

Souvenir



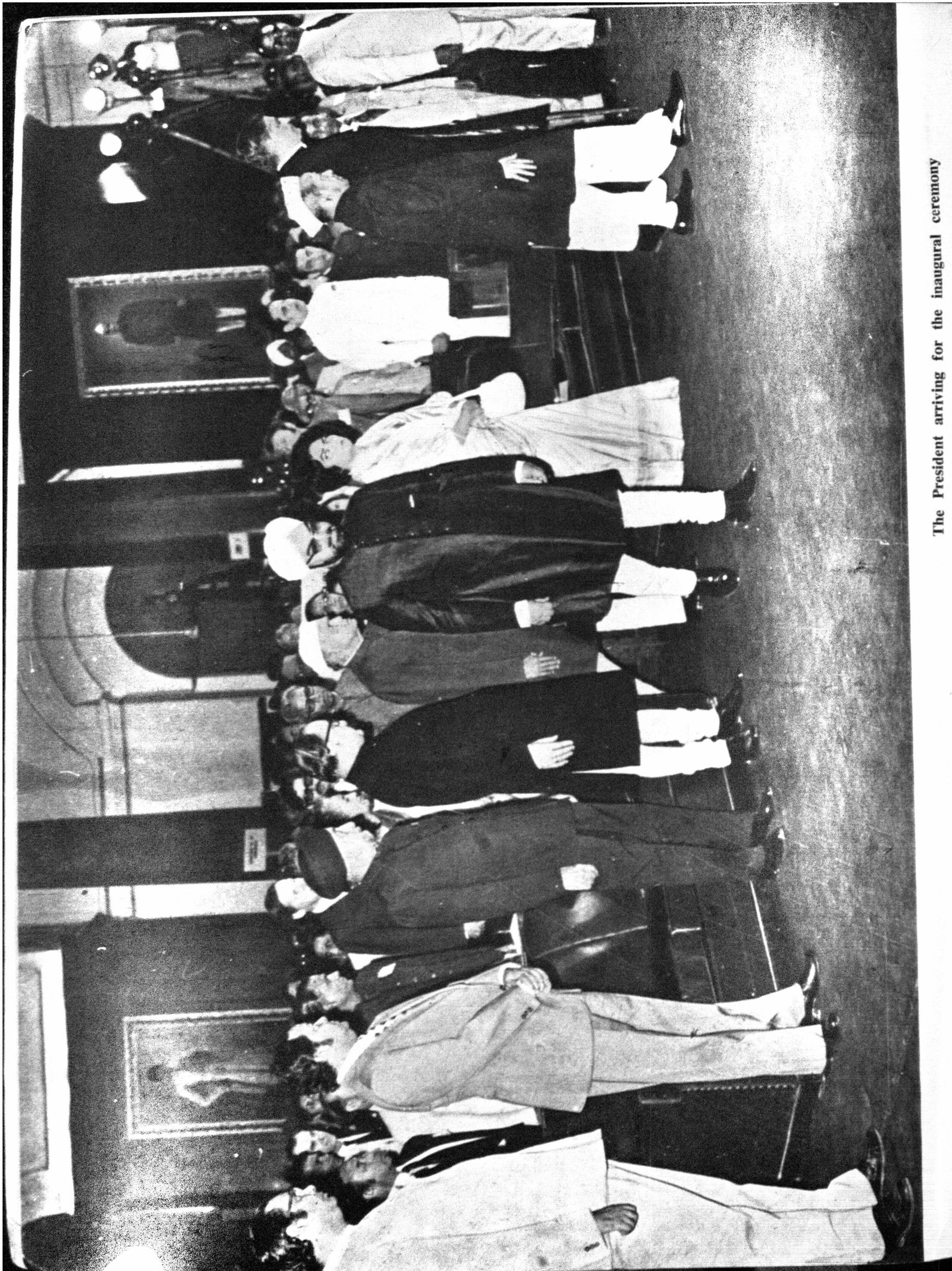
21st

COMMONWEALTH

PARLIAMENTARY

CONFERENCE 1975

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT • NEW DELHI



The President arriving for the inaugural ceremony

21st | COMMONWEALTH
PARLIAMENTARY
CONFERENCE
1975

A Souvenir

Editor

S. L. SHAKDHER

Secretary-General, Lok Sabha

and

President, Association of

Secretaries-General of Parliaments

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Preface

THE 21ST Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference under the auspices of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association was hosted by India in New Delhi from October 28 to November 4, 1975.

This Souvenir is being issued in commemoration of the Conference and brings out in bold relief its experience and achievements. Delegates who attended the Conference were asked to give their impressions about the various aspects of the Conference. The messages and articles received from those who kindly responded to the invitation have been included in the Souvenir. It also contains a complete record of the speeches made at the inaugural ceremony and other functions, names and other details about the participants, synopses of proceedings and details of other arrangements that were made for the Conference.

It is hoped that the Souvenir will be received well and found useful.

NEW DELHI

May 28, 1976

S. L. SHAKDHER

Secretary-General, C.P.A. India Branch

1. Introduction

THE 21ST Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was held in New Delhi from October 28 to November 4, 1975, the second of its kind to be held in this country.

Having always valued the Commonwealth and its microcosm—the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)—as a practical concretization of a concept very near to India's heart, *i.e.*, *vasudhaiva kutumbakam* 'the whole world a family', the elaborate planning and meticulous care that went into the preparations for the New Delhi meetings was just one indication of the importance attached by this country to this great occasion.

The week-long Conference was inaugurated by the President of India, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, at a colourful function held in the historic Central Hall of Parliament House on October 28, 1975.

Besides Dr. G. S. Dhillon, former Speaker of Lok Sabha and the then President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, who welcomed the Delegates and other guests on behalf of the Main Branch and the State Branches of the CPA in

India, the inaugural session was addressed by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and Mr. R. Gujadhur of Mauritius, the Vice-President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

A special feature of the Conference was the publication of a study on "The Commonwealth Parliaments". This study, specially brought out for the occasion, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences, was released by President Ahmed at the inaugural function. The volume carries valuable contributions from distinguished Presiding Officers, Members of Overseas Parliaments and learned Clerks/Secretaries-General of the various Commonwealth Parliaments and senior officers of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association on a wide range of subjects relating to Parliamentary institutions and processes and makes useful reading in comparative parliamentary political science, more particularly in the field of legislative procedure of the Commonwealth Parliaments. Revised editions of this definitive work are proposed to be brought out from time to time.

Whereas the Conference was inaugurated in the Central Hall of Parliament House, the business sessions were held at the

magnificent *Sansadiya Soudha* (Parliament House Annexe).

To mark the occasion, the Vice-President of India, Shri B. D. Jatti, released a special postage stamp bearing a facsimile of the Parliament House Annexe at a special function held soon after the inaugural ceremony. According to Shri Jatti, the stamp was a symbol of the importance and value that India attached to the Commonwealth and to its "great ideals of peace, democracy and friendship".

The Conference, which was presided over by Dr. G. S. Dhillon, was attended by about 300 delegates and observers representing as many as 90 branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The 50-member Indian delegation, representing various shades of political opinion in the country, was headed by Shri K. Raghuramaiah, Union Minister for Works, Housing and Urban Development and Parliamentary Affairs. Quite a number of these delegates were accompanied by their wives or daughters. Incidentally, at the 1957 conference held in New Delhi there were only 106 delegates, representing 49 branches, apart from a few observers. At the time of that Conference, India had only one Main Branch at the Centre and four Branches functioning in the States as against as many as 19 State Branches at present besides the Main Branch at the National Parliament—the largest number in any individual country.

The Conference provided occasion for some very interesting and high level discussions

on issues of current concern in the political, economic and social fields comprehending almost every major aspect of human life. Distinguished leaders from many countries, who were among the delegates, made very useful contributions to debates.

The very first item on the agenda, given notice by India, was the topical question of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Most of the speakers were strongly of the view that the Indian Ocean region should be maintained as an area of peace and tranquillity. Likewise, in the discussion on South-East Asia, there appeared to be a consensus on the need for cooperation and unity for balanced development of this region which had long been a scene of war and strife.

In the animated debate on the developments in Africa, the delegates called for complete and unrelenting pressure—political, economic and moral—against the racial policies of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The energy crisis understandably gave rise to a lively debate. The real cause of worry, it was pointed out, was the waste of energy resources on luxury purposes. In this connection, some delegates suggested the creation of a Commonwealth body for the exchange of information on developing new energy sources and more efficient use of available resources.

The same constructive and pragmatic approach was in evidence in the discussions on commodity prices and terms of

trade and indexation and on multinational corporations. On the former, the emerging viewpoint appeared to stress the need for stabilisation of prices of primary products. In regard to the latter, it was generally felt that multi-national corporations should be made to recognise the sovereignty of the host countries. The setting up of a Commonwealth consultancy or clearing house of information was suggested to help member-countries in their negotiations with these corporations.

Discussions on unemployment and other social problems like youth unrest, violence, etc., brought forward a suggestion for the setting up of a committee to study the problems in these areas in the member-States and make recommendations. The need was also stressed for a global change in the pattern of education so that the youth could be self-reliant and their potential harnessed for constructive purposes. On the question of educational and technological aid, the speakers felt that such aid from developed countries should be tailored to the needs of the recipient countries.

On the question of debt repayment by developing countries, interest-free and untied aid from advanced countries was suggested with a view to making the objective of external assistance more meaningful. The question of cartels was discussed largely with reference to oil and to the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting countries. Several delegates referred to the deleterious effect of the oil crisis on the economies, particularly of developing countries, but it was felt that all producers' cartels were not bad.

For making the Commonwealth an effective instrument for social, economic and political transformation, the establishment of a Commonwealth Investment Bank to help developing countries was suggested. A united approach by the Commonwealth countries, some delegates felt, would usher in a new international economic order which was the need of the hour.

In the debate on threats to the authority and prestige of Parliament, the Conference sought to identify the sources from which such threats could come and stressed the importance of the peoples' faith in the institution of Parliament. It was, however, recognised that there could be no uniform pattern for the parliamentary system. It was a process of evolution according to the needs and experiences of each country and should be allowed to grow as such, without disturbing its quintessence, which, the leader of the Indian delegation said, was "government for the people, by the people." There was general agreement on the fact that there was no viable substitute for parliamentary democracy.

The discussions at the Conference, were indicative of a constructive dialogue amongst the delegates resulting in the emergence of certain positive ideas. That is why the reigning mood at the conclusion of the Conference was that the Commonwealth, in keeping with the challenges and circumstances of the times, should move forward and assume a dynamic role as an active instrument in the creation of a rational and equitable international order.

Delegates were visibly struck by the amazing informality of atmosphere, a sort of family spirit and a climate of cordiality that developed amongst them during the period of the Conference. This was significant because they hailed from different parts of the world and represented a variety of colours and creeds.

Before the Conference concluded its deliberations the election of the new President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association took place. Mr. R. Gujadhur, Deputy Speaker of the Mauritius Legislative Assembly and the CPA Vice-President, was unanimously elected President of the Association for the year 1975-76, succeeding Dr. G. S. Dhillon. Mr. James A. Jerome, Speaker of the House of Commons, Canada, was elected as the new Vice-President.

Welcoming the unanimous election of Mr. Gujadhur, the outgoing President, Dr. Dhillon said he was very happy at the choice made by the CPA. Mr. Gujadhur, a distinguished and respectable leader of Mauritius, he said, "is not new to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and has a long background as a parliamentarian, and as presiding officer. He has been attending CPA Conference for long". Dr. Dhillon also expressed his thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. G. A. Regan for his able guidance of the proceedings of the CPA Executive Committee. Mr. Regan, he added, had endeared himself much to one and all in such a short time. "As Chairman of the Executive Committee", said Dr. Dhillon, "he has given

new life to the CPA and revitalised its functioning. He has shown a dynamic approach to problems."

The outgoing President also paid an eloquent tribute to the CPA Secretary-General, Sir Robin Vanderfelt and his dedicated team, on the competent job they did for the preparatory work leading to this Conference. He also thanked the Secretaries-General of the two Houses of the Indian Parliament, and their colleagues and other officers, who had worked tirelessly in connection with the Conference arrangements and made it a memorable success.

Dr. Dhillon complimented the Indian Press, the All India Radio and television authorities, the press photographers and reporters and the newspaper editors for their co-operation and for a very extensive coverage of the Conference proceedings, befitting the importance of the occasion. Dr. Dhillon did not forget to refer to the excellent services rendered at the Conference premises by the State Bank of India, the Post Office, the Telecommunication network, travel agencies, and last but not the least, the catering staff, whom he profusely thanked.

The All India Radio and the Delhi Television had, apart from live coverage of the inaugural ceremony, put out special programmes on the CPA and its objectives, including several interviews with and talks by leading Commonwealth parliamentarians, officers of the CPA and others, both in

their national hook-up as well as in the external services.

One of the few "innovations" introduced at the New Delhi Conference for the first time, was the publication of a volume of biographical sketches (along with photographs) of the delegates, observers and secretaries to delegations attending the Conference, to help them know each other more intimately. Another 'first' in the Conference arrangements was the preparation and issue of synopses of the proceedings of the Conference for the use of the delegates and officials, to compensate, to a large extent, the unavoidable delay in making available the full proceedings of the Conference.

At the venue of the Conference, an exhibition entitled 'The Glimpses of India' was organised to project India's cultural heritage, her success with the democratic experiment and the progress achieved in the socio-economic transformation of the country since Independence. The exhibition was supplemented by the screening of some documentary films introducing India and depicting her achievements in various fields.

An "India Information Desk" was set up for distribution of pamphlets, folders and other information materials regarding India—her art, culture, history, economic development, etc. The Desk also attended to reference enquiries from the delegates and others participating in the Conference. The Parliamentary Publications Desk displayed and distributed publications of parliamen-

tary interest issued by the Secretariats of the two Houses.

Books and literature regarding Commonwealth and Commonwealth Parliaments, latest issues of journals and newspapers from Commonwealth countries received in Parliament Library, and materials of, and relating to, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association were made available for reference by delegates in a special CPA Room set up at the Conference venue. A set of leading local dailies and reference material relating to the subjects under discussion were also made available.

Daily Bulletins which were issued regularly during the Conference period to make important day-to-day announcements concerning the business before the Conference, the social and cultural engagements of the delegates and their spouses, transport arrangements and other vital information concerning the facilities and services available at the Conference venue, were found extremely useful by all the delegates. These bulletins were made available to the delegates in their Hotel before they retired for the night.

In between the meetings, special cultural programmes were arranged in the Capital for the delegates so as to give them a glimpse of the famed Indian classical dances and folklore.

They were also accorded a glittering civic reception by the citizens of Delhi at the historic Red Fort on one evening. The leader of the Keyna delegation, Mr. H. C.

Wariithi, and Miss Ackman, leader of the Guyana delegation, received the welcome address, on behalf of the delegates, from the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Shri H. K. L. Bhagat, M.P., and President of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee. The then Speaker of Lok Sabha, Dr. G. S. Dhillon, the Deputy Speaker, Professor G. G. Swell, the Chairman of the Delhi Metropolitan Council, Mir Mushtaq Ahmed, Members of Parliament and of the Metropolitan Council were also present on the occasion.

Delegates also had an opportunity of watching the gaiety and the enthusiasm of the Indian people on the occasion of the joyous Festival of Lights—*The Diwali*, which fell, by sheer coincidence, on one of the Conference days. They were taken out in special coaches to see the illuminations and the fireworks.

Special programmes were arranged exclusively for the lady delegates and the ladies accompanying the delegates. A Ladies Programme Committee, with Mrs. Dhillon (wife of Dr. Dhillon) and Mrs. Lakshmi Raghuramaiah (wife of Shri K. Raghuramaiah, our Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and leader of the Indian Delegation) as the principal organisers, had very imaginatively drawn up interesting programmes of visits and entertainments for them. Ladies were also provided with opportunities to do some shopping at the Central Cottage Industries Emporium and the State Emporia in the Capital.

Another highlight of the Conference arrangements was, of course, the post-

Conference tours, the most extensive ever planned, which took the delegates to the headquarters of as many as 15 of the 19 State CPA Branches in India, covering practically the whole of the country. The idea behind this was, as Dr. Dhillon himself put it, that the delegates might “know everything, meet anyone they liked, and go anywhere and form their own impressions.”

In view of the vastness of the country and the shortage of time at the disposal of the delegates, it was not possible to take all of them to all the places in the country. As such they were divided into four convenient groups, formed, as far as possible, in accordance with the preferences indicated by them in advance, to undertake tours of four different regions of the country. Wherever the delegates went, during their post-Conference tours, they were accorded overwhelming welcome.

The intangible benefits from the CPA Conference are of no less consequence than the formal outcome of the deliberations on the Conference floor. These Conferences have undoubtedly served to bring different parts of the world closer. The acquaintances made during coffee-breaks luncheons, post-Conference tours and other occasions, as much as at the Conference Table, may often be the beginning of many fruitful friendships. These personal contacts which make for fellow-feeling and promote mutual knowledge among the peoples' representatives from the far corners of the globe, may prove most valuable in the creation of a climate of goodwill and understanding,

and towards the development of a common outlook and approach to problems. The importance of fostering such a fellow-feeling among parliamentarians should be obvious particularly when the people's representatives, by virtue of their special position as leaders of the community and as links between the Government and the

people, are placed in a unique position to mould public opinion and influence their governments.

The next Commonwealth Conference, to be hosted by Mauritius, let us hope, proves to be a much more exhilarating and rewarding experience than what we had in India.

"We join the Commonwealth obviously because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain, because they think it is beneficial to them. It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of the nations in the Commonwealth and, therefore, they join."

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

May 16, 1949

2. *The Inaugural Function*

THE COMMONWEALTH Parliamentary Conference (1975) was inaugurated by the President of India, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, on Tuesday, October 28, 1975, in the Central Hall of Parliament House, New Delhi.

The President arrived in State to Parliament House at 10.35 A.M. and a fanfare of trumpets heralded the entry of the Presidential procession in the Central Hall. The massive Hall, where the historic transfer of power took place on August 15, 1947, was packed to capacity. Delegates, hailing from all parts of the world, and their ladies, in their traditional colourful dresses, lustily cheered the arrival of the Presidential procession.

Besides Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker of Lok Sabha and the President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, who welcomed the Delegates and other guests on behalf of the Main Branch and the State Branches of the CPA in India, the inaugural session was addressed by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and Mr. R. Gujadhur of Mauritius the Vice-President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

The President delivered his inaugural address after the welcome speech by Dr. G. S. Dhillon.

A study on "The Commonwealth Parliaments", which was specially brought out for the occasion, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences, was released by the President, Shri Ahmed, at the inaugural function.

Thereafter, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi addressed the gathering.

The thanks-giving address on behalf of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association was delivered by the Hon'ble R. Gujadhur, Vice-President of the C.P.A.

Arrangements for the direct telecast of the inaugural function were made by the Delhi Television, and the All India Radio provided a running commentary.

Though the Conference was inaugurated in the Central Hall of Parliament House, the business sessions of the Conference were held at the newly constructed *Sansadiya Soudha*, (Parliament House Annexe) —a three-and-a-half crore rupee imposing

structure got ready will in time and dressed up specially for the Conference. To mark the occasion, the Vice-President of India, Shri B. D. Jatti, released a special postage stamp bearing a facsimile of the Parliament House Annexe at a special function held at the Parliament House Annexe Auditorium soon after the inaugural ceremony.

WELCOME ADDRESS BY
DR. THE HON'BLE G. S. DHILLON, M.P.,
SPEAKER OF LOK SABHA AND PRESIDENT
OF THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION AND PRESIDENT OF THE
INDIA BRANCH OF THE COMMONWEALTH
PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION

Mr. President, Mr. Vice-President, Madam Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am conscious of the rare honour as I rise on behalf of the Main Branch and the State Branches of the CPA in India to welcome the distinguished delegates and honoured guests assembled here this morning for our Twenty-first Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. Need I say how gratified we were when our invitation to have the present Conference in our country was accepted at the Sri Lanka Conference. This is the second time that we are privileged to host the Conference; earlier in 1957, you would recall, we were joint hosts with Sri Lanka and Pakistan.

We are honoured that we have with us our President, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed

to open this Conference. May I, on behalf of all of us, express our gratefulness to the President for his gracious presence here to inaugurate the Conference.

We are happy that this time a larger number of ladies have accompanied their husbands and lent colour and charm to the Conference. Let me say how welcome they are to this country and express the hope that they carry back with them very happy memories of their sojourn.

You will be glad to know that my worthy predecessor Sardar Hukam Singh, who has been the President of the India Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, has very kindly responded to my request and is here with us at the moment.

This Central Hall of Parliament where we are gathered is saturated with the spirit of history and sanctified by association with great moments in our national life. It was here that the Transfer of Power—the most peaceful ever in human history—took place at the historic midnight session on August 14-15, 1947; here was lived the high moment when India woke to freedom, when our beloved Prime Minister, late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke wistfully of his country's tryst with destiny. It was here that our leaders of the freedom struggle and other eminent men and women, distinguished in diverse fields of national life, gathered to fashion free India's charter of democratic adventure. It was here that the People of India gave unto themselves their Constitution establishing a Sovereign Democratic Re-

public based on the values of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

After the opening ceremony here, we shall, as you know, be moving for our Conference sessions to the *Sansadiya Soudha*, the new Parliament House Annexe, got ready just in time for our Conference—to be precise, just a fortnight ago. While planning this building we had kept in view that national and international parliamentary conferences would be held here. It is a propitious augury that the Conference Hall and Committee Rooms in this new building would be commissioned for the first time for the use of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference.

By the side of the Parliament House Annexe a new Parliament Library building, the largest of its kind in the East, is to be constructed soon. By the time that building is completed and commissioned, we may be already looking forward to once again playing host to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in this country!

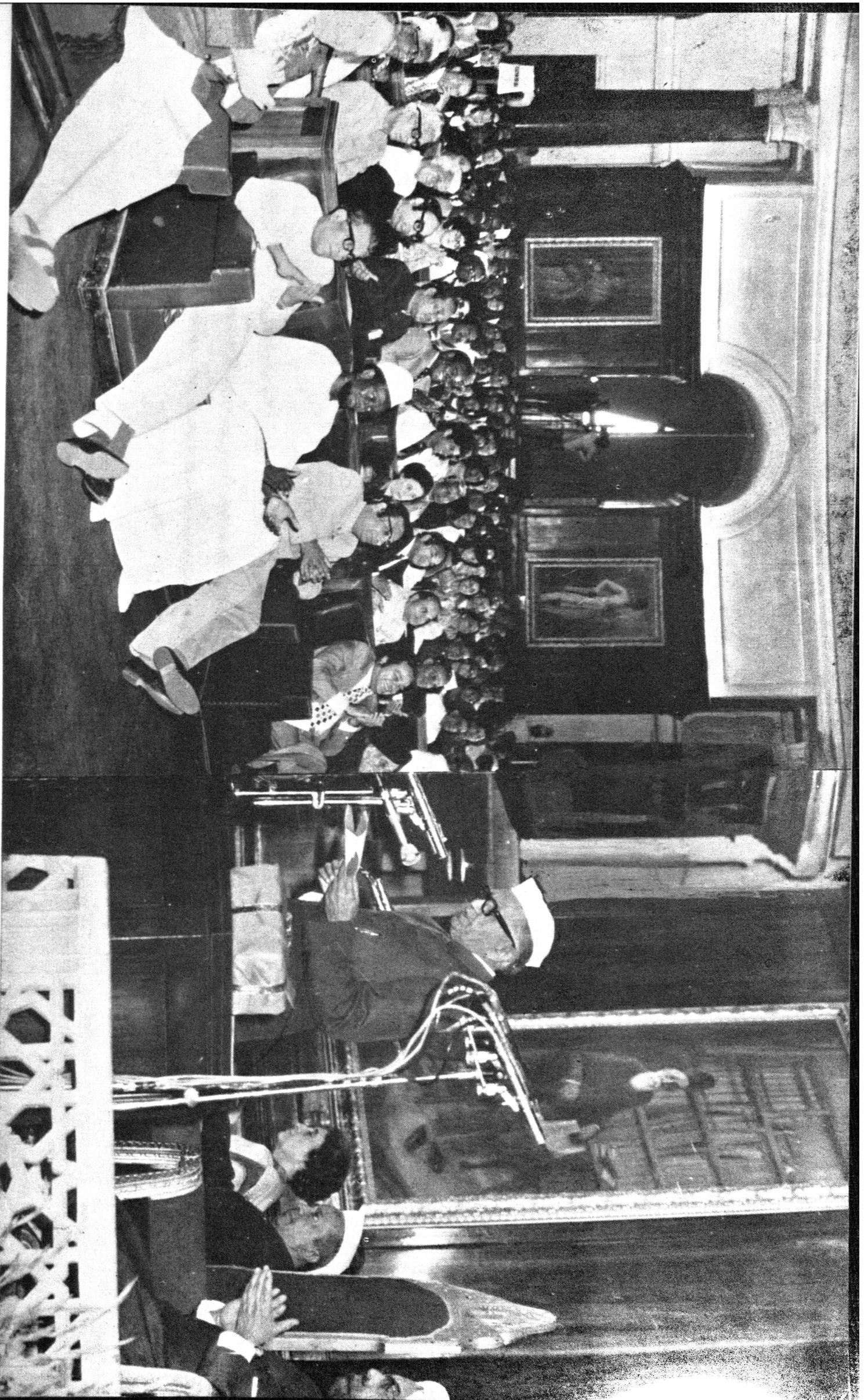
Political and parliamentary institutions all the world over are under tremendous pressure these days. The challenge which democracy faces at the present time is as to how far it can vindicate itself as an instrument of growth and social regeneration. We have always believed that the end-purpose of freedom itself and of democratic existence is the emancipation and betterment of the life of the common man as the foundation for an enduring social order. The ambition of the Father of the

Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was “to wipe every tear from every eye.”

In the hour of freedom, it would be recalled, India consciously opted for membership of the Commonwealth. That was because we value the Commonwealth—and its microcosm, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association—as a practical concretization of a concept very near to our hearts—*Vasudhaiva kutumbakam*—the whole world a family.

We in the Commonwealth are indeed a unique family. We represent a quarter of mankind across frontiers of race, language, religion, geography and ideology and are strung across six continents and five oceans. Between us, we comprehend a spectrum of human experience which is as rich as it is wide. We are held together by a common allegiance to certain basic values: belief in the liberty of the individual and in the dignity and equality of man, faith in the rule of law, non-aggression in international affairs and cooperation among nations. The lattice-work of mutual cooperation, at all levels and in all spheres, has served to promote a community of interests and outlook which could indeed be described as a kind of Commonwealth culture. Our Association, in which peoples' representatives foregather to think together and work together for the promotion of broad common objectives, provides an example of the way in which international affairs should be carried on.

With these words, may I request you, Sir, Mr. President to declare open this



President Ahmed inaugurating the Conference



The Prime Minister addressing the delegates at the Inaugural

Twenty-first Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. Befitting the occasion, the Secretary-General of Lok Sabha, Shri Shakhder has brought out a fascinating volume on Commonwealth Parliaments. I would, therefore, request you, Sir, Mr. President to release this volume, as well.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY
SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED
PRESIDENT OF INDIA

I am happy to be with you on the occasion of the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference which our country has the privilege to host for the second time after an interlude of eighteen years. I extend, on behalf of the people of India and on my own behalf, a hearty welcome to our distinguished guests, the eminent parliamentarians from different parts of the Commonwealth.

It is now generally recognised that genuine understanding and purposeful co-operation among nations provide the surest basis for lasting peace and progress of mankind. The first and foremost premise is that we must build the defences of peace in the minds and hearts of men. Doubtless, an equally fundamental premise of international peace and progress is that we must endeavour to build a better world. It is on these two premises, I believe, that the concept of the Commonwealth was anchored. It is because of the awareness of these basic premises that we in the Commonwealth cherish our unique

association, which has few parallels or precedents in history. For more than anything else, the Commonwealth is an essay in international understanding and cooperation and a remarkable experiment in international living and free and voluntary association among nations, based on mutual respect, a sincere desire to understand each other's view-points and problems, and cooperation in the common interests of their people. With its thirty-four independent member-States, spread all over the globe and together accounting for a quarter of the world's population, the Commonwealth provides an outstanding example of constructive multinational approach so vital to peace and progress in the present day world.

The common bonds which link the member-States of the contemporary Commonwealth are the ideals of universal peace and prosperity, democratic government and freedom, elimination of all forms of colonial domination and racial oppression and discrimination, and the progressive removal of wide economic disparities among nations. It is true that there are other international organizations working for similar ends and they are all making a valuable contribution in their respective spheres. Even so, the facts and circumstances of history have conferred on the Commonwealth certain natural advantages which make it an ideal institution for promoting cooperation in its own distinctive way among its member-nations.

The Commonwealth association is based on consultation, discussion and cooperation in various fields. It is a proof of the

continuing relevance and vitality of the Commonwealth that recent years have seen a notable expansion in such consultation and cooperation at both governmental and non-governmental levels and in many fields—economic, educational, technical, parliamentary, professional and so on. It is not only Heads of Government and Ministers and Parliamentarians who meet regularly; officials, experts, educators, lawyers, judges and practitioners in various other fields also come together to discuss matters of common interest to develop a common approach wherever possible and occasionally to resolve on common action. A working language which is widely understood in the Commonwealth and an awareness of shared traditions make for a special measure of facility and candour of communication at all these meetings. In the light of the happy experience of these fruitful contacts and joint endeavours in various fields, we may, I hope, look forward to concrete steps for further widening the area of consultation and cooperation among the member-countries in the coming years.

The Commonwealth has proved to be a flexible instrument and a dynamic and resilient institution. It draws strength from its geographical distances and cultural diversities; it manages to draw strength even from its relative lack of cohesive and close-knit organization. As has been pointed out, India's decision to continue in the Commonwealth after she became independent had a decisive effect on the further history of the Commonwealth; it paved the way to Commonwealth membership of the many Asian, African,

Caribbean and other nations which attained independence since 1947. Perhaps India also helped to keep the Commonwealth door open to the Republics in 1949, and for helping to devise the British Sovereign's new designation as the symbolic 'Head of the Commonwealth'—a designation fully in accord with the changed complexion of the Commonwealth as a free association of independent and sovereign nations.

