi) Referred to Joint Committee . . . . .		1
(vii) Reported by Select Committee . . . . .		Nil
(viii) Reported by Joint Committee . . . . .		Nil
(ix) Discussed . . . . .		23
(x) Passed . . . . .		23
(xi) Withdrawn . . . . .		Nil
(xii) Negatived . . . . .		Nil
(xiii) Part discussed . . . . .		Nil
(xiv) Returned by Rajya Sabha without any recommendation . . . . .		Nil
(xv) Discussion postponed . . . . .		7
(xvi) Pending at the end of the session . . . . .		7
<b>6. PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS :</b>		
(i) Pending at the commencement of the session . . . . .		65
(ii) Introduced . . . . .		4
(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Lok Sabha . . . . .		Nil
(iv) Returned by Lok Sabha with any amendment and laid on the Table . . . . .		Nil
(v) Reported by Joint Committee . . . . .		Nil
(vi) Discussed . . . . .		3
(vii) Passed . . . . .		Nil
(viii) Withdrawn . . . . .		Nil



(ix) Negatived . . . . .	Nil
(x) Circulated for eliciting opinion . . . . .	1
(xi) Part-discussed . . . . .	Nil
(xii) Discussion postponed . . . . .	2*
(xiii) Motion for circulation of Bill negatived . . . . .	Nil
(xiv) Referred to Select Committee . . . . .	Nil
(xv) Pending at the end of the session . . . . .	Nil
(xvi) Lapsed due to the retirement of M.P.s . . . . .	42
<b>7. NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS HELD UNDER RULE 176</b> (Matters of Urgent Public Importance)	<b>27</b>
(i) Notices received . . . . .	5
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	1
(iii) Discussion held . . . . .	1
<b>8. NUMBER OF STATEMENTS MADE UNDER RULE 180 :</b> (Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance)	
Statements made by Minister . . . . .	17
<b>9. Half-an-hour discussions held . . . . .</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>10. STATUTORY RESOLUTIONS :</b>	
(i) Notices received . . . . .	1
(ii) Admitted] . . . . .	1
(iii) Moved . . . . .	1
(iv) Adopted . . . . .	1
(v) Negatived . . . . .	Nil
(vi) Withdrawn . . . . .	Nil
<b>11. GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS :</b>	
(i) Notices received . . . . .	Nil
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	Nil
(iii) Moved . . . . .	Nil
(iv) Adopted . . . . .	Nil
<b>12. PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTIONS :</b>	
(i) Received . . . . .	7
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	7
(iii) Discussed . . . . .	2
(iv) Withdrawn . . . . .	Nil
(v) Negatived . . . . .	Nil
(vi) Adopted . . . . .	Nil
(vii) Part-discussed . . . . .	1
(viii) Discussion postponed . . . . .	Nil
<b>13. GOVERNMENT MOTIONS :</b>	
(i) Notices received . . . . .	3
(ii) Admitted . . . . .	2
(iii) Moved . . . . .	2

\*The Workmen Definition Bill 1967 which was partly discussed on 24th March 1972 lapsed on the expiry of the term office of Shri Arjun Arora, M.P.

	(iv) Adopted . . . . .	Nil
	(v) Part-discussed . . . . .	Nil
14.	<b>PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTIONS :</b>	
	(i) Received . . . . .	15
	(ii) Admitted . . . . .	7
	(iii) Moved . . . . .	Nil
	(iv) Adopted . . . . .	Nil
	(v) Part-discussed . . . . .	NR
	(vi) Negatived . . . . .	Nil
	(vii) Withdrawn . . . . .	Nil
15.	<b>MOTIONS REGARDING MODIFICATION OF STATUTORY RULE :</b>	
	(i) Received . . . . .	Nil
	(ii) Admitted . . . . .	Nil
	(iii) Moved . . . . .	Nil
	(iv) Adopted . . . . .	Nil
	(v) Negatived . . . . .	Nil
	(vi) Withdrawn . . . . .	Nil
	(vii) Part-discussed . . . . .	Nil
16.	Number of Parliamentary Committees created, if any, during the session . . . . .	Nil
17.	Total number of Visitors' Passes issued during the session . . . . .	3399
18.	Maximum number of Visitors' Passes issued on any single day, and date on which issued . . . . .	167 (Issued on 13-4-72)
19.	<b>NUMBER OF MOTION FOR PAPERS UNDER RULE 175 :</b>	
	(i) Brought before the House . . . . .	Nil
	(ii) Admitted and discussed . . . . .	Nil
20.	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ADMITTED :</b>	
	(i) Starred . . . . .	597
	(ii) Unstarred (including Starred Questions converted as Unstarred Questions) . . . . .	735
	(iii) Short Notice Questions . . . . .	Nil
21.	<b>NUMBER OF REPORTS OF VARIOUS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES PRESENTED TO/LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE RAJYA SABHA :</b>	
	(i) Public Accounts Committee . . . . .	8
	(ii) Committee on Public Undertakings . . . . .	1
	(iii) Business Advisory Committee . . . . .	Nil
	(iv) Committee on Subordinate Legislation . . . . .	1
	(v) Committee on petition . . . . .	1
	(vi) Committee of Privileges . . . . .	Nil
	(vii) Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes . . . . .	5
	(viii) Joint Committee on Offices of Profit . . . . .	Nil
	(ix) Rules Committee . . . . .	1
22.	Number of Members granted leave of absence . . . . .	2
23.	Petitions presented . . . . .	Nil