On this occasion of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, my thoughts go to Jawaharlal Nehru, that indomitable fighter for our country's freedom, who was equally a man of vision dedicated to the ideals of world peace, peaceful co-existence and cooperation among nations. In a very real sense, along with that great and noble Prime Minister of Great Britain—Clement Attlee—Nehru was the builder of the modern Commonwealth. As in Nehru's days, India continues to value the Commonwealth link not merely because of past associations, but because it has the capacity to advance the larger world causes to which we are committed—world peace, international understanding and developmental cooperation among the peoples of the world and the elimination of the causes of tensions among nations. In the ultimate analysis, the Commonwealth will be judged by the contribution it makes to the cause of promoting human dignity and brotherhood.

Parliamentary system is more than an apparatus of government. It is a part of the political culture of human societies. Parliamentary system of Government epitomises the development of representative

institutions and their increasing responsibility and growing responsiveness. Our Constitution commits us in this country to the parliamentary system and to the ideal of building up an egalitarian society, based on social and economic justice and on recognition of individual liberty and freedom. I may add that in the conditions of our country, with its vast size and enormous population and its immense diversities of religions, customs and languages, democratic government and all that it implies, is not just a constitutional prescription, but is the most enduring foundation for a viable national framework.

The Commonwealth is a child of history. In its historical setting, it takes us back to the Magna Carta as well as to the radiant and ageless cultures of ancient civilisations. It reminds us of the continuous struggle of mankind for freedom and free institutions through the ages. In its sheer expanse, it transcends the constraints of geographical proximity. It shows how distances cease to deter when there is friendship and goodwill and common striving.

I am sure that the deliberations of this Conference will help us all gain deeper insights into the working of parliamentary institutions and will throw up useful ideas for strengthening these institutions and for their better and more effective working. I am glad that by its annual conference and other activities, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has been rendering a signal service to the great causes of democracy and international understanding and cooperation. Parliamentary

institutions are under constant review and reappraisal throughout the world. In recent years, there has been a considerable amount of research and a measure of conscious reform in the institutional framework and procedural modalities of parliamentary government. Your conference will, I am sure, be conducive to the cross-fertilisation of ideas and to careful examination of proposals for reforms.

Distinguished delegates, some of you might have come to our country earlier; for others, this may be their first visit. I am sure Dr. Dhillon, who presides over our Lok Sabha with such distinction, will enable you to see and know India—at any rate the more important facets of our national life—first hand.

BOOK ON THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTS

Before I conclude, I may mention that the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha, Shri S. L. Shaktiher, has brought out for this occasion an excellent study on Commonwealth Parliaments containing valuable contributions from distinguished Presiding Officers, Secretaries-General of various Commonwealth Parliaments and from senior officers of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I learn that this is the first time that a comprehensive study on Commonwealth Parliaments has been brought out on the occasion of an annual conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I am happy to release this interesting and useful work. I

have great pleasure in inaugurating the Annual Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference. I wish you success in your deliberations and have no doubt that your endeavours will be fruitful and constructive. I also extend to everyone of you my warm good wishes and hope that your sojourn in this country will be a happy experience. JAI HIND.

ADDRESS BY
SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

Mr. President, Mr. Vice-President, Mr. Speaker, Vice-President of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Your Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to be in this gathering of eminent Commonwealth parliamentarians. There must be many in this hall, amongst whom I feel privileged to include myself, who participated in the struggle for the freedom of their countries.

It is apt that this Association should meet in our capital city which witnessed the signing of instruments marking the beginning of the end of colonialism. Here was born the singular and remarkable concept of a new Commonwealth which owes much to the genius of Jawaharlal Nehru and that of the Indian people which he symbolised. He wanted the new relationship to be based not on animosity and

bitter memories but on forgiveness and friendship. The special feature of the Association is the voluntary coming together of countries: of diverse continents and cultural, economic and social lifestyles. It is not bound by any stated or unstated political obligations. It is neither confined to any particular system nor dominated by any one individual or nation. It has proved a useful forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences.

Mr. Ramphal's election as Secretary-General is itself an example of the developing role of the Commonwealth. I offer him our greetings and wish him success in his task. We, on our part, assure him our full support and co-operation.

For all the harm and agony it caused, the Imperial connection brought us acquaintance with Europe's political and scientific ideas. India has always been known for her assimilative faculty, for the ability to transmute others' experience into her own. In framing our Constitution we may have drawn upon the experience of some Commonwealth countries and of other democracies. But what brought our Constitution into being and provided the motive power for its functioning is our own will and our own spirit, shaped through long years of struggle and suffering.

That struggle was possibly the greatest mass movement the world has known. We had no money, no resources, no weapons. It was one of the miracles of our age that a people humiliated, enveloped in misery

and hopelessness were roused out of their apathy by Mahatma Gandhi and imbued with a sense of purpose which cut across divisions of status, religion, language or sex. India became free because we willed and worked to be free. In 1922, Mahatma Gandhi said that Swaraj (or self-government) "will not be a gift of the British Parliament. It will be a declaration of India's full expression. That it will be expressed through an Act of Parliament is true. But it will be merely a courteous ratification of the declared wish of the Indian nation." And that is what happened in 1947. It was an act of reconciliation and statesmanship on both sides. The President has just referred to Mr. Attlee's significant role.

The involvement of so many millions in the national struggle made it inevitable that free India should shun any path reserved for a few. It had to be participatory democracy on the broadest base. We opted for this system not to emulate Britain or because the framers of the Indian Constitution were unaware of other forms of democracy, but because it was best suited to the Indian reality. It was a deliberate choice and was determined by the non violent nature of our fight, by our preference for peaceful and orderly change and by our conviction that the people must have the deciding voice.

There was an opinion in favour of limited franchise, based on educational or property qualifications. But would this have been fair to the masses of our people who owned little or no property? And can literacy, important though it is, and con-

sciously being extended, itself be regarded as synonymous with character and political discretion? We felt that the oral tradition of great antiquity and of values handed down from generation to generation, gave our people cultural literacy and depth of judgment. The objective of our freedom movement had been not merely political liberation but the eradication of poverty and disparity, and the breaking down of the outmoded apparatus of superstition, privilege and hierarchy. Adult franchise is the most effective instrument for people to safeguard their rights. Within a few years of the promulgation of the Constitution, we also revived our ancient democratic tradition of rural self-government by which Panchayats or as we call selected village councils exercise a variety of political functions at the grass roots level.

Democracy is a generic term. Forms of democracy vary in each country, in the light of its own history and national character, its size, the diversity or homogeneity of its population, the state of its economic development and other such conditioning factors. In the post-colonial period, many members of the Commonwealth adopted the British model of Government, but later adapted it to their own circumstances. Constitutions are not static. Even as our own was being passed, Jawaharlal Nehru with remarkable perspicacity had this to say: "A free India will see the bursting forth of the energy of a mighty nation. What it will do and what it will not, I do not know, but I do know that it will not consent to be bound down by anything. Some people imagine, that

what we do now, may not be touched for 10 years or 20 years. . . . I should like the House to consider that we are on the eve of revolutionary changes, revolutionary in every sense of the word because when the spirit of a nation breaks its bonds, it functions in peculiar ways and it should function in strange ways. It may be that the Constitution this House may frame may not satisfy that free India. This House cannot bind down the next generation, or the people who will duly succeed us in this task."

With far-sighted wisdom, Jawaharlal Nehru was asserting that Constitutions are made for peoples, not the other way around, and that democracy is not a rigid and immutable concept. Sometimes nations tend to think that their type of democracy is of universal applicability. They forget that it evolved over time and that what was good enough for the founders is no longer good enough for them. Conceivably, their future generations will re-examine their systems in the light of new historic conditions.

Small countries, which have the advantage of ethnic, religious and linguistic cohesiveness and of a long period of stability, cannot easily visualise the tensions that continuously arise in our land. We have 22 States and 9 Union Territories most of which are larger than the bigger nation-States of the world. (By the way the total population of all the other countries represented in this conference is just about a third of India's). We have almost every religious faith in the world, more than a dozen major languages with their own

scripts and ancient literatures and widely differing levels of economic development. Regional loyalties and urges must constantly be balanced with the need to maintain and strengthen national unity, integrity and stability. Through its federal provisions, our Constitution gives our States a great deal of power, but it also endows the Centre with authority to deal effectively with any external danger or internal disturbance.

In the last 25 years we have withstood more than one military challenge, economic crisis and threat of secession. Our five general elections have demonstrated the value of free vote and the maturity of our electorate (which, in the 1971 Parliamentary election, numbered 274 million). The people have voted for secularism even though it was believed and propagated that Indian politics were dominated by religious factions and sentiments. They have rejected appeals of the extreme right and of the extreme left, of reactionaries and of ultra revolutionaries, and have supported the democratic middle path to socialist development.

At the time of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America, there was no adult franchise nor recognition of the rights of workers. Industries were built and capital was accumulated by the crass exploitation of men, women and children of their own countries as well as of others across the seas. The need for skilled labour introduced education which, in turn, brought demands for better conditions and greater equality. However, by then the

economic base was strong enough to meet these demands. In India and other newly free countries, this so-called historical process has been reversed. With political freedom, long suppressed desires and needs surfaced in the shape of clamour for self-expression and economic betterment. And the people were impatient although we were still very far from any capacity to satisfy them. We did know of systems which had succeeded in accelerating economic growth through regimentation. Yet we chose the more difficult path of change through civil liberties. In twenty-five years our experience has not disproved our belief. Democracy has not inhibited or slowed down our industrialisation or modernisation. Poverty could not go in a few years and there are many outward signs of it. Much is wanting in our system of distribution. We are conscious of our failings. Nevertheless, there is remarkable progress in agricultural production and the strengthening and diversification of our industrial base. When compared to the achievements of authoritarian regimes, we can claim that there is no significant difference in economic growth.

The ushering in of a democratic system, the adoption of a free Constitution, the establishment of a parliamentary Government do not necessarily guarantee consensus and order. The need for vigilance is constant. Not everyone may agree on democracy, not everyone may understand its functioning, not everyone may wish to see it win through. Where a strong mass party has not only succeeded in winning freedom but goes on to inspire the overwhelming majority of people with its vision and

ability, frustrations may grow among the other contenders. Democracy is not just an ideal or an objective. It is a method through which a country tries to manage its affairs. In a developing society this inevitably means taking measures for social and economic transformation which upset one section or another. Any system can prevail only so long as it keeps pace with changing conditions and proves its ability to solve the problems of its people. When the majority are struggling for survival, will they tolerate luxury for a few, either material or in the form of licence to do what they wish? The essential is: to what extent a party or its alternatives can truly reflect the wishes and aspirations of the people. Over the years some democracies have evolved a polarisation in which only two effective parties are in active political existence. But does a deviation from this rule dilute the essence of democracy? The inability to accede to power by democratic means may lead some parties to offer unconstitutional or extra-constitutional challenges. For young democracies, it is imperative to guard against such developments. It then becomes an onerous, if painful, duty to counter them by constitutional remedies. The responsibility for preserving democracy is not confined to the ruling party but devolves equally on the parties of the opposition and the people as a whole.

Social and economic problems are far more complex today than in the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth when the theoretical framework of Liberalism and Marxism were developed. Even in Britain and the United States there is debate

whether the framework of their democracy will withstand the new economic pressures. None of us dwells only in one country. We are all citizens of a common humanity. In what is termed a shrinking world, technological, economic and political forces are global transcending national boundaries. Theories of political organisation and economic management have not wholly caught up with this reality. Some situations are rather puzzling. If there is dust because roads are not tarred or cemented, it is a sign of backwardness. But if the dust comes from factories, it is a sign of progress. If, for instance, millions of Pounds worth of food are destroyed in Europe it is advanced economic management. But if some of our grains or other foodstuffs are damaged because of lack of resources to build silos or have refrigeration, it is inefficiency.

It is because of our long national experience that India put forward the idea of co-existence. There cannot be harmony without the acceptance of the right of even the smallest nation to follow its own path. But independence does not mean isolation. We must work for inter-dependence on the basis of equality to advance the cause of understanding, cooperation and peace.

Our age is one of uncertainty. Everywhere there is a searching for fulfilment. Welcome to India, a strange land, strange not only to those who have come from abroad but even to many who have lived here all their lives. My father, steeped in India's history and culture, spent a lifetime discovering her. India is a world in herself—in space and time. You can see

any one part and because of its vastness consider it the whole, yet it remains only a part. The convergence of centuries and the interplay of the clinging past with the transient present and the ever-pressing future is even more difficult to comprehend. As there is unity in diversity, so is there simplicity in our complexity. This simplicity eludes those who cannot think beyond analytical frameworks and pre-conceived notions. Yet impatient with the complexity they tend towards a superficial and oversimplified view of issues and events. We wish not merely to satisfy the greater comforts of our people but to liberate them for creative and contemplative pursuits. We believe, as Mahatma Gandhi taught, that rights flow from duty well done. We believe that the freedom of each man is inseparable from that of his fellow. Inescapably this implies that within his freedom and the bounds of duty he may develop at his own pace and in his own way, be different yet suffer no discrimination.

Through all the ups and downs of our long history, its cycles of fortune and misfortune, its moments of liberty and bondage, we have never been beggared of our spirit which we see as the quintessential humanness of man. We conceive of a society that is in harmony with itself and its environs; of a world that is rid of conflict and busied in the great arts of peace. In our world-view all turbulence ends in order, all conflict ends in resolution, all travail ends in tranquillity.

And man emerges and lives on for larger purposes. That is our unceasing quest

THANKS-GIVING ADDRESS BY
THE HON'BLE R. GUJADHUR, VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH
PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION

Mr. President, Mr. Vice-President, Madam Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, Your Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

The tradition of our Association confers on its Vice-President the privilege of proposing a vote of thanks on occasions such as this and it is of special personal significance that I should be discharging this responsibility in New Delhi. It was from India that many years ago my grandfather set out to seek his fortunes in my homeland Mauritius. I am a Mauritian first and last and while my loyalty to Mauritius can never be shaken, I always cherish the fact that it is to this great country that I owe my origin.

Mr. President, we deeply appreciate the honour you have done us by being with us here this morning to declare open the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. We have watched your career with much interest and we are conscious of the distinguished part you have played in the political life of this country. As seasoned politician, you bring to the exalted office you hold with such distinction a combination of inward wisdom and outward understanding. Your speech today will be something we will long remember. Begum Abida Ahmed, we are grateful to you for being here to grace this occasion.

Mr. President and Begum Ahmed, on behalf of all of us here and of the Association's Members all over the Commonwealth, I thank you for your gracious presence and you, Mr. President, for the sentiments embodied in your speech in declaring this Conference open.

Madam Prime Minister, your participation in this ceremony despite the multifarious duties of a Prime Minister invests it with special importance. If I may be permitted to strike a personal note again, I recall with much pleasure my meeting with you when in 1970 you did my country the honour of visiting it. You were the first Prime Minister from abroad to address the Members of our Legislature after independence. You addressed stirring words to us and I quote: "*But we do not think democracy means merely the casting of votes at election time but participation of all sections of the people in the whole process of development and progress, no less than in political decisions.*" and this is the philosophy that guides us too, in Mauritius.

With your charm that captured our hearts and your undoubted ability that impressed itself on our minds, you left behind in my country's people an indelible memory of a great leader of a great nation. Your illuminating speech this morning will be a source of inspiration to us in our deliberations at this Conference.

Mr. Vice-President, we are pleased indeed to welcome you to our midst. As the holder of your high office, you happen

also to be the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and, as such, one of us—a Parliamentarian. Your presence here encourages us. I thank you.

The meeting that you, Mr. President, have just inaugurated is arranged to further the aim of our Association: to promote friendship and cooperation among Parliamentarians of the Commonwealth. Friendship is indeed something we all need and never in history has it been more vital at an international level than today.

The development of the Commonwealth has been the means of forging links of friendship among a large section of the world's population. I am reminded of a conversation at a recent cocktail party when a gentleman from a non-Commonwealth country, after imbibing of some hospitality, was heard to ask a citizen of a new Commonwealth country what benefits Commonwealth membership brought. He was given a patient and painstaking list of advantages, tangible and intangible. "But", he asked again, "how does Britain benefit? Whenever we wish to discuss anything with Britain, be it trade or any other matter, Britain will invariably bring up the interest of the Commonwealth." The Commonwealth man did his best once more, but the questioner was not satisfied. The Commonwealth citizen clinched the conversation: "One does not look for reasons, advantages and benefits in friendship, does one?"

And friendship is what the Commonwealth and the CPA are all about. I make no

apology for repeating what I said before, that friendship among nations is what this troubled world most needs. At this meeting of representatives from nearly one hundred legislatures we live and eat and travel and talk together. We get a chance to see the way the other man works and thinks and how and why he thinks, the way he does. This is how friendships are formed and our Association in this way makes a contribution in some measure to bringing about greater goodwill among large sections of the people who guide the destinies of their respective nations.

The purpose and continued existence of the Commonwealth have been questioned. People have time and again claimed to foresee its disintegration but it has survived and in recent years acquired new strength. And here I must pay tribute to the work of the Commonwealth Secretariat and to the former Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith, who has just relinquished office after a decade of tireless effort in the cause of the Commonwealth. During that time, the Commonwealth concept has begun to have a new meaning and acquired a new dimension in the lives of the peoples of the Commonwealth. We are all very pleased that Mr. Smith's successor is here with us. He comes to the office with a reputation already made as an outstanding Minister in Guyana. Many of us have heard of the skill with which he, as spokesman for the whole Caribbean region, conducted negotiations on their behalf. While wishing Mr. Smith a happy retirement, we wish Mr. Ramphal every success in the task he has undertaken and

hope that under his guidance the Commonwealth will prove to be of even greater assistance and value to the people of our countries and to the cause of peace and prosperity in the world.

Dr. Dhillon is an old friend. Meeting him is always a refreshing experience. His is a familiar face in many international gatherings and he has played no small role in promoting the objects of our Association. Just now he has the unique distinction of heading two international unions of parliamentarians, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and our own Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. He plays, too, a leading role at the Commonwealth Speakers' Conference.

To Dr. Dhillon has fallen the task of heading the team that is responsible for the organisation of this Conference. I have been here since Wednesday and I have been able to see something of the enormous amount of work done by him and by the Secretaries-General of the Houses of Parliament, Shri Shakhder and Shri Banerjee, supported with untiring vigour by Shri Patnaik.

On behalf of all of us present, I must thank the Indian Branches for their kind invitation to us to meet here and for the lavish hospitality we are enjoying.

It has been the Association's good fortune to meet on occasion in a brand new Conference Centre or Parliament building. This we did in Malaysia in 1963, in Trinidad and Tobago in 1969 and in Malawi in 1972. And we shall be the first

organisation to use the magnificent Parliament House Annexe.

But it is an auspicious start to our deliberations that we should have our first formal meeting in this historic and splendid Hall in which modern independent India was born, with the Father of Nation smiling benignly upon us and the heroes of the Indian Nation, as great as any country can lay claim to, all around us. Incidentally, I happened to be present in the Hall at that historical and memorable moment.

Next year it will be the turn of my country to take on the role that India is now playing. Mauritius is honoured that the General Council has been good enough to accept the invitation that we extended to the 22nd Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference to meet there. I must confess that having seen India's magnificent programme I am a little diffident of what we may be able to achieve, but I can give you one assurance on behalf of the people and government of my country: the welcome you will receive will be as warm and as sincere as any of you have had in any part of the world.

In the pear-shaped island of Mauritius, you will see among its 8,50,000 people living on 720 square miles a considerable diversity of races, people of European, of African and of mixed origin, Indo-Mauritians and Sino-Mauritians, living in a striking state of harmony which we could claim with some justification to be example to the world of peaceful co-existence.

Those of you whom we shall have the pleasure of receiving in our country (and I do hope to see as many of you as possible), will be visiting an island fitted for both work and relaxation, encircled by a coral shelf barrier which protects, within inland deep blue or bottle green lagoons of startling purity, its luscious loveliness with a delicate veil of foamy lacework. The calm waters of the lagoons around the island are bordered by smooth beaches of white coral sand. I shall permit myself a word of advice to delegates not to forget their swimsuits.

In our beautiful island paradise, we hope to show you how under the inspiring leadership of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, our esteemed Prime Minister, we are trying to bring to our economic and social activities the benefits of modern science and technology.

The discussions at our Conference will soon begin. We shall, among other things, be discussing aspects of the parliamentary form of government. Let us exchange views regarding the manner in which it is expedient to uphold parliamentary ways of life, parliamentary traditions of democracy but first and foremost to ensure a necessary political stability, which is a *sine qua non* condition for collective freedom and economic success. Each country working according to the exigencies of its own interest in as much as experience has by now shown that democracy is not a ready-made commodity which can be applied with uniformity in all the countries of the Commonwealth. In spite of the great diversity in the

political system of member countries of the Commonwealth it is nevertheless by general consensus of opinion that we, at these meetings, exchange views and some time even agree to disagree.

Ladies & Gentlemen, I hope and pray that God will guide us in our deliberations.

Thank you.

**SPEECH AT THE
RELEASE OF COMMEMORATIVE STAMP BY
SHRI B. D. JATTI, VICE-PRESIDENT OF
INDIA**

Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, Hon'ble Minister of Communications, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy to be in your midst at this function for the release of the special postage stamp which our Posts and Telegraphs Department have so thoughtfully brought out to commemorate the holding of the Twenty-first Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in our country.

This stamp, if I may say so, is a symbol of the importance and value that our country attaches to the Commonwealth and to its great ideals of peace, democracy and friendship and cooperation among the member-nations to their mutual benefit and to the benefit of the world at large. Unique as the Commonwealth is as an association of independent and sovereign nations, we, in India, look at it and prize it as a conscious attempt to translate into

action the concept of the brotherhood of man held aloft in the *Upanishads* by the *Rishis*, the great Seers of our ancient past.

We are grateful to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association for agreeing to hold the Conference in our country and to the distinguished delegates from all parts of the Commonwealth who have come all the way to participate in the Conference. Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences, like the present one, have an importance and a place of their own in the scheme of consultation and voluntary cooperation, which is so characteristic of the Commonwealth. By bringing together the elected representatives of the member-nations for an intimate and purposive

sharing of views and experiences, these Conferences contribute significantly to the promotion of understanding and friendship among their countries and better appreciation of the working of parliamentary institutions and the values of democracy.

I congratulate our Posts and Telegraphs Department for bringing out this fine stamp benefitting the occasion. It bears, appropriately, a facsimile of this building, *Sansadiya Soudha*, as we call it, which we got specially ready in time to serve as the venue for the present Conference. I am happy to release the stamp.

Thank you.

More than anything else, the Commonwealth is an essay in international understanding and co-operation and a remarkable experiment in international living and a free and voluntary association among nations, based on mutual respect, a sincere desire to understand each other's viewpoints and problems, and cooperation in the common interests of their people.

FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED
October 28, 1975

3. Proceedings

SOME OF the subjects on the Agenda* given below were discussed in the Plenary Sessions of the Conference while some others were discussed in Panels/Committees constituted for the purpose:

I. *The Commonwealth and World Security*

- (i) The Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace
- (ii) Developments in South East Asia
- (iii) Africa South of the Sahara and relationships with Rhodesia and South Africa
- (iv) Europe and the countries around the Mediterranean.

II. *World Energy Crisis*

III. *Building a New International Economic Order*

- (i) World population growth and food resources
- (ii) Commodity prices, terms of trade and indexation
- (iii) Producer or consumer country cartels and Regional Economic Groupings

(iv) **Multinational Corporations**

(v) **Educational and Technological Aid**

(vi) **Problems of debt repayment for developing countries.**

IV. *Social Problems*

- (i) The Social effects of unemployment, the growth of violence, unrest among youth and drug problems
- (ii) Preservation of the environment, the control of pollution and protection of wild life.

V. *Challenges to Parliament*

- (i) Internal and External threats to the authority and prestige of Parliament
- (ii) Ministers, Members and conflicts of interest.

VI. *The Commonwealth as an Instrument of Social, Political and Economic Transformation*

*For detailed Agenda datewise see Appendix III

A brief resume of the discussions held on each subject is given below:

I. THE COMMONWEALTH AND WORLD SECURITY

(i) *The Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace*: This subject was discussed at the Plenary Session of the Conference in the afternoon of October 28, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion :

Dr. The Hon. G. S. Dhillon (Speaker of Lok Sabha and President of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association) *in the Chair*.

Hon. G. A. Regan (Chairman of the Executive Committee).

Sir Robin Vanderfelt (Secretary-General of CPA).

Hon. K. Raghuramaiah (India).

Hon. James Johnson (U.K.)

Hon. (Mrs.) Mary Dorothy Batchelor (New Zealand).

Hon. Raouf Bundhun (Mauritius).

Hon. R. C. P. Moore (Grenada).

Hon. B. Ramsaroop (Guyana).

Hon. G. G. Swell (India).

Hon. K. Jeyakkody (Sri Lanka).

Hon. Mohammad Baitullah (Bangladesh).

Hon. Julius Silverman (United Kingdom).

Dr. The Hon. Henry Austin (India).

Hon. Bernard Soysa (Sri Lanka).

Hon. H. C. Wariithi (Kenya).

Hon. Nicholson Stravens (Seychelles).

Rt. Hon. Lord Shepherd (U.K.).

Hon. S. Tillekeratne (Sri Lanka).

THE CHAIRMAN welcomed the delegates and said: We have on agenda varied subjects. We did not have any formal resolution in the CPA. But the discussion should move more objectively. It was hoped that the delegates would make their speeches, realising that we belonged to this great organization. We might differ, but we should differ with restraint and respect for the other's point of view. Ultimately, such ordered and restrained differences led to proper understanding of each other's points of view which helped in arriving at a consensus.

He then requested the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Hon. G. A. Regan to formally inaugurate the Conference.

HON. G. A. REGAN, *Chairman of the Executive Committee*: Speaking on behalf of the delegates, he could say that they were very happy with the high quality of the facilities that had been afforded by the Government of India and by the CPA Branch in hosting this Conference. They had provided the delegates with facilities beyond the expectations of any of them. It was a splendid experience.

The importance attached by all the nations in having this Conference here was indicated by the high calibre of the delegations that had been sent by all the participating nations. There was no doubt that it would be the most successful Conference in this splendid hall which would be utilised for the Plenary Sessions.

He was happy to declare the Conference open.

SIR ROBIN VANDERFELT (*Secretary-General of CPA*) briefly explained to the delegates the seating arrangements in the Committee Room and use of sound equipment. He also explained to them the procedure that would be followed for calling the speakers, the length of speeches and so on.

HON. K. RAGHURAMAIAH (*India*) initiating the discussion said: The countries that had experienced colonial rule were fully aware of the many vestiges left behind such as were symbolised by the bases littered from the coast of Australia to Africa. In addition, the great powers had been parading their naval and air might across the Indian Ocean under the guise of alliances and regional exercises. Although the apparent purpose was to keep the trade routes open to all nations, the real purpose was to give themselves a stake in the Indian Ocean so as to maintain a parity with their possible strategic enemies. The latest example was the determination of the U.S.A. to develop and strengthen Diego Garcia as their base, able to accommodate submarines and aircraft carriers and refuel KC 135 aircraft.

Quoting from the U.S. Congressional hearings, he said that it was clear that the U.S. presence in Diego Garcia was meant to provide capability to influence events in that area. There could not be a greater example of the self-assuming role they were playing. One base provoked another and bases after bases came up creating great danger to peace through carving out of different fields of colonial power. What was happening in Diego Garcia was a more

civilised form of gun diplomacy of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The nuclear fishes which would come out of Diego Garcia were capable of swallowing at the rate of one continent per day.

The question of allowing the Indian Ocean to remain a zone of peace had twice come up before the Non-aligned Nations Conferences at Cairo and Lusaka. It was also taken up before the U.N. which passed a resolution in that regard. But the big powers were always generous enough to allow resolutions to be passed for they knew that nothing would result therefrom and their bases would be secure.

We had been insisting that a useful purpose would be served if the great powers entered into a meaningful dialogue with the concerned littoral states for eliminating their military presence, but that had not happened.

We had suffered enough in the past. India had the experience of 1971 when a dow of the U.S. Seventh Fleet flew into the Indian Ocean to spread peace. Later, we had had this experience at the time of the West Asian crisis.

We wanted no bases of any kind by any country in the Indian Ocean. Progeny would never forgive us if we overlooked this new kind of colonialism. It was not even in the interest of those big powers themselves. World history had shown that great empires had become impoverished countries. The neo-colonial empires would not reap a better fruit than the old ones. Let them learn a lesson from history and co-operate in building an era of peace. He

appealed to all the Commonwealth countries to work for the implementation of the U.N. Assembly Resolution.

HON. JAMES JOHNSON (*U.K.*): It was unrealistic at this moment to pioneer the project of inviting great powers to consult with littoral states unless the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. got together in a detente. It was also unrealistic at this stage to designate the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace before accommodating the legitimate interests of outside countries which were not littoral but which had enormous interests in those waters.

It was quite fantastic and quite unreal to think that one could bring about this change in these waters without the support of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

The Government of U.K. had agreed to a modest addition to American facilities in Diego Garcia. It did not include any specialised facilities for nuclear powered vessels.

The question of the contract labour which had left the plantations due to the clearing of some of those Islands had been settled amicably.

Condemning the Kitty Hawk or any other ship going to Bahrain, he said that the Soviets were equally to blame for exacerbating the situation. Their presence had increased steadily during last five years and they had more warships in the Indian Ocean than either the U.K. or the U.S.A.

HON. (MRS.) MARY DOROTHY BATCHELOR (*New Zealand*): New Zealand had always

looked with special sympathy on the proposal to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

Despite all the negotiations and consultations over the last 20 years, stockpiles of nuclear weapons were continuing to grow. Many countries had taken the view that if it was impossible to get rid of all nuclear weapons it might at least be possible to keep them out of some parts of the world. The Government of New Zealand had consulted their neighbours and had found them to be sympathetic to the idea of establishing a nuclear free zone in the South Pacific. The General Assembly of the U.N.O. should adopt a resolution calling for the endorsement of the idea and inviting the countries concerned to consult about ways and means of giving effect to it.

The Commonwealth had a responsibility to ensure that the Indian Ocean remained a zone of peace and the South Pacific remained a nuclear free zone. It was not enough to agree with a principle; action must also be taken to ensure that the principle became a reality.

HON. RAOUF BUNDHUN (*Mauritius*): The British Government paid to the Mauritius Government £3 million for taking away the island of Diego Garcia from Mauritius. Now according to a press report, United States had provided Britain with about £5 million so that Diego Garcia could be used by the American Navy.

Although the delegate from United Kingdom had said that British Government had received an assurance from the American

Government that there would not be any nuclear bases in Diego Garcia, it had been reported in the press that U.S.A. wanted to spend 175 million dollars to extend a jet runway in the island and to make other improvements. The enlarged runway would enable B-52 bombers to operate from Diego Garcia. It was well-known that B-52 bombers carried nuclear weapons. Such a naval base would be the beginning of an escalation that would lead to an all-out arms race in the Indian Ocean area.

Whether we were in Ceylon, India, East Africa, Kenya, Tanzania or in Mauritius, we the people of this area and our future generations should be allowed to live in peace.

HON. R. GUJADHUR *in the Chair*

HON. R. C. P. MOORE (*Grenada*): Peace in the world depended not on weapons but on man. If we trained our youth in love and peace, there could be no war regardless of whatever weapons the different countries might possess. Let people be taught to live in harmony with each other.

HON. B. RAMSAROOP (*Guyana*): Guyana had consistently supported the concept of zones of peace in the world. Firstly, because to the extent this concept was implemented, the policy of progressive disarmament would succeed; secondly, the littoral and hinterland states must be free from any semblance of interference by 'Big Powers' masquerading as protectors; thirdly, no single factor could bring about greater development for smaller nations than peace.

An analysis of the present situation in Indian Ocean revealed an interesting power struggle which could develop into a theatre of Sino-Soviet-US Military rivalry which might eventually lead to confrontation and to global conflict. The only way out lay in such action as could be taken by Commonwealth non-aligned and other like-minded states themselves at a regional level.

A Conference might be convened of the littoral states to consider an effective programme of action for such regional co-operation which might create other regional systems of collective security.

HON. G. G. SWELL (*India*): An outstanding aspect of this discussion on Indian Ocean as a zone of peace or as a new area of conflict conceived in the context of super power rivalry was its irrelevancy to correct perspective of the prevailing world situation. International events of the last three years should have made it clear that regional peace depended not on a super power *pax Romana* but on accommodation and mutual adjustment of the countries in a region concerned and that the effects of a super power to mother-hen other countries are a futile and ridiculous exercise. The present trends are clearly towards detente, interdependence and cooperation. There was no relevance or the rationale of an arms race here or anywhere else in the world in this context of world perspective. There are super power military presences in the Indian Ocean and despite our protests and successive resolutions of the United Nations, an arms race within the area was escalating. However, owing to

certain cussedness of human nature, an utter irrelevance had been turned into a deadly reality.

The entire question centres round the presence of super powers in the Indian Ocean, and impartial documents of the U.N. indicate that U.S.A. were the first to enter the Indian Ocean for military purposes and it was they who, over the last three decades, had been steadily increasing their profile. In contrast to this, the U.N. documents and reports said that Soviet naval presence came much after the American presence and it was largely of a responsive nature and there had not been sufficient evidence to substantiate that Soviet Union had acquired bases in the Indian Ocean.

As for ourselves, we wanted both the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. to scale down their military presences to zero. But the problem would never be resolved unless its nature was unravelled and its solution lay somewhere on a proper understanding of the objectives of the United States.

HON. K. JEYAKKODY (*Sri Lanka*): Several conferences had decided that there should be peace in the Indian Ocean. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka had moved in 1971 that the Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace and this resolution was passed unanimously at the Non-aligned Conference. In spite of that, they had not made much headway. It was a matter of great regret that much progress had not been made in the matter of disarmament or declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The great powers ought not to use

this area for their own political as well as military advantages. Almost every one of the States adjoining the Indian Ocean wished to live in peace.

Although it might not be possible to lay any sanctions on any country to prevent armaments, we could unanimously, by a moral effort, by moral sanctions, persuade those countries to stop this arms race.

HON. MOHAMMAD BAITULLAH (*Bangladesh*): The question of the Indian Ocean being a zone of peace had attracted global attention and the countries likely to be directly affected by the consequences of a military build-up in this area were really perturbed over this issue. Bangladesh too shared this anxiety as a small peace-loving country and wanted peace not only in the Indian Ocean but everywhere in the world. His country would always support any genuine move that aimed at bringing peace and tranquillity and minimising tension in this region and elsewhere.

HON. JULIUS SILVERMAN (*U.K.*): The construction of Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean was both morally wrong and politically foolish. The people of the area objected to it. It was ridiculous on the part of great powers, whoever they were, to say that they would introduce this race in the thick of such opposition by all the littoral powers. The Cambodian and Vietnam wars had proved that it was not the military hardware which was the main fact in deciding the results of wars today. It was the feelings of concerned men and women, which had to be considered.

DR. THE HON. HENRY AUSTIN (*India*): India and other littoral states near Diego Garcia knew that the beginning of Diego Garcia was the beginning of another Vietnam. That was why India, Sri Lanka and other nations had raised this matter in Cairo, in the UN and at Lusaka Conference. A resolution was passed at the UN declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Even then the United States was going ahead with its move. U.K. could not be exonerated in this matter. If U.K. was genuinely concerned about peace in the world, what was the urgency for U.K. to lease out this particular area to the U.S.A.?

The people of India and other littoral states felt that Diego Garcia was nothing but consolidation of military power and that peace was going to be threatened if building of bases was not stopped. If a war started in this part of the world, the efforts being made for economic development and for ameliorating the lot of the millions would receive a serious set-back.

DR. THE HON. G. S. DHILLON *in the Chair*

HON. BERNARD SOYSA (*Sri Lanka*): The subject of Indian Ocean as a peace zone should be judged in the light of the new situation that had developed in South Asia and South-East Asia since the last discussion on the subject in Sri Lanka.

There was manifestation of big power politics in the Indian Ocean spreading its tentacles on a global scale. The big power politics did not take into account the

feelings, aspirations and interests of the people who lived in that area. The developing countries in that region should take their destiny in their own hands. They should discuss this matter in a Round Table Conference for the purpose of seeking a solution.

It was useless merely trying to demilitarize Diego Garcia. Let us recognise the politics behind it and adjust our minds to facing up that question. Let us rely upon our own strength which would ultimately bring us victory in this struggle.

HON. H. C. WARIITHI (*Kenya*): Kenya supported the idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The Kenyans had a common problem with all those countries which had their coast siding the Indian Ocean. Our Government had always expressed the desire that the Indian Ocean should be left without being interfered by the outside powers. It was difficult to agree that whatever the U.S.A., the U.K., the U.S.S.R. or any other power was trying to do in that area was for the benefit of that area. What the developing countries in that area needed most was money for development. If the big powers wanted to assist them, they could provide assistance in a number of ways.

HON. NICHOLSON STRAVENS (*Seychelles*): The movement regarding Indian Ocean as a zone of peace deserved to be supported. The people of Seychelles would not like to see big powers in that area. They depended much upon the Ocean. Too much of movement in their waters would scare the fishery and they would starve.

RT. HON. LORD SHEPHERD (U.K.): We shared the sense of this Conference in discussing the Indian Ocean and seeking to create within it a freedom not only from nuclear weapons but all other forms of military equipment.

Our country wanted disarmament, not just in the Indian Ocean; we wanted to see disarmament throughout the world. We wanted a cessation of massive weapons being piled up year after year by all countries, not only European countries but others in Asia also. That should be our objective.

The heart of the matter lay in continuing talks between the two big powers, balanced force reduction and activities in the United Nations. If we really wanted response, let us not point a finger at only one. It did not help our case. It was in the interest of all of us, therefore, to bring these two big super powers together.

HON. S. TILLEKERATNE (*Sri Lanka*): The interests of the Commonwealth countries rather than interests of the United States of America should be foremost in the minds of the British people and the British Government. The sale of arms to the racist regime of South Africa would jeopardize the African countries' struggle for freedom. We felt very much on that question.

The British Government had the primary duty to ask us that they were going to sell the Island to the United States in order to have another base. This duty had not been performed.

(ii) *Developments in South East Asia*: The developments in South East Asia were discussed at the Plenary Session of the conference in the afternoon of October 28, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion :

Hon. Datuk Musa Hitam (Malaysia)

Hon. E. E. Isbey (New Zealand)

Hon. Vasant Sathe (India)

Hon. Laurie Pavit (U.K)

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*) initiating the discussion, said: The fundamental transformation of the political scenario of South-East Asia offered a rare opportunity for all South-East Asian countries to embark on a new beginning in their relationship with one another. It would require a conscious attempt to discard old attitudes and dispositions and to substitute in their place perceptions that were more in tune with realities. The spectre of the aftermath of the Vietnam war was now enabling south-East Asian countries to readjust their strategies. The struggle to eliminate wants of basic needs such as food and shelter must supersede ideological struggle.

The fear foremost in the minds of other South-East Asian countries arising from the U.S. defeat in Vietnam was the possibility of being another "domine" in international relation. That was why the countries of South East Asia were asserting that they were not prepared to trade territorial and strategic assets for any super power guarantee.

It was in order to create a stabilising force in that region that certain fundamental changes were being made, which emerged in the form of ASEAN. ASEAN served the common aspirations of its members without stifling their individual needs. It was non-military, non-ideological and non-antagonistic in character and as such was the kind of organisation that could be expected to meet the common requirements of disparate parties in South-East Asia.

The Cambodian Head of State had reassured that no export of revolution would be made by the peoples of Indo-China to other countries in the region. We would welcome the countries of Indo-China to participate positively in ASEAN, as that would give even greater impact and credibility to the ASEAN concept of making South-East Asia a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality.

HON. E. E. ISBEY (*New Zealand*): The reality of peace in South-East Asia was greeted in New Zealand with a great sense of relief because the senseless killing and the human suffering had ended after the withdrawal of the United States from the region and emergence of Indo-China from thirty years of conflict. The situation there now offered the prospect of discarding old rigid attitudes. Recrimination could now give way to reconciliation. There had been a growing awareness that the future solution of the problem of the South-East Asian regional problems should be sought within the region itself.

We should not delude ourselves into believing that regional cooperation was an

end in itself. It was however an important first step towards solving economic and social ills and establishing and maintaining peace and stability.

We could draw a parallel with the Commonwealth. Commonwealth had bred the habit of consultation that was unique. Yet, within the Commonwealth there was great diversity of peoples, of customs and even of cultural and political institutions. There was similar diversity within ASEAN.

New Zealand's role in South-East Asia had been solidly based on developing regional cooperation and regional help and aid programmes, not from the military viewpoint but from the point of view of solving the social and economic problems confronting us in these particular areas.

HON. VASANT SATHE (*India*): The developments in South-East Asia were of great concern to India because of our proximity to this region. It was our desire that there should be peace in this region and that we should be enabled to develop economically.

The U.S.A. was having *deente* with the Soviet Union in Europe. They were also having friendship with China. Then what was the reason for their military presence in South-East Asia and the Indian Ocean?

The Commonwealth countries, big and small, had to unite and cooperate among themselves. They had to stand on their feet. Unity and cooperation were the ultimate solution to our problems.

HON. LAURIE PAVITT (U.K.): The problem of South-East Asia would be solved by the South-East Asian countries themselves.

We would only have peace when the world had stopped spending so much of its budget on the building up of more and more tools of destruction. Our world was being canalised in order to do things and destroy people at a time when we ought to canalise it the other way.

Conferences were going on non-proliferation treaty, nuclear free zones and peaceful nuclear explosions etc.; but two things had not been mentioned. One was chemical warfare and the other was changing of the environment in such a way as to cause destruction. We needed effective lines of communications in order to check these menace.

We should cease to have ideological warfare over the radio and television where we took up fixed positions. It was in the friendly atmosphere of Asia that we from the other side of the world could find tolerance and understanding.

(iii) *Africa South of the Sahara and relationships with Rhodesia and South Africa*: This subject was discussed at the Plenary Session of the Conference in the morning and afternoon sessions of October 29, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Dr. The Hon. G. S. Dhillon, *in the chair*
Hon. J. B. A. Siyomunji (Zambia)
Hon. Indrajit Gupta (India)

Hon. K. T. J. Rakheta (Lesotho)

Hon. James Johnson (U.K.)

Hon. B. Ramsaroop (Guyana)

Hon. R. A. Banda (Malawi)

Hon. H. C. Wariithi (Kenya)

Senator the Hon. Deighton F. Griffith (Barbados)

Hon. Tom Smit (Sierra Leone)

Hon. D. K. Kwelagobe (Botswana)

Hon. L. G. Newland (Jamaica).

HON. J. B. A. SIYOMUNJI (Zambia) initiating the discussion said that his country's stand on Southern Africa had been consistent and they thought it their duty to give their best to their brethren in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. The threat to international security in Africa South of Sahara was mainly due to minority racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa and the abominable *apartheid* in South Africa. It was the duty of Commonwealth and all other bodies to see that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia came to an end. Unless independence based on majority rule in Rhodesia was achieved and policy of *apartheid* was renounced by South Africa, Southern Africa would always remain a threat to peace.

The OAU was pledged to complete the unfinished African revolution—the liberation of those parts of the continent which were under minority rule. The OAU through the African Liberation Committee had been successful in bringing about Independence to Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. He expressed the hope that Angola would also be independent soon.

THE OAU was committed to the achievement of majority rule in Southern Africa by every possible means and if peaceful means failed, violence was inevitable.

The President of his country and other Presidents of neighbouring countries had been doing their best within the framework of OAU and the Lusaka Manifesto to bring about unity to prevail in the liberation movements but the Commonwealth as a whole should try to solve the question. The *apartheid* in South Africa should be eliminated and Zimbabwe and Namibia must be free.

HON. INDRAJIT GUPTA (*India*): The question of South Africa and Rhodesia had continued to stick out like a dirty thumb at international gatherings year after year. The South African government continued to violate human rights of majority of its own people and the continued existence of the illegal minority racist regime in Southern Rhodesia was not a new problem that they were grappling with. All the relevant decisions of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council in this regard had been blatantly violated.

The illegal minority regime in Zimbabwe had introduced a new Constitution which provided for a form of geographical and political *apartheid*. The recent land tenure law provided for so-called White and Black areas. Thus, instead of showing responsiveness, the regimes at Pretoria and Salisbury showed a further hardening of attitudes.

The heads of Commonwealth countries in their Conference at Jamaica in April-May, 1975 had expressed their determination to support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom. They had recognised the inevitability of intensified armed struggle, condemned South Africa's refusal to comply with in the U.N. mandatory sanctions and withdraw its forces from Rhodesia.

The survival of the Ian Smith regime had largely depended on military and economic assistance from South Africa which on its part hoped to survive by enlisting similar cooperation from Western Powers who had in a way accepted that country as a member of their defence system.

India welcomed U.K. Government's recent decision to stop sale of arms to South Africa as well as the Simonstown Agreement and hoped that it would be implemented in letter and spirit. Political, economic and moral pressures against racial policies of South Africa and Rhodesia must be total.

The civil war in Angola caused deep concern to us and any move aimed at stopping fighting and uniting the rival liberation movements deserved our support.

HON. R. GUJADHUR *in the Chair*

HON. K. T. J. RAKHETLA (*Lesotho*) said that the talk of change in the racial situation in South Africa was unreal and was designed only to soften the attitude

of the world against South Africa. He could say so because his country being close to South Africa had first-hand reports of what was happening there. The basic policy of South Africa was to maintain racial discrimination and to suppress the black races. In order either to break or halt the liberation movements, they were trying to establish relations with black African countries. That was their diplomatic move.

Lesotho, like Zambia and other African countries, was in the forefront of the liberation movements. He was in favour of intensifying the liberation movements because any loosening of the pressure would give the minority rulers of South Africa and Rhodesia breathing space to recollect their energies. The Commonwealth countries should spare no effort to assist all liberation movements and to fight the racist regimes.

HON. JAMES JOHNSON (U.K.): The illegal regime of Mr. Ian Smith in Rhodesia had not been accorded any form of international recognition. Rhodesia was the most difficult and the most stubborn to liquidate of all the former colonial dependencies. Rhodesia had its own army and police force and it could not be called a colony in the old fashioned sense, being literally independent since 1922.

We must pay attention to the importance of unity in the national movement in Zimbabwe. We, in the United Kingdom, had the Pearce Commission whose conclusion was not acceptable either to the African people in Rhodesia or to the British. Bishop Muzorewa deserved all the support in the

ANC or in any forum inside the territory. The OAU believed in 'one man-one vote' which was our stand also. If peaceful negotiations failed, violent struggle was inevitable. Mr. Smith was flouting the will of the vast majority of the people there. OAU was implacable in this matter. There was no black leader who did not share the views of the OAU in this matter.

He fully supported Kenneth Kaunda and his colleagues.

HON. B. RAMSAROOP (Guyana): If political freedom of the peoples in any part of the world was jeopardised economic freedom of the peoples in the other parts of the world would also be jeopardised.

It was an indictment on all of us to talk about freedom when in many parts of the world one had to get a pass to move from one part of the country to another. This was an epitome of the *apartheid* system. The so-called detente in Southern Africa might eventually lead to the liberation of certain parts of Southern Africa. But there were some formidable economic realities we had to face. The Pretoria-Lisbon axis was a formidable and integral part of the Western alliance, it was not going to be an easy task to make any change in that part of the world.

Where raw-materials were fast depleting, the imperialists would not allow that country to be taken by those who really owned that country. There were substantial trade relations between the U.K. and the U.S.A. and Southern Africa. Multinational corporations were operating in certain parts

of Africa. No corporation would give up such resources so quickly.

There must be a constant struggle to bring freedom and liberty to those who were still oppressed. If we were to subscribe to the brotherhood-of-man concept, we must go beyond sentiments and ethics and render material help to the freedom fighters in South Africa.

HON. R. A. BANDA (*Malawi*): The developments that were recently taking place in South Africa in an attempt to resolve the political impasse in the Southern region were a vindication of the policy advocated by the President of Malawi over the years. That policy was that there should be contacts and discussions among the peoples of the region of South Africa and discussions between the rulers and the African leaders of that region. The President of Malawi had rejected the policy of boycott and isolation. At the same time, he had publicly denounced the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* as demeaning and pernicious. It was only through contact and dialogue that the whites of South Africa and Rhodesia could know that the policy of racial cooperation was a better and worthy alternative to the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

HON. H. C. WARIITHI (*Kenya*): Kenya, like all other independent African States and being one of the countries that struggled hard for its independence, strongly championed the cause of total independence of the entire continent of Africa. At various inter-State and international forums it had voiced its unreserved determination

to the liberation of the entire continent of Africa either by peaceful means or, when necessary, through armed struggle.

Kenya had unreservedly condemned the odious practice of *apartheid*. It had rejected the question of dialogue with the supremacist regime in Pretoria because that would bestow the seal of recognition and respectability on a racist regime and *apartheid*.

South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia was illegal and all member States of O.A.U. were under obligation to refrain from doing anything which might be construed as recognition of South Africa's right to be in Namibia. Kenya pledged its full support for the liberation movements in Namibia.

Kenya's objective in Zimbabwe was total independence on the basis of majority rule. This could be achieved either peacefully or in the alternative by an armed struggle. Either way, Kenya was committed to lending its total support to the African National Council.

SENATOR THE HON. DEIGHTON F. GRIFFITH (*Barbados*): It was a pity that the situation should exist today in Africa which allowed a distinction to be drawn between Rhodesia and South Africa on the one hand and Africa on the other hand. It was, in effect, a distinction between Africa and Africa. This, in the light of general social and political progress throughout the world, was highly unrealistic. *Apartheid* was dehumanising in its blind efforts to treat other human beings as non-equals and it would certainly create an

added danger to the already charged atmosphere.

The situation in Rhodesia and South Africa would ultimately be reversed only by the efforts of the Africans themselves. The delegation of Barbados welcomed the assurance given by the representative of Zambia that there would be no relaxation of efforts on the part of the Organisation of African Unity to secure majority rule in Southern Africa. He urged upon the Association to demonstrate its abhorrence to the policies of South Africa and Rhodesia.

Mr. Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, had rightly said in his Address that we should redouble our efforts making positive contribution to the world's problems. We would have to move vigorously and relentlessly towards a solution of the problems facing our black brethren in Africa, particularly in South Africa and Rhodesia.

HON. TOM SMIT (*Sierra Leone*) regretted that the demand of the African countries, which were still under slavery and bondage, was not being heeded to. On the contrary, the white regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia were resorting to force and had, in a way, become aggressive and recalcitrant. It was still more regrettable when we saw one member country of the Commonwealth supplying arms and ammunition to another country to fight against one another. Unless and until the whole of Africa became free and all the countries there were treated like sovereign nations, they could not make progress, nor could the troubles erupting there every now and then end. The CPA should support

the cause of the countries in Africa which were still under slavery and help them acquire independence.

HON. D. K. KWELAGOBE (*Botswana*) said that he was concerned about the Rhodesian question. The four Presidents taking part in the Lusaka talks wanted to see a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem but their efforts were being undermined by some countries that extended their support to the illegal Rhodesian regime. The United States ignored all the mandatory sanctions and not only resumed trade with Rhodesia but also gave them the much needed foreign exchange.

The dialogue that brought about some fundamental changes in South Africa was welcome but not the type of dialogue that supported *apartheid* in any form, in which the South Africans would have no right whatsoever to govern their motherland and in which minority whites would occupy 87 per cent land while 16 million non-whites would occupy only 13 per cent of land.

The role of Botswana as a front-line country had been significant. It had been protecting the refugees and that had enraged Rhodesia. They intruded into Botswana. They attacked villages and kidnapped persons.

Botswana wanted that the question of Namibia should also be solved.

HON. G. A. REGAN *in the Chair*

HON. L. G. NEWHLAND (*Jamaica*): The situation in South Africa and Rhodesia was alarming. The Government as well as

the opposition in Jamaica believed that the injustice to humanity by a minority rule should be stopped by every means. It was a matter which not only concerned the people of African origin or people living in Africa, but the whole world. The Jamaican Government were helping them with men and material to bring about an early solution to this problem.

He believed that nobody or no country had a right to be against another nation because of race. South Africa and Rhodesia were openly practising this system of racialism. It was in defiance of the thinking of the civilised world. It should come to an end. Jamaica would support any appropriate action to bring an end to such human discrimination by man against man because of colour. Bigger powers should do something about it without any delay.

It was shocking that arms supply to these countries was still continuing which would be used for further oppression against the people seeking their just aspirations.

(iv) *Europe and the countries around the Mediterranean*: This subject was discussed at the Plenary Session of the Conference in the afternoon of October 29, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. Neil Marten (U.K.)

Dr. The Hon. Joseph Brincat (Malta)

Shri Vasant Sathe (India)

Hon. Isaac Abecasis (Gibraltar)

Hon. Kenneth Clarke (United Kingdom)

Dr. the Hon. Albert Borg Oliver De Puget (Malta).

HON. NEIL MARTEN (U.K.): The United Kingdom had no doubt concentrated too much of their thought on the European Common Market at the expense of the Commonwealth and that process should now be reversed. The Commonwealth was one of the most important Associations of the world if it developed correctly. In U.K. there should be one Minister of State in charge of the Commonwealth and the other member countries, that could afford it, should also have a Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs.

The Common Market was developing into the European Parliament for which they were going to have direct elections. They would then legislate, and they also proposed to have economic and monetary union in future. That was bound to lead to a common currency and a federal bank. If the Common Market was to develop that way, it was bound to end in some form of a federal state. That meant losing of our veto and, therefore, losing the full control of our internal and external affairs. It was in that context that the application of the Cook Islands for Main Branch status in the Commonwealth should be considered. The Council had not accepted their application on the ground that Main Branch status could only be enjoyed by branches of those countries that had full control of their internal and external affairs.

DR. THE HON. JOSEPH BRINCAT (Malta): Europe was different from the Indian

Ocean because both the Russians and Americans were present in the Mediterranean sea. It could not feel secure unless the super powers left the Mediterranean alone. They had no business to be there because they did not belong to that area. Europe wanted to have its own identity and not to become a satellite of either of the super powers.

Europe was on the threshold of far-reaching changes. What would happen to Spain after Franco? What would happen to the American bases about which they had signed a new agreement? The sudden changes that were happening in the internal policies and internal politics of Portugal were leaving everyone perplexed and were among the main factors disrupting the sense of security in Europe. Then, there was the situation in Italy. With its tradition towards the West and its alliances towards the NATO, it now appeared to be going Communist. What would be the position there in the event of a change from one ideology to another? There might be an abrupt change which would certainly have an influence on the security in Europe. Similarly, there was the question of Yugoslavia. What would happen there after Marshal Tito? The recent events in Greece and Turkey had shown the incompetence of NATO to solve even internal issues between its own Members.

The Middle East was a perennial problem and the recent Sinai Agreement was not going to solve it because of the dishonest attitude of the super powers. They got them to an agreement, and then they started arming them again. They might fight again, destroy those arms and within

a short time place further orders for arms with the Super Powers.

Every effort coming from the super powers was in itself suspicious. Everybody knew that Europe had no imperialist attitudes towards either the Arabs or the Israelis, but we left this important mission to the super powers and the results were not what one would accept.

Along the basin of the Mediterranean, difficulties were cropping up every moment. The questions of Morocco, Libya and Tunisia certainly interested Europe and we could not think of European peace and European security without reflecting on the problems that faced the basin which belonged not to the Americans or to the Russians, but to the Europeans and to the States bordering on the sea.

The guarantors of our peace and security should not be the super powers, but the European nations themselves who had to think not in terms of warfare or possible conflagrations, but in terms of economic development. That was the only solution towards a unified and a secure Europe and a secure Mediterranean basin.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (*India*): India welcomed the Helsinki Declaration as well as the earlier agreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. for preventing nuclear war. We knew full well that Europe which was ravaged by two world wars in the first part of the century could not afford to have another war of this kind. It was hoped that further steps would be taken to achieve a reduction in armaments

on both sides so that ultimately the countries to Europe were able to devote more time to consolidation of peace and economic progress.

It was unfortunate that the Arab-Israel conflict was not yet getting solved to the satisfaction of the people of that region. The Israeli aggression was to be withdrawn. The people of Palestine must get their homeland and the Arabs must have a right to live without aggression.

As regards Cyprus, where there was a conflict between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots, an effort was being made at the instance of the U.N. Secretary General to resume talks between the two communities so that they could find a solution.

India was keenly watching the developments in Europe because we knew that unless the detente was consolidated in Europe, in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, various other problems would arise.

HON. ISAAC ABECASIS (*Gibraltar*): The people of Gibraltar wanted to remain closely associated with the United Kingdom because they wanted to preserve their way of life and status. They were a very happy community and did not want any other people to take away what they had obtained during the last 271 years of their link with the United Kingdom.

Yesterday it was said by the Prime Minister of India that there could not be harmony without the acceptance of the right of even the smallest nation to follow

its own path. And that was exactly what the people of Gibraltar wanted—namely, to follow their own path.

DR. THE HON. G. S. DHILLON *in the Chair*

HON. KENNETH CLARKE (*U.K.*): One of the points most frequently made by the opponents of our membership of the E.E.C. in the United Kingdom was that the membership of the Community would damage our relationship with the British Commonwealth. We genuinely believe that there was no reason why it should damage both relationships either in terms of trade or in terms of politics. We believe that in the long run our membership should have the effect of opening up the horizons of our nearest neighbours in Europe and bring them benefits of our experience and to all the members of this Commonwealth.

There was a problem of world security with the present uncertainties, in particular, in the Iberian Peninsula, in the countries of Spain and Portugal. We were entering into a dangerous period of instability and of evolution in those countries. But the events in Spain and Portugal still aroused great emotions in the rest of the Western Europe. They would have an effect upon political attitudes in the rest of Western Europe and, in particular, in France and in Italy where we had a situation where strong Communist movements had worked constitutionally and validly within the democratic set-up. It was the action of the Portuguese people and not of any Government which helped to accelerate the liberation of Angola, Mozambique,

Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. But the whole process of that evolution was quite deliberately undermined from within by the Communist Party and with support from outside. Our aim must be peaceful evolution by the people of Spain and Portugal themselves not aided or interfered by outside powers, either from the East or the West. The international community should accept the fact that both Spain and Portugal shall have necessarily to proceed slowly and cautiously and in an orderly way before we could begin to contemplate the Westminster model of two party democracy for those countries. One thing the international community could do was to help them in their peaceful evolution.

We must not support from outside any faction or extremists or encourage disorderly developments. As Parliamentarians, we wanted peace and stability and should allow rival political philosophies to compete so that the people of Spain and Portugal could have their own Governments after overcoming their difficulties without the intervention of super powers. Similarly, we must not desire to hand over the people of Gibraltar to the uncertainties and difficulties of the Iberian Peninsula.

DR. THE HON. ALBERT BORG OLIVER DEPUGET (Malta): The question of security in Europe and the Mediterranean had to be seen in the context of security in the world at large and the necessity of maintaining the balance between the regional powers in Europe and the powers in the other regions of the world. The situation facing the countries in Europe and the Mediterranean posed the problem of future policies in all those countries re-

lating to alliances and the policies relating to the relationship of the small powers to the super powers. So, ultimately, it was the balance which was important. The reality was that the establishment of a zone in the Mediterranean, free from super power rivalry and contention did not depend only on the resistance to bases and facilities and to economic penetration.

The establishment of peace in the area depended also equally on the realisation that the greatest threat to world peace at the present time did not come from the confrontation between the USA and the Soviet Union, but it arose at the present time from the confrontation and rivalry between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. It was necessary that both the European countries and the North African countries of the Mediterranean should join together to turn the rising tide of communist influence of the Russians or the Chinese in the area. The European States had a duty in this respect to instil in the States around the necessity of keeping out foreign influences from the area. The United States might be an external power, but it was not foreign influence.

The countries of Europe and the Mediterranean could not afford to withdraw into isolationism and non-involvement. They should, on the contrary, participate in shaping the relations between the super powers and that contributed to the establishment of peace in the different regions of the world.