## 24. NUMBER OF NEW MEMBERS SWORN WITH DATES :

80

S. No.	Name of Members sworn	Date on which sworn
1.	Shri K.P. Singh Deo	13-3-1972
2.	Shri Gulabrao Raghunath Patil	3-4-1972
3.	Shri Narayanrao Haribhau Khumbare	Do
4.	Shri Brahmananda Panda	Do.
5.	Shri Chaitanya Prasad Majhi	Do.
6.	Shrimati Saraswati Pradhan	Do.
7.	Shri M.S. Abdul Khader	Do.
8.	Shri M.C. Balan	Do.
9.	Shri M. Kamalanthan	Do.
10.	Shri K. A. Krishnaswamy	Do.
11.	Shri V. V. Swamynathan	Do.
12.	Shri Z. A. Ahmed	Do.
13.	Shri Banarsi Das	Do.
14.	Shri Yashpal Kapur	Do.
15.	Shri Sukhdev Prasad	Do.
16.	Dr. Nurul Hasan	Do.
17.	Shri Omprakash Tyagi	Do.
18.	Shri Mohan Singh Oberoi	Do.
19.	Shrimati Savita Behan	Do.
20.	Shri Abu Abraham	Do.
21.	Shri Chandra Kisan Daphtary	Do.
22.	Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya	Do.
23.	Shri Babib Tanvir	Do.
24.	Shri Lokanath Misra	Do.
25.	Shri Mukund Labhshankar Vyas	4-4-1972
26.	Shri Ved Rattan Mohan	Do.
27.	Shri Sardar Amjad Ali	Do.
28.	Dr. Rajat Kumar Chakravarty	Do.
29.	Shri Anand Narain Mulla	Do.
30.	Shri V. B. Singh	Do.
31.	Shri Vinaykumar Ramlal Parasher	Do.
32.	Shri Dhairyashilrao Yashwant Pawar	5-4-1972
33.	Shri Nuthalapati Joseph	Do.
34.	Shri Sanat Kumar Raha	Do.
35.	Miss Saroj Purushottam Khaparde	6-4-1972
36.	Shri Kali Mukherjee	Do.
37.	Miss Sushila Mansukhlal Desai	Do.
38.	Shri Pramatha Nath Bisi	Do.
39.	Shri Krishna Bahadur Chettri	7-4-1972
40.	Shri Silander Ali Wajid Abdul Gafoor	Do.
41.	Shri Janardhana Reddy	10-4-1972
42.	Shri Gunend Thakur	Do.

S. No.	Name of Member sworn	Date on which sworn
43.	Shrimati Rathnabai Sreenivasa Rao, R.	10-4-1972
44.	Shri Sarvarayudu Chowdary	Do.
45.	Shri Bhaiya Ram Munda	Do.
46.	Shri D. P. Singh	Do.
47.	Shri Krishan Kant	Do.
48.	Shri Ranbir Singh	Do.
49.	Shri Jagan Nath	Do.
50.	Shrimati Vidyawati Chaturvedi	Do.
51.	Shri Shankarlal Tiwari	Do.
52.	Shri Virendra Kumar Sakhalecha	Do.
53.	Shri T. A. Pai	Do.
54.	Shrimati Sita Devi	Do.
55.	Shri Mohan Singh	Do.
56.	Shrimati Lakshmi Kumari	Do.
57.	Shri Ganesh Lal	Do.
58.	Shri Jamna Lal Berwa	Do.
59.	Shri A. K. Refaye	Do.
60.	Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt	Do.
61.	Shri Ibrahim bhai Kasambhai Kalaria	Do.
62.	Shrimati Sumitra Gajanan Kulkarni	Do.
63.	Chayotkar Rajkumar Shri Himatsinghji Takhtasinhji	Do.
64.	Shri Hariprasad Mulshanker Trivedi	Do.
65.	Shri Pappi Reddy	11-4-1972
66.	Shri Kota Punnaiah	Do.
67.	Shri Qasim Ali Abid	Do.
68.	Shri Nripati Ranjan Choudhury	Do.
69.	Shri Shyamlal Gupta	Do.
70.	Shrimati Jahanara Jaipal Singh	Do.
71.	Shri Mahendra Bahadur Singh	Do.
72.	Shri Maqsood Ali Khan	Do.
73.	Shri H. S. Narasiah	Do.
74.	Shri B. N. Mandal	Do.
75.	Shri Nabin Buragohain	12-4-1972
76.	Shri Yogendra Sharma	Do.
77.	Shri Salam Tombi	Do.
78.	Shri Veerendra Patil	Do.
79.	Shri B. C. Bhagavati	13-4-1972
80.	Shri Showalees K. Shilla	Do.

B. Statement Showing the Work Transacted During the Eighteenth Session of Rajya Sabha

1. Period of the session— . . . . . 8th May, 1972 to 3rd June, 1972
2. Number of meetings held— . . . . . 21

3. Total number of sitting hours—	119 hours and 47 minutes
4. Number of divisions held—	12
5. GOVERNMENT BILLS :	
(i) Pending at the commencement of the session	7
(ii) Introduced	5
(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Lok Sabha	15
(iv) Returned by Lok Sabha with any amendment/recommendation and laid on the Table	1
(v) Referred to Select Committee	NIL
(vi) Referred to Joint Committee	1
(vii) Reported by Select Committee	NIL
(viii) Reported by Joint Committee	NIL
(ix) Discussed	19
(x) Passed	16
(xi) Withdrawn	1
(xii) Negatived	NIL
(xiii) Part-discussed	NIL
(xiv) Returned by Rajya Sabha without any recommendation	4
(xv) Discussion postponed	NIL
(xvi) Pending at the end of the session	9
6. PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS :	
(i) Pending at the commencement of the session	42
(ii) Introduced	NIL
(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Lok Sabha	NIL
(iv) Returned by Lok Sabha with any amendment and laid on the Table	NIL
(v) Reported by Joint Committee	NIL
(vi) Discussed	2
(vii) Passed	NIL
(viii) Withdrawn	1
(ix) Negatived	NIL
(x) Circulated for eliciting opinion	NIL
(xi) Part-discussed	1
(xii) Discussion postponed	NIL
(xiii) Motion for circulation of Bill negatived	NIL
(xiv) Referred to Select Committee	NIL
(xv) Pending at the end of the session	41
7. NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS HELD UNDER RULE 176:	
(Matters of Urgent Public Importance)	
(i) Notices received	7
(ii) Admitted	4
(iii) Discussion held	2
8. NUMBER OF STATEMENTS MADE UNDER RULE 180 :	
(Calling-attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance)	
Statements made by Ministers	14



16.	Number of Parliamentary Committees created, if any, during the session (Joint Committee on the Homoeopathy Central Council Bill, 1971)	1
17.	Total number of Visitors' Passes issued during the session	2715
18.	Maximum number of Visitors' Passes issued on any single day, and date on which issued	260 on 2-6-72
19.	NUMBER OF MOTION FOR PAPERS UNDER RULE 175 :	
	(i) Brought before the House	NIL
	(ii) Admitted and discussed	NIL
20.	TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ADMITTED	
	(i) Starred	538
	(ii) Unstarred (including Starred Questions converted as Unstarred Questions)	907
	(iii) Short-notice Questions	1
21.	NUMBER OF REPORTS OF VARIOUS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES PRESENTED TO/LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE RAJYA SABHA :	
	(i) Public Accounts Committee	14
	(ii) Committee on Public Undertaking	13
	(iii) Business Advisory Committee	NIL
	(iv) Committee on Subordinate Legislation	1*
	(v) Committee on Petitions	NIL
	(vi) Committee of Privileges	NIL
	(vii) Committee on the Welfare of Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes	4
	(viii) Joint Committee on Offices of Profit	1
	(ix) Rules Committee	Nil
22.	Number of Members granted leave of absence	1
23.	Petitions presented	NIL
24.	NUMBER OF NEW MEMBERS SWORN WITH DATES	

S.No.	Name of Members sworn	Date on which sworn
1.	Sh. Todak Basar	29-5-1972
2.	Sh. Bhola Paswan Shastri	1-6-1972

\*Report under print.

APPENDIX III

Statement showing the activities of the State Legislatures during the period of 1st January, 1972 to 31st March, 1972.

Sessions held	No. of Questions						Committees at Work			No. of reports presented	
	Bills Passed		Starred		Unstarred		Name of the Committee	Sittings held			
	Govt.	Private	Recd. Admid.	Recd. Admid.	Recd. Admid.	Recd. Admid.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
One (20-3-72 to 31-3-72) — 10 days	3		23]	2*	94	15 (42)			Estimates Committee Committee on Public Undertakings	13	5
									Committee on Government Assurances	2	
									Committee on Privileges	4	
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	9	
One 22-3-72 to 8-4-72 — 14 sittings in 12 days	6	138	99		28	8			Committee on Privileges Committee on Working of Social Welfare Hostels	2	2

\*Notices received during 4th Assembly prior to 1-1-72.

†Short Notice Questions admitted as ordinary Starred (36) and Unstarred Questions (6).









Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Council

One (20-3-72) to 3-4-72) —8 Sittings	6 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Committee on Government Assurances	1	1
				Committee on Privileges	1	1
				House Committee	1	1

Select Committees :-

- (i) On a Bill to amend the J & K. Municipal Act, Samvat 2008, 2 1
- (ii) On a Bill to amend the J & K. Game Preservation Act, Samvat 1998. 2 1
- (iii) On a Bill to provide for the advertisement of the Hazards involved in smoking Cigarettes. 3 1

Kerala Legislative Assembly

One(5th) (18-2-72 to 5-4-72) —28 sittings till 31-3-72	9	4281	1003	1086	1384†	5	Public Accounts Committee	11	3
							Estimates Committee	8	4
							Committee on Public Undertakings	11	6
							Business Advisory Committee	2	2

\*After adding 20 starred Questions classified as Unstarred Questions.  
†Number increased on account of Starred Questions being admitted as unstarred Questions.



*Mysore Legislative Assembly*

One (24-3-72 to 29-3-72) —5 sittings	2	96	89	12	12	5	3	.	..
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*Mysore Legislative Council*

One (25-3-72 to 30-3-72) —5 sittings	2	64	53	13	11	6	3	..	..
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*Nagaland Legislative Assembly*

One (11-3-72 to 28-3-72) —13 sittings	4	150	120	90	71	..	..	Public Accounts Committee	2	1
								Estimates Committee	2	1
								Business Advisory Committee	1	..
								Committee on Government Assurances	2	2
								Committee on Petitions	3	1
								Select Committee on the Naga Jhumland Bill, 1970	1	1

*Orissa Legislative Assembly*

One (Third) (1) First Series (3-1-72 to 19-1-72) —11 sittings	10	823	644	578	865*	54	15	Public Accounts Committee	4	2
								Estimates Committee	8	1
								Committee on Public Undertakings	8	2

\*Including starred questions treated as unstarred.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
(ii) Second sittings (1-3-72 to 7-4-72)—33 Sittings.		5	2779	2086	1285	2128*	414	94	Committee on Subordinate Legislation		5	1
		2	..	213	143	174	152	6	3	Business Advisory Committee.	2	1
One (21-3-72 to 31-3-72)**—8 sittings		2	..	581	144	55	49	14	..	Public Accounts Committee	10	3
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Estimates Committee	3	..
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Committee on Public Undertakings	2	..
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Business Advisory Committee	1	1
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Committee on Petitions	5	..
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Committee on Privileges	7	2
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Committee on Subordinate Legislation	7	..
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	House Committee	8	..
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Public Accounts Committee	9	..
		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Estimates Committee	7	4

One

(in 2 meetings —22-1-72 to 1-2-72 & 1-3-72 to 6-4-72)—35 days.	17	4086	2842	..	67†	35	8	Committee on Government Assu- rances . . . . .	5	1
								Committee on Subordinate Le- gislation. . . . .	3	1
								House Committee . . . . .	2	..
<i>Tamil Nadu Legislative Council</i>										
One (41st) (24-1-72 to 3-5-72)	3	1551	876	40	40	43	7	Business Advisory Committee...	3	
								Press Advisory Committee •	1	..
								Rules Committee . . . . .	2	1
<i>Tripura Legislative Assembly</i>										
One (29-3-72 to 4-4-72)—5 Sit- tings.	3	..	..	..	..	7	2			
<i>Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha</i>										
Two (i) 31-12-71 to 15-2-72—12 sittings	17	1813	1026	..	99‡	2129	1217	Public Accounts Committee .	22	1
								Estimates Committee . . . . .	8	..

\*Including Starred Question treated as Unstarred.

\*\*Still continuing; adjourned to meet on 24-4-72.

†The session continued till 27-5-72.

‡Starred Questions treated as Unstarred.

§Continued beyond 31-3-72.





Committee on Uttarakhnad University. . . . .	6
Committee on Financial and Administrative Delays. . . . .	2
Committee to Investigate the unfair means adopted at the Examinations conducted by the U. P. High School and Intermediate Board and Assult on the Invigilators and to suggest ways and means check them	1

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly*

One (24-3-72 to 31-3-72)@	2	132	124§	64	64†	16‡	8
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\*Starred Questions admitted as Unstarred.

†Original in Hindi.

\*\*The next session Commenced on March 20, 1972 and Continued beyond March 31, 1972.

@Continued after 31-3-72.

‡Includes 7 Questions which were subsequently converted into Unstarred.

§Including 3 starred Questions admitted as Unstarred.