II. WORLD ENERGY CRISIS

This subject was discussed at the Plenary Session of the Conference in the afternoon

of October 29, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Dr. The Hon. G. S. Dhillon *in the Chair*.

Rt. Hon. Lord Shepherd (U.K.)

Hon. P. K. Bhindi (Fiji)

Hon. V. B. Raju (India)

Hon. Alan Martin (Canada)

Hon. W. C. B. Hinds (Barbados)

Hon. J. H. Taylor (New South Wales-Australia)

Hon. D. Ramdin (Mauritius)

Hon. G. G. Swell (India)

Hon. (Mrs.) Leaupepe Faimaala Phillips (Western Samoa)

Hon. Datuk Musa Hitam (Malaysia)

Hon. John Callister Clucas (Isle of Man)

Hon. B. B. Lyngdoh (Meghalaya—India)

Hon. K. C. Ramrakha (Fiji)

Hon. E. R. Schreyer (Manitoba-Canada)

Hon. A. R. Thomas (Bermuda)

Hon. (Mrs.) Grace Onyango (Kenya).

RT. HON. LORD SHEPHERD (U.K.) initiating the discussion said: The recent energy crisis had affected the developing countries most. It would cost those nations some 10,000 million dollars a year. This was a very sizeable amount. Britain would have to pay nearly one

million pounds a day to meet the latest hike in oil prices.

The bigger industrial countries would be able to overcome this crisis. But it would be beyond the power of the developing countries to face this crisis unless the industrialised countries took certain steps and also provided massive aid to the developing countries.

It must be recognised that poorer countries were more heavily affected by the energy crisis than the developing countries, who had already reached a fairly advanced stage of development. Therefore, they should be paid more attention.

It was indeed difficult for us to overcome the present difficulties in a unilateral and national way. The industrial countries must coordinate their policies in such a way as to help the poorer countries to tide over the present crisis.

More care should be taken in the use of energy. Oil should be used only for essential purposes. Atomic power should be used for the generation of electricity.

Greater attention should be paid to the activities of the World Bank to enable it to provide credit to the affected countries on softer terms.

Apart from conservation of the present energy resources, our strategy should be to devise ways to increase our cooperation by which we could share all the resources that were left in the world. It must be

recognised that we were still in the cheap fuel period and within a few years, as those would run out, we should be moving into a more expensive fuel era.

Big developments were likely to take place in the field of nuclear power. This would also open the possibilities of designing and building nuclear weapons. Therefore, control should be exercised by the United Nations to ensure that the by-products of atomic energy should not be used for any purpose other than peaceful.

HON. P. K. BHINDI (*Fiji*): The increasing oil prices had created a lot of problems for Fiji and it was not easy to find a solution to it. A suggestion had been made to reduce the imports. If that was done there would have to be some fair allocations made of the available fuel of the country and rationing might have to be resorted to for that purpose. That was not an easy thing. On the contrary, certain industries would be badly affected.

There was a mention about the creation of the third window for borrowing purposes. Our country had to service the loans she took. So we could not benefit from this third window.

Fiscal measures had been suggested to reduce imports. If a duty was imposed it would lead to increase in the cost of production. So this suggestion was not practicable.

A number of steps were being taken in Fiji to tackle the problem. Efforts were

being made to generate hydro-electric power. Solar heating units were being assembled to save fuel. Import of cars had been restricted. All efforts were being made to save energy and to find an alternate fuel.

HON. V. B. RAJU (*India*): There was great disparity in the consumption of energy which was one of the root causes of tensions. Unfortunately what was happening was that energy and food were being used as political levers. This was what the world and particularly, the Commonwealth should take note of and it should see the end of it.

What was causing worry was not the excessive use of energy for productive purposes and for the essential requirements of humanity but what we were much concerned about was the wasteful use of scarce energy resources for the luxury purposes and out of them one was the private car. Now the time had come when the nations had to take a decision whether the use of the private car should be dispensed with to the advantage of public transport. This was a deliberate decision this Conference should take out of compulsion.

The developing countries had suffered in many ways. Firstly, they suffered by paying more. In fact, India very soon from two hundred crores might have to pay one thousand two hundred and fifty crores. Secondly it had to import machinery from the developed countries, which had accelerated their prices. Thirdly, the developmental aid was being reduced.

It was hoped the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association would take up the matter seriously and make contribution in terms of constituting a body which would arrange for the exchange of research and development for finding alternative sources of energy, for its efficient use and for its conservation.

HON. ALAN MARTIN (*Canada*): While trying to understand and concern themselves with the problems besetting the under-developed countries as a result of the trauma brought about by world oil price increases, the Canadians must at the same time become most fully aware as a nation of the dramatic turn of events relating to the energy picture as it was currently affecting Canada. While in 1972, it was said that our oil resources would suffice not only to meet our own requirements as far ahead as 1990 but also to enable us to export 1 million barrels per day, in 1974 we were told that rather than having exportable supplies in 1990 we would indeed be faced with potential net import requirements of upto 2 million barrels per day as early as in 1985. Somewhat the same situation existed in regard to the supply position of natural gas. The Government of Canada had already started taking various steps to meet these challenges.

HON. W. C. B. HINDS (*Barbados*): The final quarter of the year 1973 found the economies of a large number of under-developed countries facing a state of total stagnation. Because of the level of hardship created by this position the third world countries had now been reduced to a fourth world grouping.

The direct cost of imported oil in the fourth world countries had increased five fold, which those countries could ill afford to pay. It was said that the oil producing countries were likely to establish a fund to help those countries. The sooner it was done, the better would it be.

The fourth world countries in the Commonwealth should make a collective effort to conserve the energy resources. They should also set up an organisation to co-ordinate development in the area of new energy resources and also provide finance for research development.

HON. J. H. TAYLOR (*New South Wales—Australia*): It was a disaster that the developing countries were facing the energy crisis at this stage of their development. New South Wales was blessed with a lot of reserves of coal. Immediately after the second world war, because of industrial difficulties in the coal fields, in the whole of New South Wales, the transport system was adversely affected. Then, a decision was taken to import oil for serving transport and other industries. In future, we should not take such decisions for import of oil. We would have to find ways of using our industrial resources for generation of power, whatever the local difficulties might be, rather than go and draw on the world resources and thus deprive some of the other areas of what they were vitally in need of.

If the present trend continued and if we were forced to import oil for generation of power in Australia, our vast wheat crops, rice and other crops would become extremely expensive to sell in the world

market, thus depriving the people who would be needing the commodities at an economic price, only because of the economic crisis in our areas of power.

We were concerned individually and collectively with the energy crisis. We should think, firstly, in terms of assisting those developing countries that had suffered because of this power crisis. Secondly, we were concerned in terms of making the best use of the resources that were available. As members of the Commonwealth, we should try to associate ourselves with the OPEC countries, talk with them and try to understand their problems and help them so that they could understand the problems of these people who were the consumers of their products. We should utilise the available energy sources as much as possible and supply to the world as much food as possible.

HON. D. RAMDIN (*Mauritius*): The massive consumption of coal, oil and natural gas in this century having been greater than that of all the by-gone centuries, the reserves had been fast dwindling. Should the present consumption keep on without tapping other sources of energy, the future of mankind was indeed very bleak. There was no sign of the energy consumption going down. On the other hand, everywhere people were using more and more energy in a thousand and one different ways. The annual consumption of energy was increasing by about 8 per cent while several coal mines and oil pits had gone or were going out of production.

The demand for oil was indeed very great nowadays. It was true that some new countries had lately come into oil production, new producers had come into the exporting line, but they too were quite conscious of their inability to continue to meet the demand for petrol in the world. It was that state in the petrol situation of the world that was responsible for the present crisis.

The nuclear, solar, tidal hydro-electric and Eolian energy were all being closely studied and developed. But hitherto no great progress had been made. The world would have to wait long before such energy could be used wherever oil energy was used nowadays.

HON. G. G. SWELL (*India*): One of the reasons that the Americans gave to have bases in the Indian Ocean was to safeguard their oil routes. The argument was fallacious because America's use of West Asian oil aggregated to only 2.2 per cent of its annual requirements.

There was today a very great scientific effort to find other sources of energy. There might be a breakthrough towards the 'fusion process'. This fusion process would make use of the sea water, of the radio isotopes in the sea water which was cheap and limitless. If the scientists succeeded in finding some kind of a device by which this tremendous energy could be tamed and released for the use of industries it would be a limitless source of energy that the world would have.

We must look upon oil not as a source of energy; we had to look upon oil as a raw

material. If we looked at oil in this correct perspective as a raw material, the world would be on the right track.

HON. (MRS.) LEAUPEPE FAIMAALA PHILLIPS (*Western Samoa*): For hundreds of years past, the seas surrounding us, the fertile soil and the tropical climate had provided Samoans with ample food, clothing and shelter. Nature provided all that was required to supply us with our living needs. We had no need for oil or electricity or nuclear power. We were introduced to the marvels of imported foods, clothing, building materials, machinery and vehicles by missionaries and merchant traders. We eagerly exchanged these things of the western industrialization for our copra, cocoa, timber, bananas and other tropical produce. We adapted ourselves to these marvels and all went well with us. We worked hard to create the surpluses needed to pay for these imports.

Then three years or so ago, steady flow of goods became a trickle, in some cases stopped altogether. We were told we had to pay twice as much as previously for the same imports or to go without them. Our leaders told us that we had no more overseas exchange and that there was an energy crisis.

The countries of this shrinking world were so interdependent upon each other that they must be able with patience and understanding for each other's point of view to solve this problem of energy crisis.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): All these years through the period before

independence and through the period after independence the developing countries had been facing a crisis. We had been shivering with hunger because the terms of trade had not been favourable or even equal between us and the developed countries. Our commodities had been bought at cheap rates because we had always been looked upon as the backyard of the developed countries. Now, fortunately, this energy crisis had come as a blessing. The developed countries had, after all, started shivering not of hunger but shivering in winter having not enough petroleum to generate heat. Now they were prepared to talk.

It was gratifying to note that Britain after having joined the Common Market today subscribed to the new economic agreement for the first time in history between developing and developed countries. The Lome Convention represented the start of an experiment of a new relationship between developed countries, on the one hand, and the developing countries on the other. It was hoped that this start could be followed up by the international economic community at large, through the United Nations so that this new international economic order could indeed be achieved by co-operation and understanding. Developing countries had to try to analyse the problems and see how best they could contribute to overcome this so-called crisis which was not an energy crisis, but which was basically a crisis in human development.

HON. JOHN CALLISTER CLUCAS (*Isle of Man*): The world energy crisis had im-

posed severe strains within the Commonwealth and, in a wider context, posed a threat to world security.

Efforts to separate the world's energy problems and to deal with it exclusively in the international forums had not succeeded so far. The more powerful nations should hasten in their enormous task of finding an acceptable solution to the problem. There should be a sense of urgency in solving this problem which was regrettably lacking.

Attention should also be paid to the long-term development of two great energy sources, water and sun. Harnessing of the sea would provide immense power. Similarly, solar energy had vast potential and it was totally untapped at the present time.

In this context, Commonwealth fund had an important part to play. Many of the smaller nations had abundance of water and sun, but they lacked the expertise to help them unlock their resources. Proper education should be given to conserve and to avoid wastage of our valuable resources.

HON. B. B. LINGDOH (*Meghalaya—India*): The grave economic situation faced by the developing countries in the wake of the oil crisis was illustrated by India's position. A barrel of crude that cost us less than 3 dollars in 1973 now cost us about 11 dollars. Her import bill for petroleum had shot up from about 256 million dollars in 1972 to about 1500 million dollars at present. Since nearly 80 per cent of the oil products were used in the country as essential inputs in the vital sectors of industry and agriculture,

any cut was bound to affect the country's economy as a whole.

While the developed countries were able to adjust themselves through increasing the prices of their own exports including machinery, equipment, technology etc., the developing countries—besides having to pay higher prices for oil—had also to pay higher prices for their imports from the developed countries. The effect was boost in inflation, less output and employment and massive swing in the balance of payments.

The special session of the U.N. General Assembly chalked out a programme of action for the developing and the most seriously affected countries. We were yet to see how it would carry us in solving our problems. A similar declaration was made by the oil exporting countries for the extension of additional special credits and grants. That was welcome. But the assistance so far had been very inadequate. Ninety per cent of the surplus earnings of the OPEC went to the developed countries. The Commonwealth should set up a sort of co-ordinating body to direct and to co-ordinate the activities for research and to find out ways and means of evolving a permanent solution to this problem. We could have a pool of funds and expertise.

HON. K. C. RAMRAKHA (*Fiji*): To conserve fuel was a self-defeating process and it certainly created more problems than it solved.

The time had come for the world to do a complete rethinking of its living habits.

We should be prepared to change our life style and life pattern to a simpler living.

HON. E. R. SCHREYER (*Manitoba—Canada*): The present energy crisis was not either a blessing or a curse as some had described it. It was a hard and cold fact, but one which the present civilisation should be capable to adjust to and cope with. The lesson to be drawn from it was that the mankind could not take too much for granted.

It was unrealistic to expect that we could equate the present discussions on the energy crisis with the general problems of economic development. If the assistance for developing countries was inadequate five years ago, it was all the more less likely to be generous enough during the most of the next decade.

The countries who were the greatest beneficiaries with this sudden change of situation should be influenced to take part in international assistance and the economic development.

The highly industrialised nations must apply all their scientific and technological skills for substitution of energy fund. Given today's technology, it was possible to reduce our dependency on liquid hydro-carbon fuels from 30 to 50 per cent. However, this would require a change in our attitude and a considerable outlay of capital investment. It might be that no country would like to take this step. Therefore it should be our endeavour to influence our respective Governments to devise a machinery for international co-ordination in respect of substitution of liquid hydro-carbon fuels.

HON. A. R. THOMAS (*Bermuda*): For the developing and the under-developed countries, there had to be consideration of special provisions, particularly during the interim period. While the larger countries were trying to solve the problem by speeding up the research they had left lagging for many years, they were to provide special consideration in terms of special rates to people with special problems. That had to happen because we could not afford to pay the increased cost.

The heart of the problem was that the large bodies of industrialists were concerned with their profits, without caring for what was happening around and completely ignoring moral considerations. That aspect should be duly considered while looking at the problem, for the developing countries had very little to offer in terms of the kind of costs that were coming up in future.

HON. (MRS.) GRACE ONYANGO (*Kenya*): It was somewhat misleading to talk about an energy crisis as that would suggest a physical shortage of energy. That was not the situation for everybody. Those who could afford to pay the price could get the energy they needed. It was, therefore, essentially an economic crisis.

Developing countries had been forced to reduce imports as a result of increased oil price and that had contributed to the vicious downward spiral in international trade and to a general international economic recession. They had to achieve an increase in their export earnings in order to pay the increased oil bill and some of them including Kenya, had managed to do

so to some extent. However, until the world economy regained its momentum, the third world would continue to be the hardest hit victims of the world energy crisis.

III. BUILDING A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

(i) *World Population growth and food resources*: This subject was discussed in Panel I of the Conference in the morning and afternoon sessions of October 30, 1975. The Panel consisted of Dr. the Hon. Henry Austin (India) (*Chairman*) and Hon. R. F. Antony Roberts (Bahamas) and Dr. The Hon. W. H. C. Masters (Bermuda) (*Members*). Besides the Members, the following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. Apurba Lal Majumdar (West Bengal—India)

Hon. James Johnson (U.K.)

Hon. (Mrs.) E. Da Silva (Guyana)

Hon. Trevor Ewan Foster (Cayman Islands)

Hon. W. J. Cheddesingh (Jamaica)

Hon. (Mrs.) Mary Dorothy Batchelor (New Zealand)

Hon. S. V. Ward (Tasmania—Australia)

Hon. K. T. J. Rekheta (Lesotho)

Hon. Alan Martin (Canada)

Hon. John Daniel (Trinidad and Tobago)

Hon. Gosaibhai Chhibabhai Patel (Gujarat—India)

Hon. D. E. Kent (Victoria—Australia)

Hon. Robert Wenman (Canada)

Hon. George F. Hosten (Grenada)

Hon. W. C. B. Hinds (Barbados)

Hon. M. B. Dawkins (South Australia)

Dr. the Hon. Wong Soon Kai (Sarawak—Malaysia)

Hon. (Mrs.) Grace Onyango (Kenya)

Hon. P. R. Chanshi (Zambia)

Hon. (Mrs.) Tekarej Russell (Gilbert and Ellice Islands)

Hon. M. K. Arop Keino (Kenya)

DR. THE HON. W. H. C. MASTERS (*Bermuda*): Bermuda was one of the two countries in the Commonwealth to start population control, the other being India. Being a small island of 20 miles inhabited by 56,000 people. Bermuda had realised the importance of limiting the population as the alternative was to be over-powered by poverty. Our programme was eminently successful. The rate of birth came down from 1000 babies born in 1965 to 985 in 1974-75. However, our objective could not be achieved by population control alone. Other things needed were industrial development, development of natural resources, control of pollution, more food production and road development.

HON. R. F. ANTHONY ROBERTS (*Bahamas*): The problem of increasing world population and diminishing food resources should be the concern of every country in the world. The recent conference in London which considered the question of population in relation to food

came to the conclusion that all Commonwealth countries should give priority to food production.

Population question really had its roots in developing countries where the income level was low. A good deal of skill had to be mustered to deal with the problem. The Commonwealth was made up both of rich and developing countries and if the rich provided the latter with the necessary skills and resources, the problem could be solved.

If we were to come to grips with this problem, we might have to take decisions that were not to the liking of some people—decisions that touched their religious sentiments and were thought to be affecting human rights. But bold steps were necessary for successful results.

HON. APURBALAL MAZUMDAR (*West Bengal—India*): The developing countries were facing a staggering problem in the form of increasing population. During the last 25 years, India had added 250 million to its numbers—a figure equal to the total population of U.S.S.R. and more than that of the U.S.A.

India's programme of population control had reduced the growth rate from 41.7 per thousand in 1951 to 35 per thousand at present. The target was to reduce it to 30 per thousand at the end of the Fifth Plan and 25 per thousand at the end of the Sixth Plan. The question of population control was of utmost importance to India because even though our food production had doubled during the last 20 years, the

gain had been offset by the fast growth of population.

Unless there was an integrated programme of economic growth and family planning, our objectives would only remain a pious hope.

India had vast potentialities of irrigation development and flood control. But projects could not be undertaken or completed without assistance from agencies like the World Bank. More of such assistance must be forthcoming so that the untapped waters of all the rivers could be harnessed. Similar help was required in the production of fertilisers, pesticides etc. to augment food production.

HON. JAMES JOHNSON (*U.K.*): The greatest need of today was to help the undeveloped countries in increasing food production. The effort should be to get more food in the same area of land.

The question was not just of fertilisers, tools etc.; it was of raising the standards of the people in the villages.

More money should be spent on peasant farmers in the third world in the poorest and lowest developed belts.

Our countrymen knew more about farming and land development in low altitudes than others and we could make a contribution not only in money but also in expertise.

HON. (MRS.) E. DASILVA (*Guyana*): In Guyana, unlike in India, we wanted to have more children as we had 84,000 square miles of land and we had a popu-

lation of only three quarters of a million. We needed people for our country to become populated and to help development. The developed countries should help our country with technical aid and education because that was what we basically needed.

As regards population control, the state should not take it into their hands because thereby the basic human right of freedom of choice was infringed upon.

HON. TREVOR EWAN FOSTER (*Cayman Islands*): Large areas of land in various parts of the world were still unutilised. We could encourage development in uninhabited areas like Africa and South America and use some of this undeveloped land for production of more food. With the present day technology in the agricultural field, only a small percentage of land needed to be brought under cultivation to make significant impact on the food resources of the world.

If the temperate areas like U.S.A. and Canada could produce so much food in three or four months to have surplus for years, it was possible that the tropical regions could produce enough food in the course of 12 months to feed an ever-increasing population.

For population control, education of the lower level people was the most needed thing.

HON. W. J. CHEDDESINGH (*Jamaica*): Although Jamaica was one of the high-income bracket countries as far as capital growth was concerned, there was mass unemployment and the population growth

was very rapid. This country had a young population and in the last few years birth incidence had risen immensely. The problems facing them were unemployment, bad living conditions, undeveloped and underdeveloped lands. If the people were put to do something constructive and were given the basic necessities, that would ensure them a good living.

HON. (MRS.) MARY DOROTHY BATCHELOR (*New Zealand*): The population of New Zealand was growing rapidly. The reason was the part played by the laws of immigration in New Zealand. Immigration had been encouraged in New Zealand in the past on the assumption that population growth meant better life, more materials and higher standard of living. Equal distribution of amenities within the country might go some way in solving the problems faced by that country. One of the important questions was regarding education. It was something more than just teaching the people about birth control or checking population growth. It meant teaching the way of living.

Another question connected with the population growth was the question of food, getting bigger crop from the same area which in turn meant use of better fertilisers, more insecticides, sprays etc.—things which were in fact causing world wide problem of pollution. Perhaps our scientists could well concentrate on this problem rather than the problem of nuclear bombs.

HON. S. V. WARD (*Tasmania—Australia*) said that from the various journals we

found that fertilisers were a source of pollution. However, the problem before us was of surplus population and deficit food supplies which *inter alia* also raise the immigration problem. Let a body of women be appointed to enquire into the problem and report back in the next conference.

HON. K. T. J. RAKHETLA (*Lesotho*) supported the view that in some areas, the food shortage arose more out of difficulties of distribution rather than production. He added that the developed countries should consider giving some form of assistance to developing countries and believed that a number of farmers would be encouraged to produce more if they could get reasonably good prices for their commodities. He said some form of subsidy would go a long way towards improving the food situation.

HON. ALAN MARTIN (*Canada*): The population explosion was not likely to be halted in the near future. Whether or not it was a cause or effect of under development in individual countries was arguable.

Population programme in various countries must be inter-related with rural health programme. Medical and population programmes should also be tied together to be effective. It was mainly the responsibility of the individual nations how to control population growth in their countries in their own way.

The nations who were surplus in food should assist those who were in deficit. The recipient nations should make every

effort to become self-sufficient in their requirements as speedily as possible.

HON. JOHN DANIEL (*Trinidad and Tobago*): We had reached a stage where we could not blame bad crops and food shortfalls on weather conditions. Scientific planning and proper investment could negate a powerless dependence on the vagaries of nature.

In Trinidad and Tobago, family planning programmes had produced immediate and dramatic results. We were firmly of the view that only by controlling population growth, we could ensure a better standard of living for all our citizens.

With international cooperation and by our national efforts, we must make every effort to produce more food.

The increased revenue from oil that had been derived should be used for increasing food production.

HON. GOSAIBHAI CHHIBABHAI PATEL (*Gujarat—India*): Facilities for education should be increased and age limit of marriage should be raised; these would go a long way in checking population growth.

Compulsory family control system should be practised as family planning measures so far taken in India on voluntary basis did not prove very successful.

Countries like Australia and Canada should provide food at cheaper rates to the developing countries. African countries should be provided necessary techni-

cal knowhow in order to bring more land under food production.

A food bank should be established under the control of Commonwealth countries, so as to meet any crisis resulting from food shortages.

HON. D. E. KENT (*Victoria—Australia*): Population growth was a mighty problem and it was our first responsibility to provide sufficient food for the existing population.

The standard of living depended upon the use to which the various resources of energy were put to. It was in this field that the developed countries could help the underdeveloped countries to a great extent.

There were a great variation in the standard of living and opportunities between the affluent and the poor and the developed and the under-developed countries. Under the present system, there was no guarantee to ensure that the available resources would be used for the best interests of the people because the development of those resources was in the hands of private enterprise.

HON. ROBERT WENMAN (*Canada*): Canada had substantially increased international development assistance, of which a good part could well be directed towards population control programme.

With regard to food aid, Canada had accepted its role and obligation to provide aid to less developed nations. We were prepared not only to supply an average of one million tons of foodgrains a year for

next three years but also to increase substantially the allocation of commodities other than foodgrains for aid purposes.

We should attempt to provide direct aid, both food and technological, to all the needy areas in the world. At the same time it should be ensured that commodity resources and technology so transferred were not in turn indirectly transferred at the recipient end into military hardware.

HON. GEORGE F. HOSTEN (*Grenada*): While some countries were overpopulated, in Canada and Australia the population was very small as compared to their territories. There could be a better distribution of population.

In Grenada we were not able to sustain our population and we had embarked on a family planning programme. There should be a development programme to assist in better housing and to provide employment for young people.

As regards food, if there was shortage in some countries it was due to inequitable distribution. Also, the amount of waste that was taking place was much more. If this was avoided the situation could well improve.

In Grenada we had started a grow-more food programme and what we needed was technical and financial assistance from the developed countries.

HON. W. C. B. HINDS (*Barbados*): It had been rightly emphasised that our concern must be with the world demand for food. Unfortunately, the policies of various

countries of the world were in conflict with one another. A North American farmer was allowed to produce only a limited quantity and no more, while people in various countries were starving. In United States, they chartered ships to dump food into sea. Steps should be taken to get some world body to consider situations such as this.

Guyana wanted to have more people there. But people in Barbados were afraid of going to that country even for a short period because there were rumours afloat that diseases like filaria were still rampant there. So they must examine their health problems and see if they could accommodate more people there.

HON. (MRS.) E. DASILVA (*Guyana*) replying to the points raised by some delegates said that filaria was no longer a problem in her country. As regards the question of land not having been under cultivation, the fact was that the Government of Guyana was increasing the use of land. Also, there was a national service system for opening out new areas and people were being sent there. We had the land to offer and the people from Barbados and all other places could come there and we hoped to be integrated.

HON. ALAN MARTIN (*Canada*) said that there was no endeavour being made to restrict agricultural production in his country.

DR. THE HON. W. H. C. MASTERS (*Bermuda*): said that our rights should carry responsibilities also. That purpose

could be realised by general education, not sex education alone.

Pesticides could lead to pollution. The question whether increased use of fertilisers also led to pollution required to be properly studied.

HON. R. F. ANTHONY ROBERTS (*Bahamas*) said that the problem being quite serious, it was definitely necessary to take a stronger line on the question of rights of individuals in the matter of family planning. Also, instead of academic teaching, there had to be education by experience, that is, creating environments whereby the people at the lower level could see the results of improved standard of living.

The reason why people moved from rural areas into urban areas was because there was a better way of life there. Therefore, it was important that rural development took place and funds were made available for this purpose from the World Bank and other international institutions, easily and speedily to developing countries at a reasonable rate of interest.

HON. APURBALAL MAZUMDAR (*West Bengal—India*): It was true that some of the affluent persons living in rural areas went to the cities to enjoy better life, but it was also a fact that in a developing country, rural people went to the cities in search of employment. Therefore, if the rural areas could be developed and the life could be made easier there, the shift from the rural areas to the urban areas could be checked to a large extent.

HON. M. B. DAWKINS (*South Australia*): There was need to step up food production. In this connection, the difficulties in regard to distribution should be taken care of and greater attention should be paid to it.

Population explosion was a serious problem of our age. It should be tackled in all seriousness. Family Planning had to be considered very seriously in addition to the short-term policy of stepping up food production. Technical advice and careful forward planning, both in the area of stepping up food production and in the field of family planning were required.

DR. THE HON. WONG SOON KAI (*Sarawak—Malaysia*): The State of Sarawak consisted of 42,000 sq. miles with a population of 1.2 million people and did not face the problem of population pressure as many other countries did. For such countries as were facing this problem, population control through family planning and other measures was necessary. Otherwise, economic and social development would be eroded by population growth.

Even though some delegates had expressed the view that the problem of population was wholly a problem relating to individual countries, many world organisations like the WHO and other regional organisations could play an important role in the matter.

The role of the United States and Canada in dispersing food to the needy peoples was praiseworthy. However, in the ultimate analysis, no country could depend

upon foreign aid for the final solution of this problem.

An important matter that should engage our attention was international redistribution of the available food resources.

HON. (MRS.) GRACE ONYANGO (*Kenya*): The population of Kenya was affected by three vital changes which had far-reaching implications for the human environment. These were: accelerating rate of growth of population; increasing volume of internal migration and the rate of urban growth consequent upon the changing balance of population. Kenya, therefore, shared with many developing countries of the world the characteristics of a rapidly expanding country.

The birth rate in Kenya was among the highest in the world. That was mainly because of the traditional view as to the desirability of having many children. The Government of Kenya was very grateful to all developed countries which had lent them a hand in their developmental efforts.

HON. P. R. CHANSHI (*Zambia*): While population increased in geometrical proportions food production increased only in arithmetic proportion. The world was no doubt facing a serious food situation, but the possibilities of increasing food production were far from exhausted. Only 11 per cent of the world land area was under cultivation at present. In Zambia itself, there were vast uncultivated tracts of land.

It was important that huge sums were being spent on destructive weapons

whereas foodgrains and cattle were being destroyed by some countries to protect their prices while millions of people all over the world were going without food and meat. The circumstances surrounding world production and distribution involved complex interactions of politics, economics, weather conditions and so on.

HON. (MRS.) TEKAREI RUSSELL (*Gilbert and Ellice Islands*): There was no problem of poverty in the Gilbert Islands which consisted of a small strip of land. Family planning had been successfully implemented there and the problem now was to keep that level. But many other parts of the world did need family planning.

The main question was how we shared our experiences and rendered help to each other. In Gilbert Islands we want to develop our fisheries but do not have the necessary know-how. The members of the Commonwealth should help us in this matter with their advanced expertise as well as finances.

HON. M. K. ARAP KEINO (*Kenya*): In Kenya, we were faced with the problem of overpopulation. We had introduced family planning and we were doing it very successfully.

As regards the question of food, we had to pay more attention to maximise our agricultural production. We had to introduce fertilisers. We had tried it in Kenya, but we were being told that fertilisers would pollute our environment.

Some of the advanced countries instead of giving aid for the agricultural sector,

preferred to give aid in the shape of military hardware. This was really dangerous.

DR. THE HON. W. H. C. MASTERS (*Bermuda*): The consensus was that world population would be controlled provided facilities were made available in every country.

On the question of food the consensus was that at the moment with the present population, there was enough food. But the real problem was distribution. Probably in the near future some method of distribution might be forthcoming which would alleviate the present problems.