¶Of this, 7 were admitted as ordinary Starred Questions.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Goa, Daman and Diu Legislative Assembly</i>												
One (24-3-72 to 30-3-72)—5 sit- tings.		2	..					2	2	Public Accounts Committee	10	3
										Estimates Committee	5	
										Committee on Government Assurances.	2	6
<i>Pondicherry Legislative Assembly</i>												
One (27-3-72 to 24-4-72)—18 sittings.			11	300	249	33	24			Public Accounts Committee	9	2
										Estimates Committee	17	6
										Business Advisory Committee.	2	2
										Committee on Government Assurances.	8	1
										Committee on Privileges.	3	1
										Committee on Subordinate Legis- lation.	1	1

#### APPENDIX IV

*List of Bills passed by the Houses of Parliament and Assented to by the President during the period 1st January, 1972 to 30th April, 1972*

S. No.	Title of Bill	Date of Assent by the President
1	The Appropriation Bill, 1972 . . . . .	21-3-1972
2	The Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	21-3-1972
3	The Appropriation (Railways) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	22-3-1972
4	The Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill, 1972 . . . . .	22-3-1972
5	The Appropriation (Railways) Vote on Account Bill, 1972 . . . . .	26-3-1972
6	The Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	30-3-1972
7	The Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers (Amendment) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	5-4-1972
8	The Administrators-General (Amendment) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	12-4-1972
9	The Public wakfs (Extension of Limitation) Delhi Amendment) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	12-4-1972
10	The Contingency Fund of India (Amendment) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	12-4-1972
11	The Indian Copper Corporation (Taking Over of Management) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	20-4-1972
12	The Aircraft (Amendment) Bill, 1972 . . . . .	20-4-1972
13	The Marine Products Export development Authority Bill, 1972 . . . . .	20-4-1972
14	The Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1971 . . . . .	20-4-1972

## APPENDIX V

*List of Bills passed by the State Legislatures during the period 1st January, 1972 to 31st March, 1972*

### **Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly**

1. The Andhra Pradesh Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
2. The Andhra Pradesh Appropriation Bill, 1972.
3. The Andhra Pradesh Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.

### **Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council**

1. The Andhra Pradesh Appropriation Bill (Vote on Account) 1972.
2. The Andhra Pradesh Appropriation Bill, 1972.
3. The Andhra Pradesh Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.
- \*4. The Gajapathinagaram Taluq and Ongole District (Formation) Amendment Bill, 1972.
- \*5. The Public Wakfs (Extension of Limitation) (Andhra Pradesh Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6. The Andhra Pradesh Payments of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

### **Assam Legislative Assembly**

1. The Assam Urban Areas Rent Control Bill, 1972.
2. The Gauhati University (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
3. The Dibrugarh University (First Amendment) Bill, 1972.
4. The Dibrugarh University (Second Amendment) Bill, 1972.

### **Bihar Legislative Council\***

1. Bihar Appropriation (Vote on account) Bill, 1972.
2. Bihar Appropriation Bill, 1972.
3. Bihar Encroachment on Public Lands (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

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\*The assent awaited.

\*Original in Hindi.

**Gujarat Legislative Assembly**

1. The Gujarat Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
2. The Gujarat (Supplementary) Appropriation Bill, 1972.
- †3. The Gujarat Ministers' Salaries and Allowances (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
- †4. The Gujarat Legislative Assembly (Speaker and Deputy-Speaker) Salaries and Allowances (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
- †5. The Gujarat Tribal Development Corporation Bill, 1972.
- †6. The Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporations (Gujarat Amendment) Bill, 1972.

**Haryana Vidhan Sabha**

1. The Haryana Appropriation Bill, 1972.
2. The Punjab Sugarcane (Regulation of Purchase and Supply) Haryana Amendment Bill, 1972.
3. The Haryana Official Language (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
4. The Punjab Agricultural Produce Markets (Haryana Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. The Punjab Town Improvement (Haryana Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6. The Haryana Rural Sanitation Board Bill, 1972.
7. The Haryana Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.

**Himachal Vidhan Sabha**

1. The Himachal Pradesh Appropriation Bill, 1972.
2. The Himachal Pradesh Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
3. The Indian Stamp (Himachal Pradesh Amendment) Bill, 1972.
4. The Himachal Pradesh Passengers and Goods Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. The Himachal Pradesh General Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

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†Bills awaiting assent.

6. The Himachal Pradesh Entertainment Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
7. The Punjab Motor Vehicles Taxation (Himachal Pradesh) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8. The Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
9. The Himachal Pradesh War Awards Bill, 1972.
10. The Himachal Pradesh Motor Spirit (Taxation of Sales) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
11. The Himachal Pradesh Housing Board Bill, 1972.
12. The Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

#### **Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Council**

1. The Jammu and Kashmir Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
2. The Jammu and Kashmir Appropriation Bill, 1972.
3. The Jammu and Kashmir Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
4. The Jammu and Kashmir General Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. A Bill to amend the Jammu and Kashmir Municipal Act, Samvat 2008.
6. A Bill to amend the Jammu and Kashmir Game Preservation Act, Samvat 1998.

#### **Kerala Legislative Assembly**

1. The Kerala Stamp (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
2. The Kerala Court Fees and Suits Valuation (Amendment) Bill, 1970.
3. The Kerala Appropriation Bill, 1972.
4. The Kerala Additional Tax on Entertainment and Surcharge on Show Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. The Kerala Agricultural University (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6. The Kerala Land Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
7. The Kerala Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8. The Kerala General Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
9. The Kerala Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.

**Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly**

1. Madhya Pradesh Panchayat (Amendment) Bill, 1972.\*
2. Madhya Pradesh Assistance to Destitutes (Amendment) Bill, 1972.\*
3. Madhya Pradesh Appropriation Bill, 1972.\*
4. Madhya Pradesh Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.\*

**Meghalaya Legislative Assembly**

1. The Meghalaya Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
2. The Prevention of Disqualification (Members of the Legislative Assembly of Meghalaya) Bill, 1972.
3. The Meghalaya (Ministers' Salaries and Allowances) Bill, 1972.
4. The Legislative Assembly of Meghalaya (Speaker and Deputy-Speaker Salaries and Allowances) Bill, 1972.
5. The Legislative Assembly of Meghalaya (Members' Salaries and Allowances) Bill, 1972.
6. The Contingency Fund of Meghalaya Bill, 1972.
7. The Meghalaya Interpretation and General Clauses Bill, 1972.
8. The Meghalaya Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

**Mysore Legislative Assembly**

1. The Mysore Appropriation Bill, 1972.
2. The Mysore Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.

**Mysore Legislative Council**

1. The Mysore Appropriation Bill, 1972.
2. The Mysore Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.

**Nagaland Legislative Assembly**

1. The Nagaland Eviction of Persons in unauthorised occupation of Public Land (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
2. The Nagaland Appropriation (No. 1) Bill, 1972.
3. The Nagaland Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.
4. The Nagaland Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1972.

**The Orissa Legislative Assembly\*\*****Third Session**

1. The Orissa Medical Registraton (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

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\*Original in Hindi.

\*\*Refers to the Third Session, first series January 3 to 19, 1972 and the second series from March 2 to April 7, 1972.



2. The Orissa Motor Vehicles (Taxation of Passengers) Amendment Bill, 1972.
3. The Orissa Prevention of Land Encroachment Bill, 1972.
4. The Dentists (Orissa Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. The Orissa Agricultural Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6. The Orissa Agricultural Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
7. The Orissa Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8. The Orissa Entertainment Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
9. The Orissa Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Bill, 1972.
10. The Orissa Appropriation (No. 1) Bill, 1972.

**Third Session (second series)**

1. The Orissa Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.
2. The Orissa Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1972.
3. The Orissa Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1972.
4. The Sambalpur University (Validation) Bill, 1972.
5. The Orissa Forest Bill, 1971.

**Punjab Vidhan Sabha**

1. The Punjab Appropriation (Vote-on-Account) Bill, 1972.
2. The Punjab Appropriation Bill, 1972.

**Rajasthan Legislative Assembly**

1. The Rajasthan Appropriation (No. 1) Bill, 1972.
2. The Rajasthan Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.

**Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly**

1. The Madras City Tenants Protection (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
2. The Tamil Nadu Betting Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
3. The Tamil Nadu Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
4. The Tamil Nadu General Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. The Public Wakfs (Extension of Limitation) Tamil Nadu Amendment Bill, 1972.
6. Tamil Nadu Cultivating Tenants Arrears of Rent (Relief) Bill, 1972.

7. Tamil Nadu Land Reforms Fixation of Ceiling on Land (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8. Tamil Nadu Pawnbrokers (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
9. Tamil Nadu Panchayats (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
10. Tamil Nadu Non-trading Corporation Bill, 1972.
11. Tamil Nadu Appropriation Bill, 1972.
12. Tamil Nadu Revenue Recovery (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
13. Tamil Nadu Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.
14. Tamil Nadu Water Supply and Drainage Board (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
15. Tamil Nadu Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling on Land) (Second Amendment) Bill, 1972.
16. Tamil Nadu (Transferred Territory) Extension of Laws Bill, 1972.
17. Tamil Nadu Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

#### Tamil Nadu Legislative Council

1. The Madras City Tenants' Protection (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
2. The Tamil Nadu Appropriation Bill, 1972.
3. The Tamil Nadu Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1972.

#### Tripura Legislative Assembly

1. The Salaries and Allowances of Ministers (Tripura) Bill, 1972.
2. The Salaries and Allowances of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (Tripura) Bill, 1972.
3. The Salaries and Allowances of Members of the Legislative Assembly (Tripura) Bill, 1972.

#### Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha

1. The Uttar Pradesh Contingency Fund (Amendment) Bill, 1971.
2. The Uttar Pradesh Sugarcane (Regulation of Supply and Purchase and Recovery of Purchase Tax) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
3. The Intermediate Education (Amendment) Bill, 1971.\*
4. The Uttar Pradesh Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. The Uttar Pradesh Excise (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6. The Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
7. The Uttar Pradesh Electricity Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8. The Uttar Pradesh Krishi Utpadan Mandi Samities (Alpkalik Vywastha) Vidheyak, 1971.

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\*Assesst awaited.

9. Uttar Pradesh Land Tenures (Regulation of Transfers) (Re-Enactment and Validation) Bill, 1972.
10. Uttar Pradesh Krishi Vishva Vidyalaya (Sanshodhan) Vidheyak, 1971.
11. The Uttar Pradesh Antarim Zilla Parishads (Sanshodhan) Vidheyak, 1971.
12. The Land Acquisition (Uttar Pradesh Amendment) Bill, 1970.
13. The Uttar Pradesh Urban Buildings (Regulation of Letting, Rent and Eviction) Bill, 1970.
14. The Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, 1971.\*
15. The Uttar Pradesh Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
16. The Uttar Pradesh Appropriation (Supplementary 1971-72) Bill, 1972.
17. The Uttar Pradesh Public Moneys (Recovery of Dues) Bill, 1972.
18. The Uttar Pradesh Kshetra Samities and Zilla Parishads (Alpkalik Vyavastha) (Sanshodhan) Vidheyak, 1972.\*

#### **Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Parishad\*\***

1. Uttar Pradesh Home Guards (Amendment) Bill, 1971.
2. Uttar Pradesh Sugarcane (Regulation of Supply and Purchase and recovery of Purchase Tax) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
3. Uttar Pradesh Contingency Fund (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
4. Uttar Pradesh Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
5. Uttar Pradesh Excise (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6. Uttar Pradesh Cooperative Societies (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
7. Uttar Pradesh Electricity (Duty) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8. Uttar Pradesh Urban Buildings (Regulation of To let, Rent and Eviction) Bill, 1970.
9. Uttar Pradesh Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
10. Uttar Pradesh Appropriation (Supplementary 1971-72) Bill, 1972.

#### **West Bengal Legislative Assembly**

1. The West Bengal Appropriation Bill, 1972.
2. The West Bengal Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.

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\*Assent awaited.

\*\*Original in Hindi.

**Goa, Daman & Diu Legislative Assembly**

1. The Goa, Daman and Diu Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 1972.
2. The Goa, Daman and Diu Appropriation (Vote on Accounts) Bill, 1972.

**Pondicherry Legislative Assembly**

1. The Pondicherry Buildings (Lease and Rent Control) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
  2. The Pondicherry Occupants of Kudiyruppu (Protection from Eviction) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
  3. The Appropriation (No. I) Bill, 1972.
  4. The Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1972.
  5. The Salaries and Allowances of Ministers (Pondicherry) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
  6. The Appropriation (No. II) Bill, 1972.
  7. The Pondicherry Cultivating Tenants Protection (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
  8. The Pondicherry Hindu Religious Institutions Bill, 1972.
  9. The Pondicherry Co-operative Societies Bill, 1972.
  10. The Pondicherry Excise (Amendment) Bill, 1972. :
  11. The Pondicherry Court Fees and Suits Valuation Bill, 1972. d
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## APPENDIX VI

*Ordinances issued by the Central and State Governments during the period 1st January, 1972 to 31st March, 1972*

S. No	Subject	Date of Promulgation	Date on which laid before the House	Date of Cessation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Central</b>					
1	The Contingency Fund of India (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	9-2-72	13-3-72		Replaced by Legislation.
2	The Administrators-General (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	25-2-72	13-3-72		Do.
3	The Public Works (Extension of Limitation) (Delhi Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	8-3-72	13-3-72		Do.
4	The Indian Copper Corporation (Taking Over of Management) Ordinance, 1972	10-3-1972	13-3-72		Do.
<b>States</b>					
<i>Assam</i>					
1	The Assam Urban Areas Rent Control Ordinance 1972.	13-3-72	22-3-72		Replaced by the Assam Urban Areas Rent Control Bill 1972.
2	The Gauhati University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972.	12-1-72	Do.		Replaced by The Gauhati University (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
3	The Dibrugarh University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	18-1-72	Do.		Replaced by The Dibrugarh University (First Amendment) Bill 1972.