HON. R. F. ANTHONY ROBERTS (*Bahamas*): The discussion brought out that in addition to the need for food aid countries would prefer to have assistance for the development of their rural areas.

The Panel closed.

(ii) *Commodity Prices, terms of trade and indexation*: This subject was discussed in Panel III of the Conference on the afternoon session of October 30, 1975. The Panel consisted of Hon. Vaovasamanaia R. P. Phillips (*Western Samoa*) (*Chairman*) and Hon. B. Ramsaroop (*Guyana*) and Hon. Datuk Musa Hitam (*Malaysia*) (*Members*). Besides the members, the following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. Kenneth Clarke (U.K.)

Hon. J. M. G. Adams (Barbados)

Dr. The Hon. Wong Soon Kai (Malaysia)

Hon. W. J. Cheddesingh (Jamaica)

Hon. Alan Martin (Canada)

Hon. Bernrd Soya (Sri Lanka)

Hon. L. F. Sloane (New Zealand)

Hon. Gosaibhai Chhibabhai Atel (Gujarat—India)

L. G. Blake (Falkland Islands)

Hon. Maurice Dupras (Canada)

HON. B. RAMSAROOP (*Guyana*): Indexation, commodity prices and terms of trade were essential for the creation of a new international economic order. The transfer of technology was another important aspect. Following the promulgation of Bretton Woods Agreement and the Marshall Plan, formulae were formulated for the development and growth of the developed nations of the world, but since then nothing had been done substantially to improve the lot of the developing nations. There should be some definite action. As a result of the present contemporary economic system, the developing world was in a muddle.

We had a world where 70 per cent of the third world countries were suffering from malnutrition whereas the world had the resources to give adequate nutrition to all this population. There was maldistribution of oil on such a scale that the developed countries were consuming about 205 times more of the resources per capita than the developing countries. What the third world developing countries were seeking to bring about was a change in this new order.

The Prime Minister of Guyana had taken the initiative recently to put up a proposal for a new international economic order.

The three issues of terms of trade, indexation and commodity prices were conceptually related and were inter-bound with the entire issue of the creation of a new international economic order.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): The developing countries exported primary products to the developed countries which were used by the latter for their industrialisation programmes. The former had to import finished goods, made from those materials, at exorbitant prices ranging as high as 10 to 20 times the price of the primary product.

The price of industrial goods had escalated so much that a hundred tonnes of a certain commodity only would be able to buy a small hand-driven tractor for a certain country. Yet in order to develop, that particular country had to sweat and toil, just to get that little industrial product.

These examples highlighted the need for us to look at the problem in its proper perspective and to ask ourselves: could such a state of affairs go on any further? The answer was 'No'.

Malaysia was a great believer in buffer stock as a means of price stabilisation. She had an international tin agreement for the last 20 years, which was a perfect example of how buffer stock could be operated. However, commodities like tin or rubber were easy, but where the commodity was difficult like tea or perishables or

edible oils, there were difficulties in technical maintenance of such products. We were also having difficulties about finance. That was where the IMF or other international organisations came in. IMF should provide facilities for direct financing of buffer stocks where the commodity was worthwhile.

While we should get on with the job of price stabilisation of individual commodities, a whole range of commodities required price stabilisation. The commodity to commodity approach was quite in conformity with multi-commodity approach.

HON. KENNETH CLARKE (U.K.): Certain fluctuations in prices upwards had a disastrous effect on the manufactures. Similarly a sudden dive downwards had an equally disastrous effect upon the producers who suddenly found their market had collapsed. Therefore price stabilisation was very much in everybody's interest.

If by indexation, the price of a raw material was pitched at an artificially chosen level in the market; the demand of that commodity would fall. Therefore indexation was no remedy.

In fact many of our present problems had been the result of the sudden increase in oil prices forced upon us by oil producing cartels. This had hit the developed countries because it had affected all their manufacturing industries. It had hit the developing world because it was a major import for them. Oil producers should be influenced to utilise their profit constructively.

DR. THE HON. WONG SOON KAI (Malaysia): It was important for us to ensure that the prices should not go down as much as it was important that they should not go up. That was why we needed to have a floor and a ceiling price in buffer stock operations. But how could one prevent the price of rubber or other raw materials from breaking the ceiling if there was a shortage? That was a problem which had been plaguing us. But we had found a system of overcoming this problem by getting the consumers to participate in financing as well as in providing for the increase in the amount of the buffer stock of that particular commodity.

However, there were problems in regard to certain commodities like sugar, the stocking of which required special arrangements. That had to be looked into.

Finally, we had the question of responsibility of the oil-producing countries and the fear for cartels. Even this oil cartel in the long run would back-fire, to the detriment of all producers and consumers alike.

HON. J. M. G. ADAMS (Barbados): Sugar prices rose spectacularly in 1974 due to a surge in demand. Countries like Britain had negotiated on the basis of buying a certain amount of sugar. So, there was no compulsion to supply all the sugar and many producing countries took advantage of the extraordinary prices to sell the sugar. But Guyana was almost alone in meeting the commitments of Britain.

HON. B. RAMSAROOP (*Guyana*): We gave the U. K. our explicit and solemn undertaking that we were going to meet their requirements.

When the price stabilisation exercise in the form of a buffer stock was attempted, the financing of it became really impossible.

Taxation must not be seen only in terms of price regulation. We must also take into account the interests of the consumers through orderly development and assurance of supplies.

As regards remarks about Guyana's arbitrary price of raw sugar, the facts were slightly wrong. The position was that Guyana imposed an internal levy on sugar as a result of which the price of sugar went up.

HON. W. J. CHEDDESINGH (*Jamaica*): It was said that sugar was the culprit in skipping the market for higher prices. In Jamaica, sugar was the chief commodity in export in which industry we employed the largest amount of labour. Last year, when the price of oil went up, cost of production of sugar went up, but the wages of labour were very low and Government felt it necessary to improve the living standards of the workers and bring them up to the level of government workers. So they took the opportunity of using the European market to sell some of their sugar.

The same method was adopted in another field, *viz.*, bauxite in Jamaica. The Government found it impossible to raise the standard of living by any wage increase

from the revenue they were getting from the bauxite processors. So, they thought it fit to make a levy and increase the taxation on bauxite and this had improved the condition of the workers.

HON. ALAN MARTIN (*Canada*): He would like to know as to what extent, if any, was there control in Malaysia of production and distribution by international organisations.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): The control of production of commodities like rubber and tin was substantially more than fifty per cent in Malaysia itself. This was the result of the old colonial administration where the British were really the owners of the tin mines and rubber estates.

Whatever be the power behind the production of these commodities, the Government had passed legislation which gave us absolute power. In spite of the fact that we were controlling the producers, foreign investors had seen the rationale behind the action that we had taken in order to stabilise the prices of these commodities.

HON. BERNARD SOYSA (*Sri Lanka*): The problems of rubber and tea were not necessarily of the same kind. The variation in rubber was likely to be much more elastic. It was dependent upon any kind of influence that the producers might exercise in regard to prices. Tea was still sold on the old auction principle. There was a free interplay of market forces competing at auctions. There was a tendency for the big people to divide the loot among themselves with the result that competitive bidding which could result in an increase of the prices was removed.

There had been a steady decline in tea prices, as there had been a steady decline in other commodity prices and primary products, prices. The general pattern had been that we had seen the primary products dropping in price, and industrial and capital goods brought from those countries going up higher in price. This had been due to inflationary situation generally. There was a mention about the price increase of tea. But the percentage increase had not kept pace with the percentage increase of the inputs, percentage increase in the price of consumer goods. The variation in the price had not kept pace with the unfavourable variation in the price of your inputs.

There was more tea that could be absorbed in the world market. But the difficulty was that channels of international distribution were not exercising control over producers. That was controlled by the Big Four.

HON. L. F. SLOANE (*New Zealand*): We were the most efficient agriculturists in the world. If we were getting a high price, it was because of cost of maintenance and investment. In considering stabilisation, had it been taken into account that there had to be a continuing investment in agriculture and the manufacturing process in general? There must be an arithmetical way of working out stabilisation prices.

HON. GOSAIBHAI CHHIBABHAI PATEL (*Gujarat—India*): The foodgrains prices were going up. In India, more than half the population lived below the poverty-line. So we must try to bring down the prices of food, clothing and other things of daily use. The prices should be reasonable and encouraging to the producers. The margin

of profit should be limited and the consumers should be satisfied. We should help the poor to fight poverty. There should not be any profiteering or any chance of exploitation.

The African countries had plenty of land and they could cultivate their lands and give foodgrains to those who needed them. Oil producers and users should meet together and fix the price of oil for 5 or 10 years.

HON. L. G. BLAKE (*Falkland Islands*): Marketing of commodities should aim at stabilising prices. There should be stabilisation of prices rather than to have a free price.

There should be a difference between essential and non-essential commodities. Non-essential commodities did not behave on the basis of supply and demand. A system should be devised for balancing the prices of non-essential commodities.

HON. MAURICE DUPRAS (*Canada*): A system should be devised to make sure that the processing or manufacturing was done in the very country from where that commodity came. This was specially important in the case of developing countries.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): The main issue was how could we get income for the development of our country. We should aim at getting a stable price as against increased or higher price. It would ensure that whatever income we got out of a particular commodity could be ploughed back in our country for development.

Development could be done by diversifying the base not only for agricultural products but for manufactures. In fact every country wanted it. But it was quite likely that hundreds of other problems would crop up with it.

HON. B. RAMSAROOP (Guyana): Industrialisation was only a part answer to this issue. Industrialisation contemplated situations of easier access to finance, industrial projects, encouragement of export-oriented production, cooperation in establishment of facilities to exploit and transfer raw materials and commodities in developing countries and availability of required technical assistance.

This must be taken into consideration in the light of other developmental methods that would bring about the establishment of a new international economic order.

Transfer of technology meant the formulation of an international code of conduct, easy access to available technology, extension of research, creation of suitable indigenous and adoption of non-indigenous technology, etc. All these and allied questions were also related to the producers' organisations and they must be vitally concerned about them.

(iii) *Producer or Consumer Country cartels and Regional Economic Groupings:* This subject was discussed in Panel V of the Conference on the morning session of October 31, 1975. The Panel consisted of Senator The Hon. Allister Grosart (Canada) (*Chairman*) and Hon. Julius Silverman (U.K.) and Hon. J. M. G. Adams (Barbados) (*Members*). Besides

the Chairman and Members, the following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. Michael Marshall (U.K.)
Hon. Datuk Musa Hitam (Malaysia)
Hon. Max Saltman (Canada)
Hon. Roy Richardson (Trinidad & Tobago)
Hon. Alan Martin (Canada)
Hon. A. R. Thomas (Bermuda)
Hon. Braja Mohan Mohanty (Orissa—India)
Hon. Nicholson Stravens (Seychelles)
Hon. E. R. Schreyer (Manitoba—Canada)
Hon. M. K. Arop Keino (Kenya)
Hon. Indrajit Gupta (India)
Hon. George F. Hosten (Grenada)
Dr. The Hon. Albert Brog Olivier Depuget (Malta).

THE CHAIRMAN: The development of cartels in their present dimensions was comparatively new; it came largely from the rise of OPEC and its success. However, there had been producing cartels in existence for many years. There had been, generally speaking, four major cartels in the post-war period. Various judgements were there as to their success. But the success of OPEC was unique and had sponsored thinking in many producer groups as to the possibility of achieving similar successes by pooling their resources.

We might break down our subject into fairly simple questions. What were cartels? Why had they functioned as they had in international marketing? How

did they operate? How were they expected to operate?

It might also not be forgotten that the word 'multinational' had to some extent become a dirty word in international politics and would not apply in any reasonable definition of producer cartels. They were multinational corporations balancing in many ways individual cartels.

The main objective of these cartels was to have stabilisation of commodity prices and, secondly, to bring about increases in different commodity prices to a reasonable level. What was a reasonable level was a matter of arithmetic. But it had something to do with the relationship between the rise in industrial exports and the rise in prices of primary commodities. The developing countries were required to import industrial goods in order to increase the potential of their exports.

Every cartel approached the problem of achieving its objective in a different way. It was interesting to note that the origin and the incentive to the formation of OPEC was a decision taken by the big seven oil companies to lower world prices. It was the problem of increase in the prices of oil that had made absolutely essential for the primary commodity producers to raise their prices. It would be a mistake to talk of cartels as merely a device of the primary commodity producer countries to have stabilization and increase in prices. That had been the experience of the four major cartels in the post-war years.

HON. JULIUS SILVERMAN (U. K.): Cartels in the producer field was a concept which went back over a generation. They were formed for the purpose of eliminating the competition factor. But a cartel of producers of primary commodities was a recent development. OPEC was the most important one among them. Many other commodities including iron ore were under consideration.

So far as oil was concerned, there was no shortage of it. The argument of the OPEC countries was that oil was the only asset they had got which might be exhausted within a generation or less and, therefore, they were entitled to demand from the world the best price they could get for their commodity. Up to a point, that was right. But that would be justifiable if the increased prices were used for the benefit of the people in that area or for the benefit of the undeveloped countries generally. However, the plain fact was that that was not the case.

Secondly, a rapid and sudden increase in prices such as had occurred in oil, had enormous consequences upon the world's economy. For western countries, it had the most serious economic consequences. They were faced with both inflation and deflation at the same time.

Unfortunately, not more than 10 per cent of the increased oil prices were really being used for the purposes of redevelopment. The economies of the oil importing underdeveloped countries themselves had been seriously affected. Therefore, it was desirable to have some mechanism

between the producers and the consumers to get a rational approach on this subject so that it might be ensured that the money was used for development of all the countries, and not merely to have vast quantities of sterling or dollar deposits in various countries because on that basis, there could be no justification for the increased price at all.

In regard to the regional economic groupings such as E.E.C., we were still to see what were the economic advantages in a group of industrialised countries producing the same sort of goods. One could not be sure how it was going to work in the long run, although it had undoubtedly bestowed some advantages on some member countries like France, Germany and Italy as a result of bargains and horse-trading.

HON. J. M. G. ADAMS (*Barbados*): There were a large number of regional economic groupings in the world today. The common thread running through all of them was that there was some common political history.

Many of the policies of EEC could be characterised as the policies of immense consumer cartel. But that could perhaps be forgiven as the EEC had an unrealisable aim of political union of Western Europe.

The Caribbean Community was also very largely a consumer market designed to organise imports into the Community in a particular way. Yet the population of this Community was so small that the world as a whole ought not to object to

any cartelisation of consumers' interests which was embraced by its activities.

As regards relationship between these economic groupings, there was absolutely no conflict between a regional economic grouping or even a regional semi-political grouping and the concept of the Commonwealth itself.

HON. MICHAEL MARSHALL (*U. K.*): All of us had some fears about the cartels, whether they were regional economic groups or producer cartels or consumer cartels, with special reference to OPEC. If we took the view that the OPEC was already bringing out many of the difficulties in the short term, did it not also underline the long term problem? If we said that today's producer might be tomorrow's consumer as the world oil resources were limited, should there not be some practical follow-up of the initiative of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference where we said that the cartels should as far as possible be open to both producer and consumer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The consensus of the experts was that the better way was international agreements, an international overall view of the commodity problems and coming to agreements at a universal and international level rather than bilateral or multilateral agreements.

HON. JULIUS SILVERMAN (*U. K.*): Whatever might be said to justify the cartel, its real nature was to get the highest price of the commodity that was being produced.

If the increase in price was intended to meet the increased cost which had got to be paid to the producer, it would be justified provided it was done and so phased that the additional money which was generated would be used for that purpose. There should be agreement both for the price and for the phasing to make sure that it was not disturbing the whole economic system and creating problems which were intimately connected with the undeveloped countries.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): We tended to interpret the word 'cartel' in a very negative sense. OPEC certainly was not the first cartel. OPEC became the first cartel that jolted everybody out of their slumber. One of the first cartels formed was not by the developing countries, producers of primary commodities but by the developed countries. If the aim of cartels was to get the best price or the highest price for a particular product, it would be counter-productive in the long run.

One should look at it rather positively in the sense that the OPEC countries themselves had generated this awareness among the whole international economic community who wanted to talk about the problems of primary commodities *vis-a-vis* their relationship to the development of the whole world, be they consumer or producer countries. It was the OPEC countries which had been insisting that we should not confine ourselves only to talking about petroleum but that petroleum problems were related to problems of other commodities, problems of other developing countries as well. This was a

positive aspect of that particular cartel. We should not really use OPEC as an example because it was only a temporary phase. When one talked about commodities, it should not be forgotten that the consumer countries were interested in security of supplies and they wanted to make sure that they got the stuff at reasonable prices. This was where there was some common meeting ground.

The basic concept of a cartel had necessarily to be on the basis of mutual interest, on the basis of the consumers appreciating the needs of the producers and the producers appreciating the needs and fears of the consumers themselves.

HON. MAX SALTSMAN (*Canada*): He could not agree that the cartel operated to the mutual interest of the producer and the consumer. One should be very clear that a cartel, whether a producer cartel or a consumer cartel, was a kind of economic conspiracy against another group to increase the bargaining power. But sometimes cartels could just redress some kind of imbalances taking place.

In the past cartels tended to be organised essentially for profits. Today, they were not so much organised by commercial groups; today they were organised by nations and as a consequence, they were not only used for the purpose of increasing the wealth of a particular nation but they became useful for political purposes.

Oil was a unique commodity that was cartelised at a moment of weakness in the world's economy and, therefore, was enormously effective. It was not known

whether other commodities such as copper, bauxite, iron ore, phosphate, mercury were taken to be in the same category as oil. In the case of copper, there was substitution to an enormous extent. This fear of substitution was being reflected in the guidelines for the new economic order where the countries of the world were asked not to substitute if the price went too high, because it was clearly recognised that if prices went up, there would be tremendous incentive to substitute.

HON. J. M. G. ADAMS (*Barbados*): There was a definitional difficulty as to what a cartel actually meant. The word 'cartel' was deliberately chosen to indicate an association of producers or consumers to increase their bargaining power at the expense of the other party to the bargain. Therefore, it was possible to have objections to cartels. But there might not be any objection to international commodity agreements. How to make them work was the problem. It was very difficult to enforce successful producers' cartels over a long term; it was easier to enforce successful consumers' cartels over a long period.

There was a mention to series of items such as cocoa, sugar, tea, etc. The consumer power would always break on the efforts of producers if they attempted cartels in these regions.

OPEC was going to be successful for a number of years. The magic of OPEC was that it had provided other producers with less power to dominate the supply market.

It was difficult to cartelise supply of Bauxite. In the case of aluminium, the two producers who produced more than 50 per cent of it were Australia and Jamaica and they were unlikely candidates for cartelisation. So far as copper was concerned, the Chilean regime had changed and the producers' cartel would dominate.

The establishment of the OPEC was an instrument of the Arab policy. It was not easy in the long run to control the supply of oil as it had been possible to control in the short run.

HON. JULIUS SILVERMAN (*U. K.*): Cartels had not succeeded in the past because of the relationship between supply and demand. By and large, there had been a greater supply as far as primary commodities were concerned. We were living in a different situation now in which the supply of these commodities was shrinking in relation to the demand.

Technology could find a substitute even in the field of energy or oil, but substitution was a thing which would take a long time to develop and during this time, the cartels would be operative until the price might defeat itself in the long run. But in matters economic one could not say what would happen in the long run.

HON. ROY RICHARDSON (*Trinidad & Tobago*): A point had been made that the consumers' cartels were going to be more successful than the producers' cartels. But the consumers' cartels could be successful only when the produce was easily available. When the product was

in short supply, the producers would have the advantage.

It was also pointed out that these cartels were almost politically motivated. Initially the cartels were formed to protect themselves and to ensure that they got the best possible results from whatever they were producing. Whereas it could be admitted that they were not much altruistic, it would not be correct to say that they were motivated to the extent of blackmailing the consumers into any particular situation.

It was said that Trinidad was not producing oil but was only consuming. That was not correct. We were discovering new sources of oil, though, at the moment, it was not really producing as much oil as it could. We were essentially a producer, and not consumer. We were motivated by a sense of protection, in the sense that we were producing something to secure a certain stability in the market.

HON. ALAN MARTIN (*Canada*): We really had no idea as to whether groupings were ultimately to the benefit of the consumers or producers. Perhaps, it was separate from both.

It was said that the pricing for tea was fixed by four organizations operating out of London. It was not clear as to whether the present aspect would work out ultimately to the benefit of producers or consumers. In our own country, there were various marketing groups, national and international. They might tend to be mutual in their affairs, which might work

out to the advantage of both the groups in the sense that they had established orderly markets.

When the price of sugar was going up so drastically and so quickly in the supermarkets and Toronto area, people felt that the increase in price was directly due to a step-up in the economic situation and the standard of living of all those who were producing the product and the workers involved in producing the cane. However, there was a suspicion, valid or invalid, that market groupings came into the picture and some of the commodities actually left the plantations either in market groupings or cartels. This ultimate factor of prices worked either to the advantage of one or the disadvantage of the other.

HON. A. R. THOMAS (*Bermuda*): Commodities like tea, sugar etc. were not important in cartels. The real problem today was oil. The reason behind it was political philosophy, the philosophy of power and the philosophy of the capitalist system.

So long as the capitalist system did not change its outlook, there was not going to be any real change in this respect. The prime concern of these cartels was to earn profits at all costs. Small developing countries could not do much to change the trend.

Until the developing countries could come together as a force reflecting a very different philosophy in terms of priorities, we were not going to have much change.

HON. BRAJA MOHAN MOHANTY (*Orissa—India*): The developing countries were being exploited and put to difficulties by the multi-national corporations as well as industrialised countries. These multi-national or trans-national corporations were not only causing havoc in the field of economy and perpetuating colonial exploitation, but they were also working to create politics of instability in the countries where they were operating.

In order to counter this problem, a guideline had been provided in Dakar Conference. It resolved that wherever cartels of producer countries would be formed, they should take into consideration the interest of the developing countries which were the consumer of the material.

There should be mutual understanding and co-operation among the developing countries in the field of transfer of available technology, building up of infrastructure, setting up of industries and more particularly trade concessions. National currencies should be allowed to be used in foreign transactions. All these measures would go a long way in meeting the challenge created by the multi-national corporations.

HON. NICHOLSON STRAVENS (*Seychelles*): There were 14 co-operative societies in his country out of which seven were on Copra. The Copra societies had joined to form one united society to provide finance and other facilities, to the member societies.

His country depended on the export of Copra for the last many years and there

were no processing facilities in his country. Now there was a proposal to start a national oil mill in co-operative sector. We had invited local capital to participate in that venture.

HON. J. M. G. ADAMS (*Barbados*): Until recently Barbados used to import Copra from the small Islands of Caribbean—St. Lucia and Dominica. It was processed into oil and exported back to those islands. Now they had imposed an export levy on Copra to finance their processing factories. This had killed Copra industry in Barbados.

HON. E. R. SCHREYER (*Manitoba—Canada*): It would no doubt be a monumental mistake for various primary producer countries in the world to attempt to take the cue from the OPEC countries to cartelise various commodities of world trade simply because oil cartelisation had proved to be successful. North America and Western Europe, which comprised of 10 per cent of the world population, accounted for nearly 75 per cent of the consumption of petroleum products. It was therefore, understandable that there was such great concern there with the actions taken by the OPEC countries. It had nothing to do with any ideological question of capitalist bloc vs. some other bloc.

There was dawning realisation among leaders of Governments in Europe and the U.S. that their entire industrial system and their life-styles were based to the extent of 80 per cent on fossil fuel energy and only 20 per cent on other sources of

energy and that some time in the next twenty or thirty years, or even earlier, there would be a very great demand for the other modes of energy. They had to make adjustments accordingly. But that process had been agonisingly slow.

Furthermore, all the industrialised countries were afraid of a systematic switch over. Each one felt obliged to carry on doing precisely the wrong thing, that is, a policy of continuation of overdependency on the limited world reservoir of oil. So, the circumstances were such that the cartels that operated would continue to be the most powerful kind of cartels that could ever be seen.

HON. M. K. ARAP KEINO (*Kenya*): The African countries were the most hit by the OPEC decision to raise the prices. The prices of oil were absolutely unbearable and we had no way of controlling them. It was not also possible because of our economic system. We were still a young country, without a highly developed economic system. It was possible for the industrialised countries to afford this price of oil, but painful for us.

There was no doubt that the cartels were formed to make sure that they get the maximum profit and for no other reason. What had the OPEC countries done with the moneys they got? Had they taken the trouble to improve the standard of living of their own people? What they had done was to buy military hardware. They were at the moment propagating Islamic religion; it had become one of the conditions of getting aid from them. We had no sympathy whatsoever with what the OPEC countries had done.

HON. INDRAJIT GUPTA (*India*): There was no doubt that OPEC decision had precipitated a major crisis. For India, it meant an additional burden of 120 million dollars. Nevertheless we felt that it was wrong to look at the situation from the crisis point of view.

There was the aspect of the catalytic effect also. But for this action on the part of OPEC, many things would not have happened. The whole problem of economic relations between the developed countries of Europe, U.S.A. and the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America would not have been brought out in the open as at present. For India, the catalytic effect was that we had been compelled to step up the exploration of our vast untapped resources of oil which had so far been ignored.

Moreover, it was no business of other countries to dictate as to how the additional profit earned by the OPEC countries was to be spent. It was for oil producing countries themselves to decide it. The hard fact was that due to sharp fluctuations in the world prices of primary commodities, the developing countries were doubly hit—first, through lower export earnings and, secondly, by inflating their import bills. It was to be hoped that the new situation that had arisen would result in more realistic understanding and bring forth a more equitable world economic order.

Every cartel should not be looked upon with concern. The coming together of the jute producing countries was not meant

to enable them to dictate their prices but to check fluctuations. Similarly, if Sri Lanka and India came together in respect of tea, it was because tea was their major product.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): Natural rubber appeared to have been one of the most potential successful cartel operations that could be made, next to petroleum. Within the ASEAN region, we controlled just under 90 per cent of the whole world's total production of natural rubber. If we said 'no go; full stop', the whole world would also stop. After the cartels operations of the OPEC countries, we got together and formed the association known as ASEAN. But the whole idea of the formation of the Association of Natural Rubber Producing countries was not the question of raising prices, but the one of co-ordination, research, quality control and supplies; and only then were we entering the phase of price stabilisation.

The countries that produced the commodities concerned, irrespective of how many countries were involved, should get together, first and foremost, to form producer associations with a view to improve the other aspects of production, supply and research. One must appreciate the difference between the success of the European Economic Community as against the failure of so many other regional economic groupings. That highlighted the difference from countries in Europe. In developing countries, there was the difficulty in overcoming the most intense nationalistic feeling after having achieved independence.

HON. GEORGE F. HOSTEN (*Grenada*): We produced one-third of the world's supply of nutmegs and maize. In a country like Grenada, producing one third of the world supply of nutmegs and maize, the producer had really no say in their prices. But the existing cartel seemed to be the marketing and consumer cartel. The poor producers were not benefited by it.

There were certain basic weaknesses in many of the economic groupings. In a group like CARICOM, because of the size of the country and the population, industries were naturally attracted to the bigger colonies. We could not say at the moment that we were actually getting sufficient benefits from such a group. Unless there was a political will to see that there was some equitable distribution of the gains to be derived from these groupings, even CARICOM might find at some stage that the less developed areas would no longer continue just to be the markets for them. We were in favour of these groupings, but there should be political will displayed on the part of bigger brothers in these groupings for a more equitable distribution of the gains thereof.

DR. THE HON. ALBERT BORG OLIVIER DEPUGET (*Malta*): Malta was a country which had no raw materials at all. The effect of the OPEC decision on our country was not any energy crisis, because we had no shortage of oil supplies, but it had created a very serious balance of payments crisis. So, we could not counter-balance the effects of OPEC and of the international cartels. Though we had a

favourable ten-year association agreement with the European Common Market, we were not really benefiting from the association, agreement. The more we imported, the more our balance of payments came into crisis.

The situation in our country was only one of being victims of both the industrialised countries and of the primary producing countries, specially OPEC, because they had hiked the prices of the raw materials that we had to import and we could not on our part raise any prices accordingly. It was an insoluble problem for small countries like ours.

HON. ROY RICHARDSON (*Trinidad & Tobago*): Cartels like OPEC were initially motivated to protect themselves and they had tried to stabilise their position. OPEC could not be termed as exploitative, nor was it a negative instrument. However, it had to be admitted that it had encouraged other producers to protect their own interests.

In some of our regional groupings it had to be considered whether there should be more emphasis on Government participation in some of the joint ventures rather than encouraging the private sector; because if such ventures could be undertaken in smaller countries, these could as well be taken in bigger countries also.

It was rather ironic that we had large countries engaged in space research and spending millions of dollars, but they would not spend that money down here on the earth where millions were starving.

THE CHAIRMAN: There had been a flow back of negative and positive approaches to this problem of cartels. He would however, like to end on a positive note. Positive proposals had been made in this field by the U.N. in the famous New Economic Order Declaration, by the U.K. in the White Paper and by the Mercantile Report. Specific suggestions had been made therein as to how this problem could be solved either by a new look at the cartels or by various alternatives.

HON. JULIUS SILVERMAN (*U. K.*): There had been not so much conflict of opinion as difference in emphasis on this subject of cartels. Most people would agree that cartels had certain dangers and certain dis-advantages, but whether they were a conspiracy was a matter for argument.

As regards India, it had taken a dual position. On the one hand there was an intention on their part to get a better deal from the cartels and on the other they had pointed out the great economic disadvantages suffered by them.

Some arguments had been advanced in regard to the possibility of the substitution. It had to be admitted that it required a good deal of knowledge, time and also huge capital expenditure.

As regards regional economic agreements, there were so many different agreements at present. Some of these agreements were economic, some were political, while others were historical with the purpose of eventual unification as a federation.

Therefore, it was almost impossible to make any pronouncement about them.

(iv) *Multinational Corporations*: This subject was discussed in Panel II of the Conference on the morning session of October 30, 1975. The panel consisted of Hon. Sia Kah Hui (Singapore) (*Chairman*) and Hon. Max Saltzman (Canada) and Hon. Roy Richardson (Trinidad and Tobago) (*Members*). In addition to the Members the following delegates participated in the discussion:

Senator the Hon. Deighton F. Giffith (Barbados)

Hon. (Smt.) Roda Mistry (Andhra Pradesh—(India))

Hon. Michael Marshall (U.K.)