1	2	3	4	5	6
7	The Dibrugarh University (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1972.	17-3-72	Do.		Replaced by The Dibrugarh University (Second Amendment) Bill 1972.
<i>Bihar*</i>					
1	Bihar Sales-tax (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	16-7-71	22-3-72	2-5-72	Could not be passed as a Bill.
2	Motor Vehicles (Bihar Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
3	Bihar Tenancy (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	17-7-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
4	Chho'sa Nagpur Tenancy (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
5	Bihar Entertainment Tax (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	19-7-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
6	Bihar Sugarcane (Regulation of Supply & Purchase) Third Ordinance, 1971	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
7	Bihar Land Revenue (Exemption from Payment) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
8	Bihar Subsidised Industries (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
9	Bihar Lands and Water Conservation and Development of Land Third Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
10	Bihar Khadi & Gramodyog (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
11	Bihar Panchayat Raj (Third Amendment and Validation) Ordinance, 1971	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
12	Bihar District Boards and Local Boards (Control and Management) (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
13	Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.

\*Original in Hindi

1	2	3	4	5	
14	Bihar Hindu Religious Trusts (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	19-7-71	22-3-72	2-5-72	Could not be passed as a Bill.
15	Bihar Panchayat Rai (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
16	Bihar Houses (Control of Lease, Rent and Eviction) (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
17	Bihar Children Third Ordinance, 1971	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
18	Patna University (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
19	Bihar State University Commission (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
20	Bihar Primary Education (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
21	Bihar University Laws (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
22	Bihar School Examination Boards (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
23	Bihar (Transported by Public carrier) Passenger and Goods Taxation (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
24	Anugraha Narain Sinha Institute of Social Studies (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
25	Bihar School Examination Boards (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
26	Bihar Land Reform (Validation and Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
27	Bihar Land Reform (Fixation of Ceiling and Acquisition of Surplus Land) (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.

1	2	3	4	5	6
28	Patna Municipal Corporation (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1972.	19-7-71	23-3-72	2-5-72	Could not be passed as a Bill.
29	Bihar Municipalities (Fifth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
30	Bihar Municipalities (Sixth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
31	Pataliputra Medical College (Taking over of Management) Second Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
32	Bihar Contingency Fund (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	26-7-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
33	Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance 1971.	6-8-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
34	Bihar District Boards and Local Boards (Control and Management) (Fifth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
35	Bihar Contingency Fund (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
36	Bihar Excise Duty (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	23-8-71	22-3-71	Do.	Do.
37	Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana Authority (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	6-9-71	22-3-72	Do.	Do.
38	Bihar State Housing Board Ordinance, 1971.	14-9-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
39	Bihar Contingency Fund (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	24-9-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
40	Bihar Co-operative Societies (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	7-10-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
41	Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad (Fifth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	26-11-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
42	Bihar Hindu Religious Trusts (Fifth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	13-11-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
43	Bihar Premises and Vehicles (Requisition) Ordinance, 1971.	15-11-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
44	Bihar Sales (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	16-11-71	Do.	Do.	Do.



1	2	3	4	5	6
45	Bihar Entertainment Tax (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	1-12-71	22-3-72	2-5-72	This could not be passed as a Bill by the House.
46	Indian Stamp (Bihar Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	3-12-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
47	Bihar (Transported by Public Carriers) Passenger and Goods Taxation (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
48	Bihar Municipalities (Seventh Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	13-12-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
49	Bihar Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	21-12-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
50	Bihar Land Reform (Fixation of Ceiling and Acquisition of Surplus Lands) (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	27-12-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
51	Bihar Entertainment Tax, Court Fees and Stamp (Surcharge) Amendment Ordinance, 1971.	3-1-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
52	Bihar Contingency Fund (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972.	3-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
53	Bihar University Laws (Amendment and Repeal) Ordinance, 1972.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
54	Bihar Entertainment Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	4-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
55	Bihar University and School Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	10-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
56	Bihar Agricultural Produce Marketing (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	14-2-72	Do.	Do.	Passed as a Bill,
57	Bihar Encroachment on Lands (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	18-2-72	Do.	Do.	Could not be passed as a Bill.
58	Bihar Ancient Monuments and Remains Ordinance, 1972	20-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
59	Bihar Salaries and Allowances of Ministers (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	24-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
60	Bihar Salaries and Allowances of Deputy Ministers (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.

1	2	3	4	5	6
61	Motor Vehicles (Bihar Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	26-2-72	22-3-72	2-5-72 *	Could not be passed as a Bill
62	Bihar Gramdan (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	26-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
63	Bihar Motor Spirit (Levy of Sales Tax) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	1-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
64	Bihar Public Procurement of Bhang (Amendment) Ordinance 1972 . . . . .	8-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
65	Bihar Shops and Establishments (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	9-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
66	Bihar District Boards and Local Boards (Control and Management) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	10-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
67	Bihar Tendu Leaves (Regulation of Trade) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	18-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
68	Bihar State Universities (Bihar, Bhagalpur and Ranchi) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
69	Bihar Salaries and Allowances of Ministers (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
70	Bihar Salaries and Allowances of Deputy Ministers (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
71	Bihar Legislature (Salaries and Allowances of Officers) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 . . . . .	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
<i>Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha</i>					
1	The Indian Stamp (H.P. Amendment) Ordinance, 1971 . . . . .	9-11-71	28-3-72	5-4-72	Replaced by legislation
2	The H. P. Passengers & Goods Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971 . . . . .	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
3	The H. P. General Sales Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971 . . . . .	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
4	The H. P. Entertainment duty (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971 . . . . .	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.

1	2	3	4	5	6
5	The Punjab Motor Vehicles (Himachal Pradesh) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	9-11-71	28-3-72	5-4-72	Replaced by legislation
6	The Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	30-11-71	Do.	Do.	Do.
7	The Himachal Pradesh War Awards Ordinance, 1972	19-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
8	The Himachal Pradesh Housing Board Ordinance, 1972	22-2-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
<i>Kerala Legislative Assembly</i>					
1	The Agricultural University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	29-1-72	21-2-72		Replaced by legislation
2	The Land Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.		Do.
<i>Madhya Pradesh*</i>					
1	Madhya Pradesh Unoccupied Lands in Villages (Special Provisions) Amendment Ordinance, 1972	10-1-72	28-3-72	—	Replaced by legislation
2	Madhya Pradesh Fixation of Minimum Prices for Disposal of Tendu Leaves Ordinance, 1972	18-1-72	Do.	—	Do.
3	Madhya Pradesh Government Servants (Age of Superannuation) Amendment Ordinance, 1972	21-1-72	Do.	5-5-72	—
4	Jabalpur University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	14-2-72	Do.	—	Replaced by legislation
5	Madhya Pradesh Co-operative Land Development Banks (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	25-2-72	Do.	—	Do.
6	Madhya Pradesh Land Reforms Scheme (Amendment) Ordinance 1972	25-2-72	Do.	—	Do.