Hon. H. C. Wariithi (Kenya)

Hon. Lim Cho Hock (Malaysia)

Hon. David G. Steuart (Saskatchewan—(Canada))

Hon. J. H. Taylor (New South Wales—(Australia))

Hon. Joseph Casey (Nova Scotia—(Canada))

Hon. Datuk Musa Hitam (Malaysia)

Hon. L. G. Young (Alberta—Canada)

Hon. Kultar Chand Rana (Mimachal Pradesh—(India))

Hon. K. C. Ramrakha (Fiji)

Hon. A. R. Thomas (Bermuda)

Hon. Maurice Dupras (Canada)

Hon. Gordon Mathews (Barbados)

Hon. Nicholson Stravens (Seychelles)

Hon. Jean Perrault (Quebec—Canada)

HON. MAX SALTSMAN (*Canada*): Most of the multinational corporations operating in Canada were of U.S. origin and in some respect those were to the advantage of Canada. In the United States itself, workers felt that the multinational corporations should withdraw their investments from other countries because the funds thus available would create more employment opportunities inside the United States. He thought that in spite of bitter criticism against those corporations, the problem before developing countries was how to attract such corporations so that they could get what they cannot produce themselves.

Multinational expansion had been referred to as neo-colonialism and had much the same characteristics of the imperial political colonialism which could be called a kind of economic colonialism. When the Governments got involved in business and industry what happened was the same as happened with colonialism and multinational corporations, that is, in return for certain benefits, certain knowhow, certain technology the recipients were asked to give up a margin of their sovereignty.

HON. ROY RICHARDSON (*Trinidad & Tobago*) spoke specifically about developing countries that were erstwhile colonies. Multinational corporations wielded tremendous influence and were essentially interested in making money. Many countries who had nationalised such Corporations faced various difficulties like the marketing of their products. It was necessary to work out an arrangement regarding those Corporations and it should be considered whether partnership or nationalisation was the answer.

SENATOR THE HON. DEIGHTON F. GRIFFITH (*Barbados*): The Multinational corporations were regarded as an asset in the Caribbean region, because thousands of people depended on them for their subsistence. Those Corporations did not regard themselves obligated to the interests of the region they were located in. They neglected training of the local people for top management positions. There had been some improvement because of the interference of the Government. There was, however, inherent danger in the existence of multinational corporations because at the time of crisis these corporations were capable of diverting vast sums from one area to another which could bring about the collapse of the economic system.

HON. (SMT.) RODA MISTRY (*Andhra Pradesh—India*): or not some policies should be laid down for the transnational corporations. Very little data was available those corporations.

HON. MICHAL MARSHALL (*U.K.*): It was agreed that it was not good for developing countries to export their raw materials and lose the affluence of employment and manufacture. He supported the U.N. Commission on multinational corporations which was trying to frame a charter. There should be international insurance mechanism for export creation, for proper conduct for multinational corporations and finally for a code of conduct for the host countries as well.

HON. H. C. WARITHI (*Kenya*): There was need to negotiate with the multinational corporations which depended on the strength of the country or on how much

they had for investment. A method should be found out which could be applied through the initiatives of the Commonwealth countries so that there could be some kind of uniformity regarding terms and in that manner the interests of less powerful countries could be safeguarded.

HON. LIM CHO HOCK (*Malaysia*): There was a genuine fear in South East Asian countries that their economies might be controlled by the multinational corporations.

The multinational corporations operating in developing countries could sometimes be good. But if they did not consider the local conditions and aspirations of the people of the region, they had to be rejected. Some multinational corporations operated in dubious ways and bribed politicians. In the joint ventures, these corporations had only 49 per cent control, but their decisions were always overwhelming. It was not possible for developing countries to compete with the industrialised countries in a free enterprise. Therefore, the developing countries should exercise greater control over the entry of foreign corporations. He wanted to know what could be done to minimise the dangers posed by such corporations to the economy and sovereignty of the developing countries.

HON. DAVID G. STEUART (*Saskatchewan—Canada*): Multinational corporations should train the skilled labour in the host country which would give a fillip to their economy. He did not agree that the developing countries could operate their airlines at a lesser cost than the developed countries.

HON. J. H. TAYLOR (*New South Wales—Australia*): It was not that everybody was terribly happy about what was happening about multinationals. Sometimes there was neither the capital nor the expertise that was necessary and hence the multinationals had to be brought in. Multinationals were essential for certain things and the point to be considered was whether the deal was worthwhile in the national interest.

HON. JOSEPH CASEY (*Nova Scotia—Canada*): In some cases like oil exploration it might be necessary to go in for multinational corporations. His experience in his own country was that those corporations were bringing in valuable foreign exchange.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): Malaysia believed in foreign investment coming into the country. But it was essential to differentiate between control and ownership and to have a clear understanding of the objectives. The fear of domination had to be overcome. His country was trying to reduce the amount of foreign capital in his country from 60 per cent to 30 per cent over a period of 20 years. The objective behind foreign participation should be socio-economic betterment of the host country.

The answer to the dominance of multinational corporations was diversification. Then it would not be necessary to go to only one country.

HON. L. G. YOUNG (*Alberta—Canada*): Ninety per cent of oil production in Alberta was under transnationals or multinationals.

We should recognise that our corporations were accountable to some of the political ideologies. There was nothing more fluid in commercial dealings, in agreements and we should be able to change them on a short notice. He agreed with the suggestion that one of the ways to protect the economy was to invite different nationals or companies based in different countries. He would suggest that a country could lessen its dependence upon the corporations by diversifying its economy as much as possible.

HON. KULTAR CHAND RANA (*Himachal Pradesh—India*): Multinationals were primarily influenced and motivated by the idea of making maximum money. Apart from earning their legitimate profits, they also indulged in nefarious trade practices like underinvoicing and overinvoicing. They tried to circumvent the provisions by sending more money home by issuing a number of equity shares. It was for the host country to control such activities. Certain code of conduct should be framed and the host countries should see that it was applied rigidly. Interference in the domestic affairs of the host country should be checked. He would suggest that it would be advisable for the Commonwealth countries to exchange medium technology among themselves instead of going in for big cartels.

There should also be a provision that in the marketing gains, the host country should also have a certain percentage.

HON. K. C. RAMRAKHA (*Fiji*): A question was posed whether we wanted more

private ownership or not. Capital had to be respected because it was essential for development. People of developing countries learnt from the experience of multinationals which also benefited from the experience of local people. There had to be mutual sharing of experience. Politicians should not suffer from the delusion that they could control capital. It was a beast that could never be controlled.

HON. A. R. THOMAS (*Bermuda*): His experience with regard to the functioning of multinational corporations was not a happy one. Some of these corporations did not abide by the labour laws.

We needed the capital brought in by the big corporations but we must ensure that there were laws which governed and controlled their activities. They should operate in the best interests of the territory. There must be bilateral equity. Certain companies did bad business and exploited local people. It would be really good if through the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association some guidance was provided to countries so that there was no exploitation by multinational corporations and interests of developing countries were safeguarded.

HON. MAURICE DPRAS (*Canada*), HON. GORDON MATHEWS (*Barbados*), HON. NICHOLSON STRAVENS (*Seychelles*) and HON. JEAN PERREAULT (*Quebec—Canada*) also took part in the discussion.

HON. MAX SALTMAN (*Canada*) answering some of the points raised during the discussion, said that it had to be laid down

as to what would work to the advantage of the poor and developing countries.

It was a very practical idea to have a consulting service, a clearing house where each country could register the agreement made with the multinational corporations so that other countries could know the concessions given to those corporations.

Multinational corporations were often used to obscure the failure of the politicians. It did not lead to any solution.

HON. ROY RICHARDSON (*Trinidad and Tobago*): Summing up the deliberations of the Panel he said that there was a genuine fear expressed about the domination by multinational corporations. It was desired that there should be control over these corporations.

There was a consensus that foreign capital and multinational corporations were needed but there should be guidelines laid down to ensure their proper functioning. Also there should be definite agreements about setting up research centres in the host countries to give training to local people.

There should be a pool of experts available in the Commonwealth countries which could provide necessary guidelines to developing countries in regard to the proper functioning of multinational corporations.

The multinationals must be made to recognise the sovereignty of the individual countries. Many delegates felt that these corporations would be prepared to do this

if the pressure was strong enough and if they were susceptible to pressure and were also interested in the countries where they operated.

THE CHAIRMAN: We had this colossal problem of poverty and what we were trying to do was to create wealth and to distribute it. In order to create wealth we needed more corporations and that is why there were transnational corporations. If we did not want them, something-else would have to come in their place in order to create wealth to distribute because we could not distribute poverty.

(v) *Educational and Technological Aid:* This subject was discussed in Panel IV of the Conference on the afternoon Session of October 30, 1975. The Panel consisted of Hon. M. R. K. Nwako (Botswana) (*Chairman*) and Hon. Jek Yeun Thong (Singapore) and Hon. E. R. Schreyer (Manitoba—Canada) (*Members*). Besides the members, the following delegates participated in the discussion:

Senator the Hon. Deighton F. Giffith (Barbados)

Hon. Mallur Ananda Rao (Karnataka—India)

Hon. Laurie Pavitt (U.K.)

Hon. K. T. J. Rakhetla (Lesotho)

Hon. Bernard Soysa (Sri Lanka)

Hon. Chandra Sekhar Singh (Bihar—India)

Hon. N. B. Saunders (Turks and Caicos Islands)

Hon. K. Jeyakkody (Sri Lanka)

Hon. Michael Marshall (U.K.)

Hon. W. C. B. Hinds (Barbados)

Hon. N. Jean Perreault (Quebec—Canada)

Hon. J. H. Taylor (New South Wales—Australia)

Hon. M. K. Arap Keino (Kenya)

HON. JEK YEUN THONG (Singapore): said that in spite of the bitter experience of colonial exploitation, the countries shared the common heritage of the English language. It was an asset and should be preserved. The educational assistance could be more meaningfully utilised if there was a common language. In emerging countries there was the misconception that the higher the pattern of education, the better. After attaining freedom there was rush for higher education without having regard to the fact whether or not the society could absorb the output of the institutions and this ultimately led to frustration. Therefore building an infrastructure and a careful utilisation of resources was necessary.

HON. E. R. SCHREYER (Manitoba—Canada) said that there was multiplicity of the agencies involved in international co-operation with resultant duplication and some overlapping in achievements. It was, therefore, necessary to strengthen those that already existed. His country was willing to continue to make a contribution towards international assistance in

education and technical education, but there were some in his country who believed that so much of foreign aid tended to be irrelevant, that it did not reach those for whom that was intended and was not practically oriented. In his opinion greater regard should be shown for the opinion expressed by the potential recipient country as to what it was that it really required. He agreed with the suggestion that in all countries there should be proper balance and proportionality in education and training systems, so that there could be no imbalance in the society.

SENATOR THE HON. DEIGHTON F. GRIFFITH (*Barbados*) said that he was interested in the word 'aid'. He would like to receive aid that would help his country create things for themselves; aid that would help them in making their own textbooks in every area of instruction. Without functional aid, they would be back in the colonial era.

HON. MALLUR ANANDA RAO (*Karnataka—India*): Education was the basic foundation on which the superstructure of any country stood. The all round development, whether it was political or economic, entirely depended upon the qualitative enrichment of the youth. Until and unless this national wealth was harnessed properly in the right direction, one could not achieve any purpose in any sphere of national life.

Any country which remained educationally backward could never achieve progress in its national life. It would have to fall a prey to the power politics of the mighty powers.

CPA should play a major role in bringing the educationally under-developed countries on par with the developed countries. It must be able to evolve a new educational doctrine based on universality of human values while giving free scope for the individual countries to preserve their cultural and national heritage.

A standing committee of the representatives of Commonwealth countries should be formed to lay down programmes and policies to make an effective scheme of giving technical and educational aid. It should also review the working of the scheme. Technical aid should be based on the needs of recipient country and it should be unconditional and without strings.

HON. E. R. SCHREYER (*Manitoba—Canada*): Educational aid should be made relevant to the real needs of the recipient country.

Scholarships should be more related to trade and technical skills rather than academic education. We should give more importance to technical education to redress the imbalance by concentrating on scholarships for technical and trade schools. We had over-emphasised general training and under-emphasised practical training in the field skills.

It was wrong to believe that there was any great body of knowledge existing in highly industrialised countries to help in solving the social problems. They were struggling with social problems just like any other country.

HON. JEK YEUN THONG (*Singapore*): Technical aid should not only be relevant but it should also aim at developing creativity among the students undergoing technical courses.

What might be good for a country might not be good for another country. It all depended upon the environment of the country.

HON. LAURIE PAVITT (*U. K.*): Aid for fellowships and expertise should be canalised. It should be given to the right person in the right way. There should be a coordinating machinery for giving aid for specialised and technical education. One way in which it could be given was to have it on people to people rather than on Government to Government basis.

Technical assistance was also necessary in the area of intermediate technology.

HON. K. T. J. RAKHETLA (*Lesotho*): Educational aid should be given by way of provision of facilities for the spread of education. Once amounts were sanctioned by the aid giving country the Public Accounts Committee of the receiving country should play an important role to see that it was properly used. Aid should be relevant to the developmental needs of the developing country.

We should develop a system which could generate within a country an educational programme suitable to that particular country.

No effort should be spread to develop facilities which could be established in the developing countries themselves.

While providing aid, special consideration should be given by the Commonwealth countries for the countries in Southern Africa who were shouldering the extra burden for education, as part of their plan of assistance to the countries which were under South African or Rhodesian regimes.

HON. BERNARD SOYSA (*Sri Lanka*): We were discussing the question of aid relating to education at a time when educational systems were being re-examined all over the world.

We should know from whom we were asking for aid and for what purpose. He entirely agreed with Mr. Griffith about the need for a national orientation and a local orientation in regard to the kind of technical training required. That was really a matter for each country to do by itself. Otherwise, it might not be possible for the donor country to meet the needs of the other country.

In so far as education contributed to the inculcation of values and proper standards of judgement, that had to be given in the primary and secondary levels.

On the technological side, he agreed with what the Prime Minister of Manitoba said. It was indeed much better to concentrate on the middle technical skills today than on the academic degrees. Degrees had become status symbols in our country.

He would not dispute what the distinguished colleague from India said about the possibility of our spiritual contribution to the West, but certainly we had first of all to preserve our own values.

The educational opportunities must not be confined to the elite. We should make education much more broad-based.

HON. CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH (*Bihar—India*): It had been rightly emphasized that the educational aid programmes should be tailored to the requirements of the recipient countries.

Suggestions had rightly been made that there should be a system of constant review of the working of aid programmes. It would be better if we could involve certain institutions in this job.

We should also adopt some follow-up measures to cover even the capital assistance programmes.

HON. JEK YEUN THONG (*Singapore*): A question was raised how to coordinate aid. In this respect, he would suggest that coordination must come from the recipient countries. The receiving countries should not just passively remain at the receiving end.

Education was a service which should not stop at national barriers. It was the duty of every nation to share whatever scientific knowledge and technical know-how they had with other countries.

As regards his country, the receiving or seeking of educational aid was channelised through a body called Public Service Commission. This Commission was an independent body.

Another point was how to give the scholarships and training to the right peo-

ple at the right place. Here again a body like the Public Service Commission had to play its role. Once we had centralised and channelised the distribution of scholarships and training courses, the idea of scholarship from people to people had to be given up.

HON. E. R. SCHREYER (*Manitoba—Canada*): He was in substantial agreement with all the points made by Mr. Theng as also the speaker from Lesotho. Both of them had really brought forth a correct analysis of some of the problems that existed.

It had been rightly said that we must get down to some serious business in terms of aid in imparting training from one country to another country at least in the intermediate levels of technical know-how without which no country could advance in terms of industrial and agricultural production.

There was no such phenomenon as a developing country or any country achieving a given pattern of industrial, technical and agricultural skill and being in a position where they could rest on their oars. The process of achieving an adequate level of such skills was something which took a couple of generations. There should not be a feeling of frustration if the process of attainment of these desired skills took more than a decade.

As pointed out by the speaker from Zambia, there was need for specialised

skills in veterinary science and medicine and for a coordinated effort in this direction.

HON. N. B. SAUNDERS (*Turks and Caicos Islands*): The conditions attached with the type of educational and technological aid were difficult.

We were only receiving it from the British Government. But they stipulated that in order to qualify for educational aid, the students must be sent to the Caribbean. We could understand it if it was done to eliminate the U.S.A. But to apply this formula to another Commonwealth country was hard to understand.

This Conference was now a decision taking body. Our problem could be solved if some recommendation was made by it or the British Government delegate could take up this question further.

HON. K. JEYAKKODY (*Sri Lanka*): A high level university which could teach technical subjects and train the youth of developing countries in technology be established by the C.P.A., so that those talented young men who were deprived of the privilege of joining Universities in their own countries and who were deprived of learning English might find place in those Universities and be trained for supply of technical knowledge wherever it was required in the world.

So far as aid was concerned, it should not be from country to country. Obviously, this led to political interference and patronage. If scholarships and aid were channelled through a common body like the

CPA or the UN, there would not be any strings. So aid should be not only from people to people, from country to country, but it should be channelled through common bodies.

Grant of scholarships should be purely on the basis of merit, without any political influence and without the recipient Government having any say in the choice of the candidates. It should be left to the body that granted the scholarships to select the best person.

HON. MICHAEL MARSHALL (*U. K.*): The idea that we should try to bring about a transfer of manufacturing facility from the developed to the developing countries was one we all shared. The fact that there was some 7 per cent of the production capacity in the third world now and the UNIDO Declaration in Lima aimed to raise it to 25 per cent by the year 2000 was a measure of the problem.

On the question of transfer of technology, multi-nationals could play some role. If we had to have a massive transfer of technology, one of the best ways was to use the existing multi-nationals.

HON. W. C. B. HINDS (*Barbados*): Each country should seek scholarship in accordance with the projected needs of the country. People trained should be fitted into their respective fields after their return.

As far as technology was concerned, there could be no doubt that developing countries needed help of the developed countries in respect of technical training

at all levels. The necessity was not as great at the higher levels as at the lower levels. There was need for a mass injection of technology into the various underdeveloped countries and developing countries if there was to be any appreciable impact on the situation as it appeared at present.

HON. LAURIE PAVITT (*U. K.*): We had to persuade our people to understand that the United Kingdom was not spending sufficient funds in regard to overseas development. An attempt was being made to interest the ordinary person in giving backing to the Government to decide about the aid and overseas development.

HON. TEK YEUN THONG (*Singapore*): In most developing countries, the urgent need was for the technical know-how and how to get things done. They needed all the scientific and technological training.

On the face of it, it seemed that multinationals had got nothing to do with education and technology. If we examined the problems it would be found that everything had to do with education and technology transfer because when the multinationals operated, they must operate in a field where they could get a lot of highly trained and skilled personnel.

We benefited very much from the existence of multi-nationals in Singapore. In the matter of manufacturing rigs in Singapore, they trained a lot of our people. And in a very short time, Singapore had become an exporter of oil rigs for deep-sea exploration. Without these multi-nationals,

Singapore would never be able to get all that kind of technological take off.

HON. E. R. SCHREYER (*Manitoba—Canada*): He would like to know whether the developing countries regarded it to be a problem that the number of young people leaving their country on foreign fellowships did not come back but rather decided to carve out a career in the country in which they went for their training.

He would also like to know whether it was felt in recipient countries that the kind of technical aid that developed countries tended to provide in so far as agricultural production was concerned was not in fact a double-edged sword in the sense that when technical mechanization did begin to gain momentum and result in some and perhaps even dramatic productivity increases in the long run, it caused the recipient country to become more dependent on fuel for agricultural mechanization and at the same time caused problems of unemployment in rural areas.

HON. N. JEAN PERREAULT (*Quebec—Canada*): Each country developing or developed must define its own infra-structure, define its own needs, whether agricultural or industrial; they must define these themselves and whatever their needs, Canada would be pleased to help.

HON. J. H. TAYLOR (*New South Wales—Australia*): Australia's agricultural colleges were happy to take people who were oriented to our highly mechanised agricultural system. He wanted to know how they could find people who could be given

this type of agricultural training and who could go back to their native countries and render necessary help.

HON. M. K. ARAP KEINO (*Kenya*): The agricultural aid in the form of improved machinery given to the developing countries was less. It should be more. Only if agriculture was modernised in developing countries they would be able to feed their population.

HON. E. R. SCHREYER (*Manitoba—Canada*): Mechanisation of agriculture would pose some very strong dilemmas or problems for the recipient countries. In North America, the mechanisation of agriculture had produced such a nostalgic effect which had resulted in depletion of rural villages and concentration of population in ever growing urban centres that were already in danger. That was one consequence of the rapid mechanisation of agriculture. And there was a second as well, that in addition to the metropolitan centres becoming larger in size, there was at the same time the conundrum of the entire agricultural economy becoming dependent for energy.

(vi) *Problems of Debt Repayment for developing countries*: This subject was discussed in Panel VI of the Conference on the morning session of October 30, 1975. The Panel consisted of Hon. Paul Dean (U.K.) (*Chairman*) and Hon. Bernard Soysa (Sri Lanka) and Hon. H. C. Wariithi (Kenya) (*Members*). Besides the Members, the following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. Ram Singh Yadav (Rajasthan—India)

Rt. Hon. Lord Shepherd (U.K.)

Hon. Sheikh Abdur Rahman (Bangladesh)

Hon. Lim Cho Hock (Malaysia)

Hon. Haji Mohd. Salleh Bin Ismail (Malaysia).

Hon. Neil Martin (U.K.)

Senator the Hon. Orville Turnquest (Bahamas)

Hon. V. B. Raju (India)

Dr. The Hon. Wong Soon Kai (Malaysia)

Hon. W. J. Cheddesingh (Jamaica)

Hon. (Mrs.) E. DaSilva (Guyana)

Hon. Tupui Ariki Henry (Cook Islands)

Hon. K. T. J. Raketla (Lesotho)

Hon. Seyfo Kobba T. Jammeh (The Gambia)

HON. BERNARD SOYSA (*Sri Lanka*): The main problem before developing countries was how to repay their debts. The problem was made difficult by the existence of new elitist groups in the developing countries who allowed the leakage of valuable foreign exchange by legal or illegal means and gathered a fairly large portion of the national income for themselves.

Developing countries had very low export earnings which made debt repayment difficult and they had to resort to more borrowing. The IMF would advise them to cut down their welfare expenditure and devalue their currency but this had dangerous political consequences.

The aid by affluent countries during the first development decade was supposed to be 1 per cent of their G.N.P. but was actually only 0.3 or 0.2 per cent.

In global inflation we were all importing inflation through the export and import economy with bedevilling situation in debt service. Resource transfer in this context could play an important role and suggestion had been made that we had a maturity of 50 years instead of 25 years, the rate of the interest to be brought down from 3 per cent to 1 per cent, the seven years grace period to be increased to 10 years.

The idea of 'third window' of the World Bank for concessionary financing was quite good but this had to be developed much further. Pressure had to be brought on agencies and international organisations in order to see that the terms were made easier.

HON. H. C. WARIITHI (*Kenya*): If we were wishing to have a new international economic order in the Commonwealth we had to take serious steps and that could happen only if the affluent were prepared to assist the less privileged.

The external debts had reached a fantastic level and most developing countries were not in a position to repay their debts. The developing countries had a duty to repay their debts. But in the present situation, some debts could be written off and in some cases they could be turned into grants to enable the economy of those countries to move forward.

He stressed on the recommendation made by the Conference of Heads of Governments that a Commonwealth Investment Bank should be established which might be able to finance loans to developing countries on easy terms.

HON. RAM SINGH YADAV (*Rajasthan—India*): Under the World Bank programme even amongst the developing countries, a country with better economy would have better chances to procure aid from the World Bank. Something should be done by which the less developed nations could have better opportunity to have aid in comparison to other nations which had better resources amongst the developing nations.

RT. HON. LORD SHEPHERD (*U.K.*): The United Kingdom was going to give more aid to the poorer countries particularly for rural development. In regard to India, our percentage was going to be of the order of 25 per cent.

HON. SHEIKH ABDUR RAHMAN (*Bangladesh*): Population growth was a threat to almost all the developing countries. It swallowed even the foreign aid which was given to them by developed countries.

The quantity of loan was declining every year in proportion to the G. N. P. of the donor countries. In order to increase their productivity, the developing countries were not only in debts but they were also forced to accumulate external debts and they were asked to pay interest on past loans.

Most of the aid was tied up and it had to be spent on goods provided by the aid-

giving countries even though the same goods could be purchased cheaply from elsewhere. A remedy should be found for it.

Aid was used by the aid-giving countries as a useful means of promoting their private interests. Political strings were invariably attached to loans. This was a painful state of affairs. The developing countries did not always get reasonable prices for their produce.

It should be kept in mind as to what was the aim and objective of the loans given to the developing countries. The only objective was to create a society free from hunger, poverty and disease.

The terms of capital lending should be softened. Grants and loans should be free from any type of political strings. Quantum of aid should be enhanced and an effective price stabilisation should be adopted to regulate the prices of primary products exported by developing countries.

HON. LIM CHO HOCK (*Malaysia*): Many of the newly independent countries were spending too much money on building up their armed forces. It would be better if the Commonwealth advised member countries to reduce the build-up of armaments. It would be better for ourselves to help ourselves and channelise whatever we had got in some purposeful and more economic developments rather than in the mad race for building up armed forces.

HON. HAJI MOHD. SALLEH BIN ISMAIL (*Malaysia*): Even though Malaysia spent 20 per cent of the revenue on armed forces, it was very reasonable in order to

preserve the security of the country. We wanted to preserve parliamentary democracy.

HON. NEIL MARTIN (*U.K.*): It was easier to say for Sri Lanka which was an island country, that countries should not spend on armed forces, but it could have most dreadful penalties in the long run, if we wanted to maintain democracy.

The Britishers would have to convince all the British electorate of the importance of the aid to developing countries which was not easy to do these days. He was in favour of the Voluntary Services Overseas which sent people abroad, who helped the people in various countries but it was regrettable that the developing countries did not want these young volunteer any more.

SENATOR THE HON. ORVILLE TURNQUEST (*Bahamas*): Foreign aid in the form of grants, loans and sales of surplus agricultural commodities in local currencies together with technical assistance, had been the prime means through which the industrially developed countries had contributed to the economic development of poorer countries.

With the steady increase in the rate of economic growth, foreign aid alone did not serve as a sufficient means for promoting this growth. External resources through trade along with borrowing from international financed institutions and borrowing at high interest rates from the world's money markets had to be used as supplementary means.

The loans granted were not considered to be genuine transfers of resources because eventually they must be repaid.

Problems of repayment would continue to persist unless they were able to get long term low interest loans and direct their capital expenditure programme towards projects which produced a relatively prompt economic return.

Developing countries had a strong tendency to get into balance of payments difficulties brought about by inflation. There was an urgent need for sizeable flows of capital on concessionary terms or of outright grants if development was to continue.

The Caribbean countries had come together so that they could work closely and in cooperation with other regional governments for the purpose of improving the economic and social conditions of their people.

Inflation had not played havoc in Bahamas. Measures taken to combat this evil had been effective. Implementation of monetary policy in Bahamas had also proved effective.

HON. V. B. RAJU (*India*): The problem of external debt and national indebtedness was really very big. The magnitude of this problem might be judged from the fact that estimates of indebtedness in 1972 in relation to 81 developing countries had been placed at about 88 billion dollars.

As regards India, its total external indebtedness as on 31st March 1976 would be about Rs. 7000 crores. 20 per cent of

our annual export earnings went for debt repayment.

The Commonwealth Association should make a proper study of trade and aid relations.

Much of the so-called debt was tied down to projects and the borrowing country had to take goods from the creditor country. The creditor countries charged much higher price for these goods than the international price. Therefore, these project-tied aids had a deeper implication.

Seventy per cent of the current aid we got would go towards offsetting the debt service payment. Secondly, there was a wide gap between exports and imports. In the case of India, there was a wide gap in trade on account of three items—fertilisers, food and fuel.

He would, therefore, suggest that the system of project-tied aid must be done away with. Secondly, there should be no interest on funds made available for purchasing food, fertilisers and fuel.

DR. THE HON. WONG SOON KAI (*Malaysia*): He supported the Indian Delegate, Mr. Raju, that the aid should be interest free.

He also supported the plea of Mr. Bernard Soysa that one had to put his own house in order in trying to solve the problem of debt repayment. In order to facilitate repayments, one had also to look into the efficiency of developmental projects.

HON. W. J. CHEDDESINGH (*Jamaica*): Jamaica was a developing country and

solely depended for finance on its agriculture and bauxite. It had to secure finance from the World Bank and Canada for development purposes.

He agreed to a suggestion made by one of the delegates that loans should be made available free of interest. It was important that instead of short-term loans, long-term loans should be made available so that they could develop their resources to repay loans.

Debt servicing should not be viewed in isolation but in the context of terms of trade and economic development of developing countries. However, high debt service ratios, which were associated with stagnant export earnings and declining net transfer of financial resources, could lead to debt servicing difficulties. While it could be argued that developing countries had a responsibility to take all reasonable measures to avoid debt-servicing difficulties, the success of the domestic measures would depend on a favourable external environment.

The developed countries should support measures designed to stabilise and also increase export earnings of developing countries. Increased capital flow on concessional terms should also be forthcoming for those developing countries which had always depended to a large extent on official sources of external finance and whose export prospects were not very good. Capital should also be made available to those middle-income developing countries which kept their debt service obligations within limits.

HON. (MRS.) E. DASILVA (*Guyana*): We the people of Guyana, Caribbean areas and the third world countries were badly in need of external financial assistance for our development.

Guyana was particularly concerned about controlling its natural resources and developing them properly. The Government of Guyana aimed to go back to the land to achieve desired progress.

Guyana had a very high percentage of literacy. But they intended to have a still higher rate of literacy in the country. They had compulsory primary education upto the age of 16 years. Now, the Government of Guyana was engaged in building six multi-lateral schools. They were very short of school buildings. They were also endeavouring to harness the water resources for providing cheap electricity. Therefore, Guyana needed aid for execution of these works.