\*Original in Hindi.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Meghalaya Legislative Assembly</i>					
1	The Prevention of Disqualification (Members of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Meghalaya) Ordinance, 1971	21-1-72	28-3-72		Replaced by Legislation
2	The State of Meghalaya (Minister's Salaries & Allowances) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.		Do.
3	The Legislative Assembly of the State of Meghalaya (Speaker and Deputy Speaker Salaries & Allowances) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.		Do.
4	The Legislative Assembly of the State of Meghalaya (Members' Salaries & Allowances) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.		Do.
5	The Prevention of Disqualification (Members of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Meghalaya) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	1-2-72	Do.		Do.
6	The Meghalaya Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	22-2-72	27-3-72		Do.
<i>Orissa</i>					
1	The Orissa Contingency Fund (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	25-9-71	4-1-72		No Bill replacing the Ordinance was introduced.
2	The Utkal University (Vice Chancellors' Continuance in Office) Ordinance, 1971	15-10-71	Do.		Do.
3	The Orissa Contingency Fund (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	5-11-71	Do.		Do.
4	The Orissa Contingency Fund (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	10-12-71	Do.		Do.
5	The Orissa Prevention of Land Encroachment Ordinance, 1971	17-12-71	Do.	16-2-72	Replaced by the Orissa Prevention of Land Encroachment Bill, 1972 passed on 10-1-72.

1	2	3	4	5	6
6	The Orissa Motor Vehicles Taxation Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	29-12-71	4-1-72	29-1-72	Replaced by the Orissa Motor Vehicles Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1972 passed on 10-1-72.
7	The Orissa Entertainment Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	Do.	6-1-72	21-1-72	Replaced by the Orissa Entertainment Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972 passed on 10-1-72.
8	The Orissa Sales Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971	Do.	Do.	Do.	Replaced by the Orissa Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972 passed on 10-1-72.
<i>Rajasthan</i>					
1	The Rajasthan Urban Improvement (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	6-1-72	22-3-72	8-4-72	Replaced by The Rajasthan Urban Improvement (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
<i>Uttar Pradesh*</i>					
1	The Uttar Pradesh Tendu Patta (Vyapar Viniyaman) Ordinance, 1972	24-2-72	30-3-72	25-4-72	Replaced by legislation : The Uttar Pradesh Tendu Patta (Vyapar Viniyaman) Vidheyak, 1972.
2	The Uttar Pradesh Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Ordinance, 1972	2-3-72	20-3-72	1-5-72	The Uttar Pradesh Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Bill, 1972.
3	The Uttar Pradesh Public Moneys (Recovery of Dues) Ordinance, 1972	2-3-72	20-3-72	1-5-72	The Uttar Pradesh Public Moneys (Recovery of Dues) Bill, 1972.
4	Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishva Vidyalaya (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	Do.	Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishva Vidyalaya (Amendment) Bill, 1972.

\*Original in Hindi.

1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	The Uttar Pradesh Muslim Waqfs (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	7-3-72	Do.	1-4-72	The Uttar Pradesh Muslim Waqfs (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6.	The Motor Vehicles (Uttar Pradesh Sanshodhan) Adyadesh, 1972	16-3-72	Do.	1-5-72	The Motor Vehicles (Uttar Pradesh Amendment) Bill, 1972.
7.	The Uttar Pradesh Municipalities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	1-4-72	The Uttar Pradesh Municipalities (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8.	The Uttar Pradesh Nagar Mahapalika (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	16-3-72	Do.	1-5-72	The Uttar Pradesh Nagar Mahapalika (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
9.	The Uttar Pradesh Kshetra Samities Zila Parishads (Alpkalik Vyavastha) (Sanshodhan) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	2-5-72	The Uttar Pradesh Kshetra Samities and Zila Parishads (Alpkalik Vyavastha) (Sanshodhan) Vidheyak, 1972.
<i>West Bengal</i>					
1.	The Calcutta Municipal (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	18-2-72	4-4-72	4-5-72	Replaced by Legislation.
2.	The West Bengal Improvement Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	22-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
3.	The Calcutta Municipal (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
4.	The West Bengal Land (Requisition & Acquisition) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
5.	The West Bengal Relief Undertakings (Special Provisions) Ordinance, 1972	23-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.
6.	The West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
7.	The Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
8.	The West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance, 1972	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.

1	2	3	4	5	6
9. The West Bengal Land Reforms (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972	23-3-72	4-4-72	4-5-72	Replac. d by Legislation.	
10. The West Bengal Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Ordinance, 1972	23-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.	
11. The Taxes on Entry of goods into Calcutta Metropolitan Area Ordinance, 1972	23-3-72	Do.	Do.	Do.	

**APPENDIX VII**  
**A. PARTY POSITION IN LOK SABHA**

(1) State-Wise  
(As on July 1, 1972)

Name of the State	Seats	Cong.	CPI (M)	CPI	DMK	J.S.	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	14				..	..	..	14
Bihar	53	39		5		2	6(b)	1	53
Gujarat	24	12				..	9(c)	2	24
Haryana	9	7				1	..	1	9
Himachal Pradesh	4	4							4
Jammu and Kashmir	6	5	..	..			..	..	6
Kerala	19	6	2	3		..	6(d)	1	18 (1 vacant)
Madhya Pradesh	37	22				10	5(e)	..	37
Maharashtra	45	42					2(f)	1	45
Manipur	2	2					..	..	2
Meghalaya	2	..					..	2	2
Mysore	27	26					..		26 (1 vacant)
Nagaland	1	..					1 (g)		1
Orissa	20	14		1			5(h)	..	20
Punjab	13	9		2			..	1	12*
Rajasthan	23	14			..	4	4(i)		23
Tamil Nadu	39	9	..	4	23		3(j)		39
Tripura	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Uttar Pradesh	85	73	..	5		4	1(k)	2	85
West Bengal	40	15	20	3			2(l)		40
<b>Union Territories</b>									
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1							1
Arunachal Pradesh	1	1							1(m)
Chandigarh	1	1							1
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1	1							1
Delhi	7	7					..		7
Goa, Daman and Diu	2	1					1(n)		2
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	1	1						..	1
Mizoram	1	..						1	1
Pondicherry	1	1						..	1
Anglo-Indian	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2(o)	2(P)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>524</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>524*</b> (excluding Speaker and 3 vacancies)

\*Excludes the Speaker, who is not a member of any Party.

(a) Telengana Praja Samiti	2	(i) Swatantra	2
(b) Socialist Party	2	UIPG	2
Congress (O)	3	(j) Muslim League	1
UIPG	1	Forward Block	1
(c) Swatantra	2	Congress (O)	1
(d) Muslim League	1	(k) Congress (O)	(o)
Revolutionary Socialist Party	2	(l) Socialist Party	1
Kerala Congress	3	Revolutionary Socialist Party	1
(e) Socialist Party	1	(m) Nominated by the President	
UIPG	4	(n) UIPG	
(f) Socialist Party	1	(o) UIPG	
Forward Block	1	(p) Nominated by the President	
(g) UIPG	1		
(h) Swatantra	3		
UIPG	2		



## A. PARTY POSITION IN LOK SABHA

(ii) Party-wise  
(As on July, 1, 1972)

<i>Name of the Party</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Congress Party . . .	364
C.P.I.(M)	25
C.P.I. . .	24
D.M.K.	23
Jen Sangh	21
<i>Other Parties</i>	
UPIG . . .	13
Congress (O)	12
Swatantra . . .	7
Socialist Party	5
Muslim League . . .	2
Revolutionary Socialist Party	3
Kerala Congress	3
Forward Block . . .	2
Telengana Praja Samiti . . .	2
Unattached . . .	14
Vacancies	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>523</b>
	(excluding Speaker)





## B. PARTY POSITION IN RAJYA SABHA

(H) Party-Wise

(As on June 6, 1972)

Name of Party	Strength
Congress	116
Congress(O)	20
Jan Sangh	15
D.M.K.	12
C.P.I.	11
Swatantra	9
S.P.	7
C.P.I.(M)	7
<i>Other Parties</i>	
Muslim League	5
B.K.D.	4
Akali Dal	2
A.P.H.L.C.	1
R.P.	1
M.P.P.	1
F.B. (M)	1
Utkal Congress	1
R.S.P.	1
S.M.S.	1
P.S.P.	1
Independents	12
Others	12
Vacancies	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>243</b>

## C. PARTY POSITION IN STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

States	Seats	Cong.	Cong. (O)	Swat.	JS	CPI	CPI (M)	SP	PSP	Other Parties	Ind.	Nom.	DMK	Total
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Andhra Pradesh (as on 31-3-72)	288	219	—	2	—	7	1	—	—	2(a)	56	1	—	288
Assam (as on 28-4-72)	126	95	—	1	—	3	—	4	—	5(b)	6	—	—	114(c)
Bihar (as on 8-5-72)	319	166	30	1	25	34	—	33	—	12(d)	15	1	—	319(e)
Gujarat (as on 31-3-72)	168	139	16	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	168(f)
Haryana (as on 11-4-72)	81	52	12	—	2	—	—	—	—	4(g)	11	—	—	81
Himachal Pradesh (as on 15-5-72)	68	51	—	—	5	—	1	—	—	1 h)	7	—	—	65(i)
Kerala (as on 2-5-72)	134	34	3	—	—	16	31	8	4	37(i)	1	—	—	134(k)
Madhya Pradesh (as on 1-5-72)	297	219	—	—	47	4	—	7	—	—	17	1	—	295(l)
Manipur (as on 31-3-72)	60	20	—	—	—	5	—	3	—	20(m)	12	—	—	60(m)
Meghalaya (as on 19-5-72)	60	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41(n)	10	—	—	60
Mysore (as on 31-3-72)	126	164	24	—	—	3	—	3	—	1(o)	20	—	—	216(p)
Nagaland (as on 20-4-72)	52	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	52(q)	—	—	—	52(r)
Orissa (as on 27-4-72)	140	49	1	35	—	4	2	—	4	40(s)	5	—	—	140
Punjab (as on 27-4-72)	104	66	—	—	—	10	1	—	—	25(t)	2	—	—	104
Rajasthan (as on 6-6-72)	184	144	1	11	8	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	184(u)
Tamil Nadu (as on 6-5-72)	235	1	14	6	—	8	—	4	—	10(v)	3	1	183	235(w)
Tripura (as on 12-4-72)	60	41	—	—	—	1	16	—	—	—	2	—	—	60
Uttar Pradesh (as on 5-4-72)	426	274	45	—	38	—	—	—	—	67(x)	—	—	—	426
West Bengal (as on 14-6-72)	281	216	2	—	—	35	14	—	1	7(y)	4	1	—	281
Goa, Daman & Diu (as on 31-3-72)	32	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28(z)	1	—	—	31(aa)
Pondicherry (as on 26-4-72)	30	7	3	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	30

(a) Sampoorna Telengana Praja Samiti-2

(b) Revolutionary Communist Party-1; Peoples Democratic Party-3; Plains Tribal Council-1

(c) Vacant-12.

(d) Includes All India Jharkhand -4; Hul Jharkhand-2; Progressive hul Jharkhand-2; Jharkhand (N.E. Horo Group)-1; Hindustani Soshit Dal-3.

(e) Vacant-1; Includes Hon. Speaker.

(f) Vacant-1.

(g) Includes Vishal Haryana Party-3; Arya Sabha-1.

(h) Lok Raj Party.

(i) Elected till date

(j) Includes Kerala Congress-13; Muslim League-11, Revolutionary Socialist Party-5; Kerala Socialist Party-2; Congress Socialist Party-2; Karshak Tozhilali Party-2.

(k) Includes Hon. Speaker.

(m) Includes M.P.P.-17; U.N.I.C.-3

(n) Includes A.P.H.L.C.-32, H.S.P.D.P.-9.

(o) Janatha Paksha.

(p) Includes Hon. Speaker.

(q) Includes Nagaland Nationalist Organisation-30; United Parliamentary Group-22.

(r) Includes Hon. Speaker.

(s) Includes Utikal Congress-34; Jharkhand-4; Jana Congress-1.

(t) Shiromani Akali

(u) Including Hon. Speaker.

(v) Tamil Arasu Kazhagam-3; Forward Block-7; Muslim, League-6.

(w) Including Hon. Speaker.

(x) Includes B.K.D.-39; Unattached-2 (Hon'ble Speaker &amp; Hon'ble Deputy Speaker) and other Parties and Independent-67.

(y) Includes R.S.P.-3; Socialist Unity Centre-1; Workers Party-1; Gorkha League-2; Muslim League-1.

(z) Includes Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party-18; United Goans-10.

(aa) Vacant-1; Includes Hon. Speaker.

**TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE  
OF INDIA**

(14th-15th August, 1972)



*Left: Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi addressing the gathering on the solemn occasion. Seated from left to right on the dais are Shri G. S. Pathak, Vice-President, Shri V. V. Giri, President of India and Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha.*