HON. TUPUI ARIKI HENRY (*Cook Islands*): The Cook Islands had no debts and had no unemployment problem. Our problem was that we needed more people. We also wanted to make our airport and hotels to function as economic, developing units. We needed some people who were experienced in tourism. Surplus people from other countries would be accepted in the Cook Islands on the condition that they invested some money in the form of a joint venture either in industries or in tourism.

HON. K. T. J. RAKETLA (*Lesotho*): One of the problems faced by developing countries was that they were unable to honour

the agreements regarding repayment of loans. The developing countries sometimes got obsolete machinery for a project and that machinery became useless after two or three years. It was difficult to get the machinery repaired. This put the whole project out of gear and loan repayment became a problem.

Another difficulty was that implementation of projects left much to be desired. The developing countries had to incur extra expenditure on repairs, etc. because of faulty implementation of projects. This factor also contributed to the failure of the developing countries to repay the loans.

When developing countries received loans, the lending organisations like the World Bank always insisted on providing the management. The Project Manager always insisted on approving various projects. And yet when things went wrong it was always the borrower who suffered. There was no answer to this problem.

Sometimes loans were sold to developing countries even though they did not require those loans. One did not know whether anything could be done about it.

HON. SEYFO KOBBA T. JAMMEH (*The Gambia*): In the Gambia, which was essentially an agricultural country, various obligations that the Government was faced with after independence made us go in for loans; but we were given very insufficient loans with a lot of strings attached. Then the technical aspect of it was always not suitable to the country. Whatever loan was given if it was badly administered, the

purpose was not achieved and problems increased. This bred social problems, unemployment and all the other allied hazards. Loans had to be administered properly, whatever be the time for their repayment. That was the main problem in developing countries.

HON. H. C. WARIITHI (*Kenya*) offering a few comments on the discussion said: So far as the problems raised by Members from Gambia and Lesotho were concerned, it would be necessary for the donor countries to consider the feelings and aspirations of the people of the country where aid was going to be utilised. While embarking upon projects, the suggestions of the local people who were bound to know more about the local conditions than some experts who might be sent from outside, should be heard and their suggestions carefully considered.

In some cases debts did not allow the developing countries to continue with their development work, because of the servicing charges and other obligations that arose out of debts. It was hoped very soon some effective remedies would be taken such as re-scheduling the repayment of loans and in some cases writing off of loans and some such other measures. More loans should be given without interest for specific areas of development such as food, etc. It was, of course, important that countries which received loans should make an effort to repay them.

It was pointed out that some donor countries might go round persuading Governments or companies or even individuals to

take a loan. It was for the countries themselves to consider whether that particular loan was useful to it or not; if it was not useful it should not accept the offer.

It was said that money spent for buying equipment for military purposes was not well-spent. There were certain areas, where, of course, because of geographical situation, it might be necessary for the country concerned to consider the question of defence and security. The other aspect that some Governments might consider was to remove situations which might make it necessary for them to have more defence forces. They should keep the aspirations and requirements of the people in view and should arrange their developmental projects in a way that the people of the country were satisfied with the way the Government was run.

HON. BERNARD SOYSA (*Sri Lanka*) answering certain points raised in the discussion said: Affluent countries were ready to give military hardware rather than cash assistance and, therefore, we should look at this objectively and give up the expenditure on armaments. Although the position would differ from country to country yet it would be futile to pretend that developing countries were capable of defending themselves with the small quantity of conventional arms in this nuclear age.

He agreed with the Indian Delegate that a study of trade and aid relations was necessary.

As regards project-tied aid being done away with, there was, of course, politics behind every loan or gift. However, he supported the suggestion of the Indian delegate on this point that it should be given in the form of free convertible currency.

While summing up the discussion he said: The most important point made was that developing countries should be paid a good price for their exports in order that they might be less dependent upon aid. That was to be fought in other forums and with levers, perhaps a little more stronger than public opinion alone.

The second important point was that the loans should be realistic and, if possible, within certain fields these should be free of interest. The loans should be untied even in regard to the projects. If they were tied to projects, the credit-giving country should be more generous in choosing the kind of project and the manner it was operated.

There was stress for development of infra-structure rather than every kind of development. There was considerable agreement on the need for outright grants or re-scheduling of existing debts in the context of current global inflation and the difficulties the countries faced today.

There was the demand that we should be left in peace by the implementation of the proposal to have peace zones etc. in order that we might spend less on armament.

The discussion had endorsed what the Commonwealth Heads of States stated earlier regarding the possibility of reduction of interest, the increase in the number of years of maturity and the increase in the period of grace. About the third-window idea, it was generally indicated as something which everybody would welcome.

IV. SOCIAL PROBLEMS

(i) *Social effects of unemployment, the growth of violence, unrest among youth and drug problems*: This subject was discussed in a Committee under the Chairmanship of Hon. M. C. Cham, M.P. (Gambia) on the morning and afternoon sessions of October 30, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. S. Mullings (Jamaica)
 Dr. the Hon. Chetakar Jha (Bihar—India)
 Hon. Leo Abse (U.K.)
 Hon. R. C. P. Moore (Grenada)
 Hon. (Miss) M. M. Ackman (Guyana)
 Hon. Raouf Bundhun (Mauritius)
 Hon. E. C. I. Bwanali (Malawi)
 Hon. H. F. C. Ereaut (Jersey)
 Hon. E. E. Isbey (New Zealand)
 Hon. Nand Kishore Bhatt (India)
 Hon. A. R. Thomas (Bermuda)
 Hon. Tuan Haji Safirol Bin Haji Hashim (Kedah-Malaysia)
 Senator The Hon. Reginald Robert Leung (Jersey)

Hon. E. Marginson (Queensland—Australia)

Hon. George Williams (Trinidad & Tobago)

Senator The Hon. M. Lorne Bonnell (Canada)

Hon. Tupui Ariki Henry (Cook Islands)

Hon. Maurice Edelman (U.K.)

Hon. R. F. Anthony Roberts (Bahamas)

Hon. Godey Murahari (India)

Hon. Seyfo Kebba T. Jammen (The Gambia)

Hon. T. Earle Hickey (Prince Edward Island—Canada).

HON. S. MULLINGS (*Jamaica*) said that the problems of unemployment, growing unrest among youth and drug were of deep concern to most of the countries.

Many nations of Commonwealth became independent during the last century. The attention thereafter was focussed on winning economic independence. Unemployment was the root cause of all social problems, *i.e.*, violence, unrest and use of drugs among the youth.

A large number of people in Jamaica were engaged in subsistence agriculture. The jobs were seasonal, insecure and unremunerative. Large properties were owned by a handful of wealthy persons. Therefore, agriculture lost attraction for the youth who migrated to cities which could not absorb all of them, resulting in frustration. The youth suffered most in

a country where the rate of unemployment was high. This causes frustration, loss of impetus to work, mental and physical inaction and lack of interest in work. The result was decrease in motivation among them. They developed a negative self-image and lost self-confidence. The effect was that they practically made little contribution to the society.

The idleness was also a cause of breakdown of family life. The "bread-winner" abandoned the wife and the children. The children developed wayward ways. That placed a heavier load on the child welfare services of the State. Men migrated to cities in search of jobs which were few. That created housing problem in the cities.

Everybody was concerned at the growth of violence in recent years, for which the factors mentioned above were responsible. There were instances of hijackings and kidnappings. Violence was, to some extent, caused not only to individuals but to nations also because of economic exploitation. We had, therefore, to deal ruthlessly with the situation.

DR. THE HON. CHETAKAR JHA (*Bihar—India*): Unemployment, on a considerable scale, initially resulted in adding to the volume of the unemployable *i.e.*, the unskilled, and less qualified persons. Therefore, it was a severe strain on the efforts of the society to provide larger job opportunities and to develop economically to tackle the problem. If this problem was not tackled in time and effectively, it would become unmanageable. The Indian Government was seized of the

problem and was committed to the removal of poverty. The Prime Minister of India had given a call, known as 'Garibi Hatao' *i.e.* "Remove Poverty". More and more stress was being laid on the need for providing more and more job opportunities for the youth. In rural areas massive public works programmes including road building, housing and irrigation projects had been undertaken with a view to providing employment to the youth. Effective family planning measures had been taken in order to check the population growth, because this was an equally important matter.

In India, the problem of violence was not as serious as it was in some of the other countries. Of course, there had been some instances of violence here and there. The causes had been educational, administrative and political. Violence in some countries was due to acute religious differences. Where social system was stratified and hierarchical, the situation was very acute indeed.

HON. LEO ABSE (*U.K.*): Despite the fact that there was a more egalitarian society and greater prosperity today in Great Britain, incidence of juvenile delinquency was higher than it was at the time of acute unemployment. Therefore, it would not be quite correct to suggest that there was necessarily a direct correlation between unemployment or poverty and crime. It could not be said that all the disadvantaged youth tended to crime. There were other factors also. Lack of family affection for the children was also responsible for dragging the youth towards the path of crime. In a mixed

economy or even in a capitalist economy, the parents much rather preferred to have refrigerators and motor cars etc. than pay proper attention to their children. Therefore, what was required today was the need to make sacrifices to give social support, to mobilise the social resources, which could give good assistance to families and to children at a very early stage.

So far as primitive methods were concerned, those had proved a failure in the United Kingdom. Therefore, unless an element of spirituality was introduced in solving the problem it was impossible for the young people to model themselves on the right path. In fact, the parents throughout the world should strive to bring about a society in which there was more egalitarianism, more fairness and more moral values.

HON. R. C. P. MOORE (*Grenada*): Civilization expected a man to be able to obtain the means to fulfil his needs through moral and legal means. The most common and usual channel open to any member of society for the fulfilment of his needs was gainful employment. Unemployment stultified enterprises because of the lowering of expectation and the loss of a sense of achievement and all these tended to affect the human personality in the lowering of moral standards.

With the advance of civilization, the world was turning equalitarian. The result was that the upper class people appeared to manifest the type of behaviour that one would possibly expect only of the undistinguished crowd. In many cases, they

supplied some of the motive power for the participation of youth in civil unrest. Some politicians in their effort to secure political power pandered to the whims and caprices of the youth and enticed them into civil unrest and disorder. The only answer to this problem was education of the youth while their minds were plastic and prompt to receive every impression. This education should not be one sided.

Drug problem should be considered a world problem and should engage the attention of an agency of World Organisation for a unified action.

HON. (MISS) M. M. ACKMAN (*Guyana*): Guyana approached the problem of unemployment through education. Education must not merely train workers in one field or another; it must promote a social and economic revolution. In the context of Third World countries, changes in industrial practices in some metropolitan areas could render various economic processes obsolete and usher in wide-spread unemployment. Guyana was striving to reduce such incidents to a minimum.

In Guyana violence was personal and was related to petty individual rivalries. There was nothing alarming in the situation and administrative coercion as a means of control was, therefore, unnecessary.

The phenomenon of restless youth had no significance in Guyana. There had been a natural process towards the development of National Service, free secondary education, the development of multi-lateral

education to enhance the opportunity of each individual, and the promotion of free University education which was heavily subsidised since the founding of the University of Guyana.

HON. RAOUF BUNDHUN (*Mauritius*): The revolt among the young people that had been there all over the world and specially in my own country was due mainly to unemployment. Faulty educational system and the population explosion were the two main factors responsible for unemployment in Mauritius. Within 25 years, the population of Mauritius had doubled. As the present day school system only made the young people clamour for white collar jobs, we were thinking seriously to change the whole educational system in Mauritius. We were creating new technical schools. We had already set up what were known as the Trade Training Centres where such students as were unable to continue further education in the Government type of school and then go to the university, could go and learn a particular trade.

Young people were no more prepared to work on agricultural fields. They would prefer to work in factories and possess modern gadgets that made life cosy and comfortable. As such, after independence Mauritius had thought of creating new types of jobs by creating a free industrial zone where foreign investors had been attracted to create employment.

Frustration seemed to be the basic reason for youth revolt. They felt frustrated everywhere. One way of tackling this problem was to have them participate in

the decision-making process at all levels. The authorities in Mauritius were trying to find out ways and means to channelise the energies of the youth and harness them for constructive activities. Voluntary social work should go side by side with industrial development.

HON. E. C. I. BWANALI (*Malawi*): In Malawi, it had generally been accepted that youth could and should play a major role in the general development of the country. Before independence the educational system in Malawi was organised on the English Grammar School pattern and the School curriculum did not reflect the economic and social life of the country. Therefore, Malawi had of late introduced the technical education programme in its educational system. The technical subjects in schools were intended to give youth some basic skills which would enable them to get gainfully employed when they left schools. Unless youth were usefully occupied they would resort to various forms of juvenile delinquency.

In addition to schools there were "Youth Pioneer Bases" in Malawi where the educated as well as the illiterate youth learnt useful trades including poultry, animal husbandry and the like. Unemployment was undoubtedly one of the root causes of juvenile delinquency and Malawi was, therefore, striving for the creation of an economic environment in which productive and rewarding work opportunities were available for the youth.

HON. H. F. C. EREAUT (*Jersey*): It was proved that passing a deterrent sentence in order to check crime was only a short

term solution; it did not deal with the underlying causes thereof. The courts must have adequate provision and after-care facilities to deal with a young person indulging in crime. It was equally important that a juvenile delinquent was made to realise that he had done something wrong and he should mend his ways when he was young. In fact, the parents were the best persons to guide the youth in this respect.

Experience had shown that the young people were now turning from drugs to drinks and they did so in order to calm their nerves. But gradually a vast majority of them were realising that there were other better things to do.

There should be proper housing facilities, play grounds and other community facilities where the children were made to feel that they were part of the community. This would help a great deal in solving the problem.

HON. E. E. ISBEY (*New Zealand*): New Zealand had begun with a vision of having an egalitarian society and to develop a truly classless society over the years. Unfortunately during the last decade or so, materialism had developed there and it had its effect on the youth of that country. There were a number of demonstrations by the students on the questions of Vietnam and apartheid in South Africa. But after the Labour Party had come to power in New Zealand, the youth unrest there had largely disappeared, because this Government had completely severed connections with forces involved in the Vietnam war.

The Government had been extremely effective in tackling the problem by giving land to the young people and helping them financially. This help continued till they made land more productive and financially viable.

In Universities, the students had been put on the university councils. An attempt was being made to involve them in the decision-making process. In the industry also, Government had evolved a decision-making body which included employers and the workers.

In the sphere of employment, New Zealand had fared better than most of the countries because she had embarked on a programme to keep up both the necessary and primary industries viable.

It was tremendously important to see that youth were not alienated and a hard line from the establishment point of view was not taken. Whichever way we might look at the problem, we have got to reach a compromise with all our people.

HON. NAND KISHORE BHATT (*India*) said that the population explosion in the developing countries caused growth of labour force. The employment sector could absorb only a small part of that labour force.

There were important logical reasons why employment objectives should constitute an important component of development strategy. Moreover, idleness and poverty were both morally repugnant and politically dangerous. Therefore, pursuit of employment as an objective of developed

strategy was highly relevant and important.

The problem of unemployment in countries having surplus manpower should be tackled at the Commonwealth level, because unemployment made the youth go astray.

The industry in India was now disciplined because of the bold economic measures, popularly known as the 20-point programme, which will create more job opportunities. The rural sector will also create jobs because of priority in irrigation facilities for agriculture.

To tackle these problems, funds of the Commonwealth agencies were inadequate. The Colombo Plan should be enlarged. Mere recommendations and resolutions could not tackle a really complex, social and psychological problem. The approach should be businesslike and forthright, devoid of emotions and sentiments. The youth power should be harnessed. That would be an asset instead of being a liability. It was frustration that was responsible for the drug problem. India was a party to the proposal for establishing a U.N. fund to deal with this problem.

The Commonwealth could make positive recommendations and give guidance to other countries.

HON. A. R. THOMAS (*Bermuda*) said that ours was a hypocritical society. We lived in an artificial world. This was distasteful to the youth. We had done nothing for our youth. Therefore, a fundamental approach was required for solving the problems of the youth.

First we should exemplify the kind of behaviour and character that we expected of our youth, whether it was in the matter of politics, business, industry or education. The legacy of honesty, integrity and truth should be passed on to our children. That was the answer to the youth problem.

HON. TUAN HAJI SAFIROL BIN HAJI HASHIM (*Kedah—Malaysia*): General unemployment was primarily a rural problem which took the form of under-employment. But in recent years, many countries had undergone rapid urbanization. While in the rural areas under-employment remained heavy, open and increasing unemployment and to an extent under-employment occurred mainly in the urban areas.

In Malaysia, the unemployment rate was about 7 per cent of the working population. In the urban areas it was about 10 per cent, *i.e.*, nearly double the rural rate. In both urban and rural areas it was much greater among the lower age groups. One reason for the increase in the unemployment among youth was that the number of young people between the ages of 16 to 30 was increasing at a rapid pace due to the rise in the post-war birth rate. The other reason was that most of the young people seeking employment had no skills to offer; they did not have minimum educational qualifications or basic training for the jobs available. Furthermore, automation, mechanical and scientific advances were other factors causing many unskilled jobs to disappear. In the foreseeable future, the single most important key to the solution of the unemployment prob-

lem lay on more investment and attention to the agricultural sector.

SENATOR THE HON. REGINALD ROBERT JEUNE (*Jersey*): Recently in the U.K. there was a study made of major juvenile delinquents and a definite association was established between unemployment and crime and educational achievement. Youth who left the school and found himself difficult to adjust in society drifted from one job to another, finally ended up in crime. For this we had partly to blame the new system of education which gave pupils a much wider and interesting education but on the other hand did not concentrate on the basics of education. It would be false economy on our part if we failed to provide adequate facilities in schools for youth work, leisure-activities and job opportunities.

HON. E. MARGINSON (*Queensland—Australia*): Short-term measures to combat crime like heavier penalties, psychological rehabilitation, family therapy and increased police numbers had failed to solve the problem of delinquency. It had been noticed that in the United States, cities which had a larger number of police *per capita* did not have lower crime rates than the cities with lesser number of police *per capita*.

Criminologists had found that the law-breakers were predominantly lower class people—the poor and the unemployed. This was the correct position and would lead us to conceive of unemployment, poverty and social inequality as fundamental causes of crime. The poor and the

unemployed were prone to violence because they thought that the society had given them a raw deal and they felt bitter against society. If a man was poor or unemployed, his own family started to think of him as a failure. Poverty created family disharmony, and family disharmony caused delinquency.

There were two kinds of poverty—absolute poverty and relative poverty. Absolute poverty was the absolute deprivation of food, clothing, shelter, and the other necessities of life. Relative poverty was being relatively worse off economically than other people in one's own country. It was the subjective feeling of being a failure in the economic system that caused crime, not objectively how well off one was. If our society was going to perpetuate gross economic inequalities the relative poverty would continue to be one of the major causes of crime. Undoubtedly, violent crime in our society could be reduced by reducing unemployment and economic inequality.

HON. GEORGE WILLIAMS (*Trinidad and Tobago*): While dealing with the issue of education, one should not forget the sort of education that our young ones were getting from cinema and television. Youngmen were imbibing violent propensities from what they saw in a cinema hall or on the T.V. screen. Basic problem for everyone was bread and the young people had to be provided with jobs so that they might earn their livelihood. In Trinidad we were trying to create employment opportunities for the people because only through such a move crime could be reduced.

Parents could not be expected to offer much love to their children if they were not able to provide them a square meal due to unemployment. When the kids had nothing to do they would take to drugs. When they turned to drugs, the next move was violence; violence in order to get money to get the drugs. It was a big problem for the underdeveloped countries and the developed countries could help them a lot in this direction. Because generally the developed countries created that problem by showing violence in pictures which were exhibited in other countries.

SENATOR THE HON. M. LORNE BONNELL (*Canada*): It seemed that unemployment and violence among youth were universal. While some said that unemployment was the main reason for violence, others, felt that lack of educational facilities or the lack of parental guidance and love in the homes was the reason for that. But there was no sense in saying all these things unless we could provide answers or solutions to these problems. There was a proposal with regard to bringing about a new international economic order. It was good if we agreed to set up a more important body, which could be called the International Social Development Body, to look into the social problems of the Commonwealth countries. This body should be asked to make recommendations which could be discussed in our next meeting.

HON. TUPUI ARIKI HENRY (*Cook Islands*): So far as Cook Islands were concerned, there were no problems like

unemployment, youth unrest or violence. The problem there was that there were not enough people to do work. Therefore, they would have to embark upon a programme of mechanization or a programme of immigration so that there might be more and more of industrialisation and development of tourism. Any country which might be willing to provide the know-how and also invest in the Cook Islands was welcome to do so.

He expressed his thanks to the Governments of U.K., Canada, U.S.A., Netherlands, New Zealand and Australia etc. for giving assistance in various fields. These Islands had gained their programme of youth activities first from India in 1956.

He supported the suggestion that the Commonwealth should set up some kind of a commission or a committee to look into this problem and suggest ways and means to tackle it.

HON. MAURICE EDELMAN (*U.K.*) said that there was breakdown of certain institutional forms, like the coherence of family. Then there was the question of the status of women in society. The most concerning phenomenon was violence, particularly among the youth. The outburst of violence in our society was due to the media, particularly in the West, because of commercial and financial interests. The media of newspapers, radio and particularly T.V. deserved particular mention in this connection. It was a sort of night school for violent images that had a harmful effect on the tender children who then indulged in violence. Therefore,

the Government had a social responsibility to establish a code to limit these expressions. Even the U.N. or for that matter even our Commonwealth Parliamentary Association could sponsor a collective code.

HON. R. F. ANTHONY ROBERTS (*Bahamas*) said that crime, alcoholism, loss of potential ability in profession was the result of unemployment. The devil should, therefore, not be left idle. The use of less hard drugs could be permitted through proper legislation to the extent they were unarmful, as they were the escape routes.

There was breakdown in educational system but no alternative for a change was suggested. There was breakdown in the respect for law and order also. We are, therefore, living in troublesome times. We should find a solution to these social problems. Till then we should continue to live in this situation.

HON. GODEY MURAHARI (*India*): India had to tackle the problems of unemployment, youth unrest, etc. in the last 27 years after the legacy that was left to her by the British when they left this country. All these problems which were common to all the countries had an added significance in India because her resources had been depleted by colonial exploitation. Moreover, the Indian society was ridden with castes, diverse religions, and different languages. Also, there were various other problems like illiteracy. Unemployment in India was linked with all these problems. The country had to create certain infrastructure for industry and also had to

improve the methods of agriculture to see that the people were better employed in this country. To a limited extent, we had done a good job.

In his political life, he had always taken care to see that he never got into violence. India had a legacy left by Mahatma Gandhi. But when armed forces were incited and there was a rebellion on surroundings of Parliament, there was no way out except to detain some of those people.

HON. SEYFO KEBBA T. JAMMEH (*Gambia*): About 90 per cent youth people of the Gambia were not only insufficiently educated but had also got off from the land where their livelihood and the economy of the country lay. This obviously created youth problems. These people thought that they were educated enough to secure jobs in the offices. This thing inevitably led to an exodus from rural to urban areas because the basic amenities available in the urban areas were not available in the rural areas. The Government of the Gambia was aware of the effects of this problem on the economy of the country and with a view to arresting it before it reached alarming proportions, the Government had introduced a national programme geared towards decentralising development. The educational policy was being reoriented to meet the needs of the country and make the youth self-reliant. The Government had established a Youth Department and appointed a Minister of Education, Youth and Social Services to help in this venture. A Plan to integrate rural development with this had also been

launched, which provided for the establishment of various youth service centres across the country for effective decentralisation of development for helping the youth to become self-employed.

Replying to a point raised by a delegate from New Zealand, the Indian delegate who had spoken earlier, said: Perhaps the authoritarian rule had permitted China to solve some of her problems better. But India for one would stick to democratic methods, and she would never give up parliamentary democracy, even though it might have its own inherent defects and impediments.

HON. T. EARLE HICKEY (*Prince Edward Island—Canada*): We had made an effort to do something about the drug problem with young people in our province. We had had a survey conducted by a psychologist in the University of Prince Edward Islands. He found that those who admittedly used marijuana and other drugs, were found to be backward in their studies and eventually lost their sense of motivation and had no interest in pursuing their courses or in trying to make their way in life by themselves. We had made a programme whereby a person went out to the class rooms in the schools of our province and spoke to the children against the use of these drugs. The response to such a programme had been encouraging.

To a suggestion that a Committee of three or four nations in the Commonwealth should be set up to further go into the problem under discussion, the Chairman after listening to various delegates, said

that since the C.P.A. was not representative of the respective Governments, it could not take major decisions of an executive nature.

Later on a consensus was reached that the Committee would do well in expressing concern over the situation.

(ii) *Preservation of the environment, the control of pollution and protection of wild life*: This subject was discussed in Committee under the Chairmanship of Hon. Hilton Cheon-Leen (Hong Kong) partly on the afternoon session of October 30, 1975 and partly on the morning session of October 31, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. Seyfo Kebba T. Jammeh (Gambia)

Hon. K. Raghuramaiah (India)

Hon. J.H. Taylor (New South Wales—Australia)

Hon. Tupui Ariki Henry (Cook Islands)

Hon. Robert Wenmen (Canada)

Hon. (Mrs.) Mary Dorothy Batchelor (New Zealand)

Dr. Hon. W.H.C. Masters (Berumuda)

Hon. Aatur Rahman (Assam—India)

Hon. Raouf Bundhun (Mauritius)

Hon. L. G. Blake (Falkland Islands)

Hon. Joseph Casey (Nova Scotia—Canada)

Senator the Hon. L. H. Lockhart (Bahamas).

Dr. the Hon. Joseph Brincat (Malta)
Hon. H. F. C. Ereout (Jersey)
Hon. R. K. Banda (Zambia)
Hon. Trevor Ewan Foster (Cayman Islands)
Hon. James Gorst (British Columbia—Canada)
Hon. D. B. Kwelagobe (Botswana)
Hon. Maurice Edelman (U.K.)
Hon. Nicholas Dondas (Northern Territory)
Hon. William Scott (Canada).

HON. SEYFO KEBBA T. JAMMEH (*Gambia*) initiating the discussion, said: Preservation of the environment, the control of pollution and protection of wild life was a venture that envisaged increased use of environment primarily to improve the welfare of the people, particularly in the developing countries. It was undoubtedly a non-controversial subject.

Environments in the Gambia was the sum total of all natural phenomena and provided both possibilities for and limitations to man's activities. The Government there had issued a statement of action for the increased use of environment for the welfare of the people.

The Gambia was essentially an agricultural country and its economy entirely rested on land. The recent detailed land resources survey together with a land use survey provided the basis for introducing more direct control over land usage.

Gambia's present strategy was to strengthen the existing environmental legislation; to initiate a modest programme of appropriate education through the existing media; to conserve soil, forest, marine and other natural resources, creation of a small national park service; to balance regional development; to launch a research programme on social development and to enhance her efforts concerned with the conservation and development of Gambian culture.

Measures were being taken by the Government to incorporate environmental knowledge in the revised school curricula, together with supporting visual aids.

Consideration was being given to assist village communities to develop their own woodlogs, to encourage the use of crop and animal waste as natural fertilisers.

Notwithstanding the need for adequate food and shelter which must remain permanent, it was planned through a strategy or careful management, together with public education, to retain and develop a reasonable cross-section of flora and fauna in such a way as to avoid serious conflict with human population.

HON. K. RAGHURAMAIAH (*India*): As pointed out by our Prime Minister at the Stockholm Conference, we were equally concerned with the areas of pollution brought about by industrialization and the damages to environment inherent in the very nature of poverty and backwardness. Therefore, all our Government plans had concentrated on reduction of some of these problems.

The preservation of nature was also a matter of great concern. Unless poverty was removed, and the standard of living improved, it would not be possible to keep the environments clean. The migration from rural to urban areas created housing and other enormous problems. We were trying to remove squalor, insanitary surroundings and unhealthy environments.

The rapid industrialisation in the advanced countries had brought about land, air and water pollutions but in India, it was just the beginning. We could, therefore, take precautions. We could so distribute our industries that the problem would not be so acute as in the West.

The irrigation projects also sometimes created environmental problems and so did dams.

With regard to the forests and wild life, we had taken some precautions. No forest would be felled down for agriculture without an alternative afforestation plan. There was "Project Tiger" to save the tigers from extinction.

HON. HILTON CHEON LEEN (*Hong Kong*): The Chairman said that pollution was a serious problem in Hong Kong Islands which were very congested in urban areas, the density being as high as 100,000 people per square mile. Thus the increasing population was a big problem. Although the birth rate was only 1.9 per cent, the immigration was 3.5 to 4 per cent per annum.

About control of air pollution the whole of Hong Kong had been declared as a

"smoke-control area" since 1974. There were 200,000 automobiles with a road mileage of only 600. About land and water pollution, they had to cope with six million poultry and 400,000 pigs, with a waste of about 500,000 tonnes per year.

Another very important problem of magnitude was that of noise of all kinds—traffic noise, aircraft noise, industrial noise, recreational noise, etc.

Aircraft noise was very serious because the airport in Hong Kong is surrounded at very close quarters by over one million people. A legislation was being formulated to cover different aspects of pollution and it would take two to three years for implementation, as it had to be a harmonious one, at the same time protecting the population on the one hand and saving the environment on the other.

We were also concerned with the protection of environment, wild life and plants. There were 2,400 species of fauna.

HON. J. H. TAYLOR (*New South Wales—Australia*) said that New South Wales had a very large population in the comparatively small area of a city like Sydney. Because of heavy industries, there was a very large problem of air pollution. They had introduced rigid measures. Pollution standards had been laid down. A number of legislative measures had been taken for harbour industries.

Then there was the problem of the effect of development of farming in particular.

They were endeavouring to solve the problem of preservation of wild life. Certain

species of Kangaroo were now rare, particularly the red Kangaroo which needed preservation. There were quite a lot of problems in common in that region about the preservation of wild life.

HON. TUPUI ARIKI HENRY (*Cook Islands*): The Pacific Islanders had always been interested in the preservation of their environment. About nine months ago, Australia and New Zealand, together with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Geneva held a conference. It was the first conference ever held in the South Pacific area on preservation of the environment and the control of pollution and promotion of the principle of conservation. It was at this Conference that representatives from the Pacific Islands, including the Cook Islands, were given a new light and new look into the business of preserving environment. With these avenues of providing ideas and support to a Pacific island like the Cook Islands, steps were immediately taken to legislate on matters regarding the preservation of environment there.

The Cook Islands had offered one of its 15 islands to the service of the IUCN to be made available as World Marine Park. In offering this island to the world we would also be giving a memorial to Captain Cook, who had discovered these islands, this being the first island to be discovered by him.

In the Cook Islands, 27 species of plants and trees had been discovered as being endemic and rare and some nine species of birds. They were very conscious of the

fact that their own little environment had such unique fauna, flora and birds.

HON. ROBERT WENMEN (*Canada*): Canada shared the concern for environment and she had enacted important Federal legislation including the Canada Water Act, the Clean Air Act, the Arctic Waters Pollution and Preservation Act, etc. Other countries could take advantage of these statutes, if they so desired.

Nuclear energy, which had become a major component for meeting the energy crisis, might become a major source of pollution in the world. The developing countries should also be aware of the consequences and potential danger of such energy. Any country selling, buying or using a nuclear reactor should have an obligation to practise all technologically known safeguards, to comply with all international safeguards, inspection systems and to pledge technological research funds to the solution of the waste disposal problem. Any country that proceeded in its technology from the production of nuclear explosion should be strongly condemned by all the developing countries who so desperately required both nuclear energy and the guarantee of safety for our global environment.

HON. (MRS.) MARY DOROTHY BATCHELOR (*New Zealand*): Today pollution of the environment was threatening soil quality, clear water, clean air and pleasures of natural things. There was diminution of those qualities we had never defined or placed a value on. Now we were beginning to recognise them and try to defend

them against further loss. But their loss was not accidental or by mistake. It was directly a result of growth. Population growth was not so much a problem with New Zealand, but nevertheless the Government of New Zealand was very clear as to what had to be done.

There was always a need to ensure that the international safety regulations in regard to use of nuclear isotopes were observed. But we would have to consider whether there was a financial ability on the part of many of the smaller countries to carry out the full international safety regulations.

DR. HON. W. H. C. MASTERS (*Bermuda*): Bermuda was a tourist island and tourists would like to go to the beach and get sunburnt. But there were nearly 300 tankers that passed Bermuda everyday and these tankers, when they returned from Europe, had the habit of washing out their tanks there. This was causing vast pollution of the sea. This could and should be controlled. The solution would be an international convention which should say that any ship coming back into an oil port with clean tanks should have a substantial fine put on it.

This oil pollution also affected the fauna of the sea. Something ought to be done about it.

There was an international convention on the preservation of whales. But there were some countries like the U.S.S.R. who continued to take the whale out of the sea in spite of the international Convention. There were certain countries that took

salmon out of sea in large quantities in spite of the Convention to stop it.

HON. ATAUR RAHMAN (*Assam—India*): Our environmental problems in India sprang both out of development and under-development. We were faced not only with the problem of industrial pollution but we had also to provide drinking water to our population and to remove the slums. Our Central and State Governments were alive to these problems. A number of housing and slum clearance schemes were under way. Various afforestation schemes had also been launched to increase the forest area of the country.

India was very rich in wild life. Various steps had been taken to preserve and protect wild life. Acts for the preservation of wild life had been passed by the Central and State Governments. Sanctuaries and national parks were being built in various States. Special attention had been given to the preservation of tigers and lions. The United Nations had been seized of the matter and had been taking various measures for the preservation of wild life. However, it was a problem for the United Nations to give proper attention to all the countries in this regard. As such, the Conference should think about the desirability of the Commonwealth countries building up a special fund towards this end in view.

HON. RAOUF BUNDHUN (*Mauritius*): The Indian Ocean island of Mauritius had so far been free from pollution resulting from the dumping of nuclear wastes in the sea waters. However, the people of Mauri-

tius were scared that their environment might also get polluted in the wake of installation of nuclear weapons so near to them in Diego Garcia. Some ways and means should be discovered to protect the human species from being destroyed in the near future not only by nuclear bombs, but also by nuclear wastes.

Mauritians were concerned about the pollution caused by the large number of tourists that visited that island. To preserve the beauty and cleanliness of the island Mauritius had now decided to restrict the number of tourists and invite only the elite tourists to the island.

There was not much wild life in Mauritius. Dodo had long been extinct in the island. The other Mauritian bird which was at the brink of extinction was Kesterel. But it was hoped that with the help of the experts of the World Wild Life Society we would be able to preserve this specie of bird.

HON. L. G. BALKE (*Falkland Islands*): Sounded a note of caution on international agreements because they become virtually a scrap of paper. Some species were extinct in South Atlantic while others were on the verge of extinction. That was a tragic state of affairs. The potential in South Atlantic was quite fantastic. It could not be estimated as to what the level of production might be. Although the islands were basically very small, there was problem of protection. Unless all the nations and the Commonwealth as well made a good Starter, the poaching would continue to deplete the species. If these conventions could be rigorously imposed,

we could have some hope in the next 100 years or so.

The problem of atmospheric pollution by nuclear tests was still raising. There was pollution of sea also with atomic waste.

HON. JOSEPH CASEY (*Nova Scotia—Canada*) said that the world resources were grouped into renewable and non-renewable ones. They had to be used wisely and in such a manner as to make them last as long as possible. If not handled and controlled properly, they would not last for ever. Many species were extinct and others were nearing extinction. We were running out of cultivable land and time would come when land would become scarce to support us.

The marine resources too were getting exhausted fast. The sea resources did not require any labour or finance. We had only to exploit it.

The blue whale was completely extinct. Salmons were bred by them by millions on the West-east coast. They were caught by Denmark.

The disposal of pollutants into the sea was a very serious problem. The fishermen left something into the sea which was indestructible and which floated on the sea. It was a potential danger to human life.

SENATOR THE HON. L. H. LOCKHART (*Bahamas*) said that the marine area of the Bahama Archipelago constituted 90 per cent of the total area. This factor, therefore, attached importance of primacy to the control of pollution and preservation of marine environment.

Although there were no known land-based mineral resources, it was compensated by an unparalleled geological feature. The Bahamians wished fervently to protect this heritage from pollution.

Bahamas attached special priority to two issues. Firstly, the reduction of land-based pollution and secondly, the question of vessel source pollution. They were also concerned about pollution from atmospheric sources. It should be made incumbent on all States to implement the recommendation of the 1972 Stockholm Conference. The land-locked States should not release pollutants into the rivers. Similarly, coastal States also should not pollute the sea.

DR. THE HON. JOSEPH BRINCAT (*Malta*): Malta was facing grave danger from the bigger nations in Europe who were throwing all their industrial waste into the Mediterranean Sea. In spite of the fact that in the Council of Europe, the bigger nations agreed in principle on the problem of pollution but nothing practical had been done.

The big tankers passing through the Mediterranean Sea spilt oil pollutants there which was very dangerous for the countries situated along the Mediterranean. For them, sea was a source of procurement of food. The big nations should do something concrete about it.

It had been rightly emphasized by the Indian delegate that in our own countries, we were responsible for creating pollution and creating a bad environment for other sectors of our own people. In fact, we

did not plan the development as it should be, but we became too greedy, perhaps. This was what was happening in Britain which was becoming a dustbin of nuclear waste. It would be fatal to England and to others too. It was, in fact, very important to realise that we should have a good life in this world.

HON. H. F. C. EREAUT (*Jersey*): The Island of Jersey in the English Channel was very much concerned with the question of oil pollution and they had talks with the British Government on this question. Surely, the British Government in their own interest and in the interest of the world would do what they could. Being a very small Island, Jersey placed great importance on environment and they had very strong feelings about it.

One important thing that the Commonwealth could do was to ensure that although hundreds and thousands of species of animals had already ceased to exist, we should not allow any species to disappear once and for all. In Jersey, a Wild Life Preservation Trust had been established for that purpose. It was supervised by Gerald Durrell, who was a well-known international expert working on preservation and conservation of dangerous wild species.

HON. R. K. BANDA (*Zambia*): The question of environment had become one of the leading questions of our time. Pollution on the land, the sea and the atmosphere killed much of what we loved to see and eat. Poison, deleterious substances, that were found in plants and animals eventually wound up in man's stomach.

For Zambia, it was essential to support efforts that were being made to monitor the environment in order to discover exactly what was happening to it before long term strategies could be worked out.

So far as the protection of wild life was concerned, it had to be realised that some of our cherished animals and plants would be heading for extinction if we were not careful about our natural resources.

HON. TREVOR EWAN FOSTER (*Cayman Islands*): A grave mistake made by many countries was that sufficient emphasis was not placed on planned development until the problem became acute. One of the reasons for this mistake particularly in the West Indies was that the countries had always lacked funds for development, and when an investor arrived he was received with open arms and given the go ahead. However in this technological age all parties were realizing that they must understand each other's problems and strive towards solving them amicably, if they were to develop and exist peacefully.

During 1975 the Cayman Islands, under the Central Planning Authority, had launched their Development Plan. The plan was a comprehensive one and laid stress on the need for controlled development in the islands. At present a marine natural resources survey was being carried on which would help in preserving coral reefs and underwater growth. Also, a sewerage and water survey was being finalised.

HON. JAMES GORST (*British Columbia—Canada*): Oil pollution from tankers

should be subject to some kind of funding. There would have to be an international agreement by the receiving country through whose waters the tanker passed and it should be subject to a tax per barrel. That tax would be paid into the treasury of that country to pay for the clean-up.

The United States was putting up a base very near to British Columbia. It was in the most extreme north-west of Pacific. This was an unfriendly act by a friendly nation.

HON. D. K. KWELAGOBE (*Botswana*): Botswana was one of those few countries of the world who had the largest wild life within their frontiers. Botswana was a developing country and was faced with the problem of paucity of funds. He appealed to the affluent countries which had no wild life, to come to the assistance of Botswana in its efforts to preserve wild life. Botswana with its limited means was taking all possible steps for the protection of wild life. Laws were not the only solution to the problem. People in the countryside had to be educated about the importance of wild life. They had many misconceptions about various species of fauna. Botswana was badly in need of funds even for launching such educational and training programmes for the country folk.

HON. MAURICE EDELMAN (*U. K.*): Britain was deeply concerned about the problem of pollution. The English Channel was a very busy waterway and there was much sea traffic around the

British islands including oil tankers. As such Britain had naturally to be concerned about the spillage and the problem of pollution through effluents and wastage. We had a separate Ministry dealing with environmental problems. We would cooperate with all, not only in the Commonwealth but at other world forums as well, who addressed themselves to the task of checking pollution in the environment.

HON. NICHOLAS DONDAS (*Northern Territory*): From the wild life point of view the Northern Territory of Australia had abundance of kangaroos. The Territory was also abundant in water buffaloes, in bird life and crocodiles. The kangaroo in the Territory should be declared a protected animal. The water buffalo also needed protection in this area.

Funds could be instituted in various countries to raise money for the protection of wild life and fauna. The countries which thought that tourism had brought pollution to their land should think whether they wanted money from tourism or wanted to preserve their birds, animals and environment.

In Australia there was the *Australia Beautiful Council* which worked for keeping the cities clean and beautiful. In the Northern Territory also the people were active in this regard and trying to keep the environment clean. There was also a legislation for on-the-spot imposition of fines on anybody dropping litter. Appropriate legislation should be formulated to protect the environment.

HON. WILLIAM SCOTT (*Canada*): Some kind of a chemical fertilizer should be devised through research, which might sit in the ground longer and which would not be so susceptible as to be washed away into lakes and rivers. In Canada, new model cars had been manufactured with an anti-pollution device.

There was another problem in Canada about the disposable containers. These containers became garbage and had to be thrown away. Particularly, the disposable glass containers were littering the countryside even now.

Another international problem in respect of wild life species was about the seal. In Canada, thousands of small seals were harvested for their pelt and not for their meat. Its effect, on the fish population on the north east coast of North America must be very closely assessed.

THE CHAIRMAN summing up the debate, said: It was evident that all of us in the Commonwealth were deeply concerned at the preservation of the environment, at controlling pollution and at preserving wild life, not only in the countries in the Commonwealth but all over the world. It was hoped that the delegates would consider whether some of these views could be applied to their own domestic situation. The Secretariat and the Executive Committee should see whether the views and suggestions which had universal application within the Commonwealth as such, were brought to the attention of all the Branches.

Discussion concluded.

V. CHALLENGES TO PARLIAMENT

(i) *Internal and External Threats to the Authority and Prestige of Parliament*: This subject was discussed at the Conference in the morning and afternoon sessions on November 1, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Dr. The Hon. G. S. Dhillon, (Speaker of Lok Sabha and President of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association) *in the Chair*.

Rt. Hon. William Whitelaw (U.K.)

Hon. L. F. Sloane (New Zealand)

Hon. Sir John Loveridge (Guernsey)

Hon. Maurice Edelman (U.K.)

Hon. Om Mehta (India)

Hon. (Mrs.) E. Dasilva (Guyana)

Hon. P. R. Chanshi (Zambia)

Hon. K. C. Ramrakha (Fiji)

Hon. Max Saltsman (Canada)

Hon. Louis S. Sylvestre (Belize)

Rt. Hon. Lord Shepherd (U.K.)

Hon. A. R. Thomas (Bermuda)

Hon. Datuk Musa Hitam (Malaysia)

Hon. H. C. Wariithi (Kenya)

Hon. K. Raghuramaiah (India)

Hon. Neij Marten (U.K.)

Hon. Tupui Ariki Henry (Cook Islands)

Hon. Vasudeva Singh (Uttar Pradesh—India)

Hon. Raouf Bundhun (Mauritius)

Hon. G. G. Swell (India)

Hon. James Johnson (U.K.)

Hon. Bernard Soysa (Sri Lanka)

Hon. (Mrs.) Tekarei Rusell (Gilbert and Ellice Islands)

Hon. George F. Hosten (Grenada)

Dr. The Hon. Henry Austin (India)

Senator the Hon. L. H. Lockhart (Bahamas)

Hon. R. V. Bet (Maharashtra—India)

RT. HON. WILLIAM WHITELAW (U.K.) initiating the discussion said: There were various threats to Parliament's authority all over the world. There were threats which had their roots in violence and intimidation. Then there were campaigns to undermine Parliament's authority through systematic attacks on their Members' competence and their honesty of purpose.

So far as violence was concerned if it got started in any country, it created a sort of society in which authority passed from the elected representatives to the bully-boys and criminals on the streets. The need surely was to prevent violence from ever breaking out, because once violence got started, it was far more difficult to stop it. Preventing violence from breaking out surely required firstly an early appreciation of the genuine grievances and, secondly, a democratic effort by the Government, backed up by all its powers to meet it. It demanded also a very firm action and in certain instances co-ordination

amongst the nations of the world against those who sought to support violence in any country or for any reason.

As regards campaigns against parliaments and their members, if they were not to be repeated, we must see to it that we promoted amongst our people a faith and a belief in the parliament itself. It was impossible to generalise about this problem because it differed clearly from country to country.

He did not accept the old saying that it was the only duty of the Opposition to oppose. We must not indulge in senseless party bickerings and recriminations in our Parliament. Fierce criticism and constant exposure of the failings of the Government were essential and must be rigorously pursued. But a country would think less of its politicians if such attempts degenerated into a universal condemnation of everything that the Government did. And this in turn would all too easily lead to a general denigration of everything in one's whole national effort.

The Opposition could help Parliament if they were honest enough to stand with the Government in things in which, they believed that what the Government was doing was right. Sometimes the Opposition should give the Government at least some support even if they believed that they were half right; they might criticize some parts of it and generally say that they believed that it was right. If one could do this, our people could feel that Parliament was a constructive forum which was genuinely seeking solutions to national problems and was not some kind of a battleground in

the struggle for personal power. Nothing was more damaging to parliament, if it was taken to be a battleground by some people for seeking their own personal advancement and personal power.

Our Parliament should be recognised as a living part of our national life, with its main change, with its main adaptations. It was enormously important if we were going to be in tune with the feelings of the people.

He was convinced that live broadcast of proceedings of Parliament over the radio was fairly worthwhile. The actual voice was much more humane and much more personal and people liked it. He was also in favour of televising proceedings as direct communication would help to control the influence and counter the rather denigrating efforts of few parliament sketch-writers in newspapers who did considerable harm to Parliament by trying to deride the speeches of Members and everything they did.

All efforts to undermine parliaments by innuendoes and subtle smear campaigns could and would be defeated provided the highest standards were set, and only we, the members of parliaments, could set those standards. By standards he did not just mean standards of conduct in our private life. It included the standard of being able to appreciate and understand the hopes and fears of our people. If we could practise commonsense, understanding and tolerance then we should go a long way to convince our people that we had their interest at heart and that we were

not thinking of ourselves. Only by carrying out this duty successfully could we measure up to the real objectives of this Conference, namely, the maintenance and growth of successful parliamentary democracy throughout the Commonwealth.

HON. L. F. SLOANE (*New Zealand*): We had got to deal with great danger and face the fact that in public image, the Parliamentarians were not what they should be. We just could not forget the Watergate or some other scandals throughout the world. The only real constitutional safeguard that any country had was not whether they had a bicameral legislature, not whether they had a written constitution or certain parliamentary procedures, but it was the personal integrity of the legislators that ensured democracy within their Parliament and their countries. The creeping cancer of corruption and double-dealing should not be tolerated in public offices or elsewhere. How could we as representatives expect a lower body of honest and industrious people to have faith in us, if the shining light of integrity was not foremost in the minds of our legislators.

Uninformed legislature was a dangerous institution but an uninformed public was equally so. Little had been done in our schools to encourage the awareness of the constitution, to let our young people know the role and functions of Parliament and of its members. We should provide them with the information and tools to be informed at an early age, and if it was done in the educational system, much of the misunderstanding that we had would disappear.

It was necessary that each individual member of Parliament realised that his right to sit in the House carried with it a duty, an onerous duty, to act responsibly and in the public interest, which was not always the same as the Government policy. Members must never forget to walk with and talk with the grass-roots of the people.

HON. SIR JOHN LOVERIDE (*Guernsey*): The greatest external threat to the authority and prestige of Parliament was the use of other than democratic processes to coerce the Government into taking action in a particular matter which it would not freely do in any other circumstances.

So far as internal threats to the authority and prestige of Parliament were concerned, there was no doubt that they existed and were real but to some extent they were inevitable.

There was the question of devolution of the powers of Parliament to regional authorities. The inevitable increase in central power made it necessary to enlarge democratic accountability and to increase opportunities for participation in Government. The case for devolution spoke for itself although plainly there were limits to what could be done. It was said that devolution could be reconciled with Parliamentary control on the basis that what Parliament had given it might take away. But to some extent this was surely abstract theory because the maxim was that freedom once given could not be taken away.

Then there was the view held by many that on particular issues, the will of the

majority should be determined by referendum. The advantage of a referendum was that the will of the majority of the people was determined but plainly government could not be carried on wholly or indeed to any extent by referenda. The more Parliament resorted the referenda the more it tended to become a rubber stamp.

As regards the threat posed to the authority and prestige of Parliament by delegation of its powers, there was a clear threat to Parliamentary government if power was delegated to legislate on matters of general policy or if so wide a discretion was conferred that it was impossible to be sure what limit the legislature intended to impose.

HON. MAURICE EDELMAN (*U.K.*): The representative government was today threatened both from within and from without. There were challenges especially by the young people which was something to which we should give ears and we should recognise that some of those criticisms, although unfounded, were not ill-intentioned.

Parliamentary democracy was not something which was crystallised and frozen and was usable for ever. Parliamentary democracy must adapt itself to the changing needs of the time.

We ought to recognise and reaffirm today that the system of parliamentary democracy would never yield to intimidation or to threats of violence. The first duty of Parliament must be to defend itself from those who under the mask of democracy, sought to destroy it to exercise their will.

In our country we had seen a certain bypassing of the legislature by the executive and that was something very dangerous. We must correct and reverse it.

We must also guard against arbitrary exercise of power by the executive particularly in the area of public administration. One of the gravest dangers to our democratic society was posed by a system of patronage by the executive in the matter of appointments which excluded the young educated generation from participation in the democratic process. We had to guard against this. While confirming our faith in democracy, we must constantly re-examine and review the instruments of democracy.

HON. OM MEHTA (*India*): In the parliamentary system under our Constitution the political sovereign is the people in whom rests the ultimate sanction for the Government to remain in power. The five general elections to the Lok Sabha and successive general elections to the State Legislative Assemblies held so far had unmistakably demonstrated that the parliamentary system in India had been firmly rooted.

The main driving force behind legislation and public administration in a parliamentary system was public opinion. We had devised in our Parliament and State Legislatures procedures which enabled constant assessment of the responsibility of the Executive, besides the periodic assessment by the electorate at the time of general elections as provided under the Constitution.

There was one important difference between the British parliamentary system and the one we had adopted. The British Parliament could override the decisions of the courts, if need be, with retrospective effect. In our country the courts enjoyed the power of judicial review of legislation. While the power of judicial review might be an essential consequence of a written constitution, the legislatures by the very nature of their representative character, were looked upon by the people as the most powerful instruments for the fulfilment of their hopes and aspirations.

Another essential condition for the successful functioning of the parliamentary system was the acceptance of the principle of majority rule and the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority. If the opposition conducted itself responsibly and its activities were motivated for public good, it would not only be able to control the government and check any possible misuse of authority but would compel the government in power to respond positively to its demands lest its prospects in the next elections might suffer a set back.

In countries where the two-party system prevailed, parliamentary government could be smooth and might follow a well laid out pattern. But in countries where there was a multiplicity of parties sitting in opposition, who were not organised or sufficiently strong to provide a stable alternative government, the opposition might tend to be over demonstrative and there might be misuse of the parliamentary forum by resort to methods which were derogatory to its dignity and decorum. An immediate

consequence of these could be decline in the people's faith in the Parliament as being the most effective instrument of democratic government.

In a parliamentary democracy all problems were required to be decided by discussion, adjustment of views and acceptance of consensus. The challenges to Parliament's authority and prestige were best met when strong public opinion set itself against attempts to bring democratic processes into disrepute.

HON. G. A. REGAN *in the Chair*

HON. (MRS.) E. DASILVA (*Guyana*): It was correctly stated that the Opposition should not merely oppose for the sake of opposition. The Opposition Party in Guyana whole-heartedly agreed with this. If a measure introduced in the Parliament of any country was in the best interests of the nation, then the whole Parliament should support it, both the Government and the Opposition. Both the sides were very important for the preservation of democracy.

Democracy was vital and essential for the way of life to which we were accustomed. If democracy was to mean anything to all of us in the newly independent countries, it was important to see that the threat that was posed to Parliament by those who used the term 'democracy' too euphemistically, was met. 'Democracy' was not just used as a word to generalise and to use expressions like people's democracy or economic democracy or social democracy. Democracy meant that we must not pay lip service to it and we must truly live by it.

Those in Parliament should not formulate one law for Parliament and another law for the people. We must strive to preserve our democratic way of life.

Our Press must be free to report and to give a fair and unbiased and adequate coverage. It would be too much to ask the Press to give equal coverage to Government and to Opposition. They should give adequate coverage to what the Opposition had to say.

It was said that the persons in Parliament should not be mere rubber stamps to whatever matter was put forward. There was no point in having a Government if everything that they said was simply accepted. This had to be very carefully looked into in order to see that the principle of everyone having a fair chance to express his views was accepted.

HON. P. R. CHANSHI (*Zambia*): Zambia was a country where we had a one-party participatory democracy. Zambia had chosen to go that way as we had only followed our forefathers, who even in the olden days, ruled our people by having one man in power.

The multi-party system was foreign to us. The Opposition which we had before we introduced one-party State, had to realize in the long run that joining the forces was the only applicable way of producing fruitful results. It was not however, his contention that these with the multi-party system were wrong at all.

As for our *Zambian* parliamentary democracy, our Government recognised cons-

tructive criticism as a hallmark of healthy change. We, in Zambia, with one-party participatory democracy, valued the reasons presented by the Government. If we considered our endeavours reasonable and very genuine, there was no need of Opposition.

As Members of Parliament in Zambia, our task was indeed to work together and our motto was one Zambia, one Nation. We had, therefore, adapted our Parliamentary democracy to local situation in order to reflect the will of the people. We had in fact, our Parliamentary democracy to suit the Zambia people and within the Commonwealth.

HON. K. C. RAMRAKHA (*Fiji*): The Constitution of Fiji, on paper, was one of the most perfect constitutions devised. If we honoured the British that they generated the un-written Constitution themselves they did their former friends the greatest disservice in giving to each one of us a perfectly written Constitution.

The reason why the British parliamentary system had worked was this that they had the strongest parliamentary conscience in the world, because the people of Britain did not brook any interference with their conscience.

In the last resort, the security of Parliament depended upon an individual himself, the individual member in Parliament.

The Parliament today, in many parts of the world, was facing a deadlock politics which arose from the fact that the best

people were going into industry into commerce, into professions where they could have lucrative existence and lucrative profit; they felt that the politics was a dirty word and should be treated as last on the list. They were not seeking political offices. This was something which we Parliamentarians should try to correct.

HON. MAX SALTSMAN (*Canada*): The press had taken upon itself the role of the official opposition. It were they who decided as to what was important and what was not important and what would get out and what would not get out to the public. In order to get press coverage one had to find out what was fashionable for the press on that particular day.

Every time a new method of reporting or covering the proceedings of Parliament was introduced, it conferred advantages to one type of persons against another type. Parliament would have to change if the television cameras were turned on the House of Commons.

We had got to get through the press gallery which filtered our speeches. This was a serious problem of our times. We had to find out a way to get through to public directly. Modern media like television or radio should be brought into the Houses of deliberation if those Houses had to change to accommodate themselves in a modern democracy.

HON. LOUIS S. SYLVESTRE (*Belize*): The aspiration of the Belize people and nation was to be a free and independent nation in Central America. Colonialism

had no major role to play in this because from 1961, Belize had been offered independence. But this could not be achieved because of the claim of the Republic of Guatemala over Belize. This issue was discussed at the Prime Ministers Conference in Jamaica. All the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries gave their full support for the independence of Belize. Likewise in Lima Conference of Non-aligned nations, Belize got strong support for their cause.

He believed that this Conference would support the aspirations of the Belize people to be free, sovereign and independent.

RT. HON. LORD SHEPHERD (*U.K.*): It was the wish of the United Kingdom that Belize should be independent as soon as possible. The problem, therefore, was not within the British Government but with Guatemala which had a long claim on the United Kingdom in regard to this territory. Unless we could obtain an agreement with Guatemala it was very difficult to see how Belize could live in full peace and security.

This matter would have to be referred to the United Nations because it was only within the United Nations that this guarantee of peace and security could be achieved. He believed that it was still possible for Guatemala to make the necessary gesture which would allow Belize to proceed to full sovereign independence.

HON. A. R. THOMAS (*Bermuda*): The greatest threat to Parliamentary democracy existed outside the parliament, it existed in the grass-roots of our people.

The parliamentary process must be well-understood and appreciated by our people. They must be educated, they must be convinced in their own mind that they could trust the parliament to effect measures which affected their lives. Their aspirations must be seen to be expressed in the parliament by those whom they elected.

The youth in Bermuda were the greatest threat to parliamentary democracy there, not because they were not convinced of the efficacy of the parliamentary system but because what they saw distressed them. Our youth wanted to see realism. They wanted to see real men who would stand up regardless of what the press or the Leader of the Party or the Opposition felt. They wanted men who would stand out and speak for what was good and what was right for the country as a whole. It was the shortage of such individuals in our Parliament that made it impossible for democracy to see itself continuing as a Bible philosophy. It was not that such men and women were not there in our country. But they were afraid to make a sacrifice. We needed such persons who could count the cost and make sacrifices for the principles which had made human beings great and which had made their existence worthwhile through the ages.

HON. DATUK MUSA HITAM (*Malaysia*): Today, the main concern of Parliamentarians was the question how to adapt their Parliament to the individual situations and needs of the different peoples of each one of their countries. They were more interested in the systems which could deliver the goods.

When one talked of parliamentary democracy, the real test of whether that system could really survive was in the face of crisis. We had seen countries changing their system of parliamentary democracy, or changing their system of Parliament, in the face of a crisis. To be frank, this was a good start. The system ought to be changed according to the need of the hour.

HON. H. C. WARIITHI (*Kenya*): He agreed with the views expressed by the delegate from Malaysia that it was for the countries, particularly the developing countries, themselves to choose the type of parliamentary democracy and practise it the way it was suitable to them.

Kenya had evolved a parliamentary system which worked in the circumstances prevailing there. It was primarily our President, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, who with his wisdom and leadership, had made Kenya what it was today.

The first challenge to Parliaments, particularly in the newly independent countries in Africa, was from the Executive *i.e.* the Government. In the new democracies, there existed many social and economic problems which required urgent solutions by the Executive. This challenge could be lessened by these Parliaments which had opposition parties by associating them with whatever the Government was doing for the benefit of the country. The opposition parties should not oppose simply for the sake of opposition. It would minimise the challenge that came from the executive.

Another challenge was the party challenge. Some people believed in one-party

rule while some advocated multi-party system. In Kenya, we were supposed to have more than one party in Parliament. We allowed more parties to be registered but at the moment there was only one party and no other party had been registered. If the party was very strong and did not allow room for discussion, it could not be called a parliamentary democracy. However, it was possible within one parliamentary party to have exchange of views which would make the Government really aware that they were making a mistake.

The other challenge was from the military, especially in the case of the young Parliaments. The last way to ward off challenge from the army was to make use of it in peace time for relief works etc. to keep them away from mischief as Kenya was doing.

There was also a challenge in the form of revolution within the country. The only way to avoid it was that the Government should take care to redress the grievances of its people in time.

Having freedom only in Parliament and no freedom of discussion or freedom of the press outside Parliament was another challenge.

HON. R. GUJADHUR *in the Chair*

HON. K. RAGHURAMAIAH (*India*): The first challenge to parliamentary democracy was the criticism often heard all over the world from those who were opposed to this institution that the parliamentary democracy moved slower than dictatorship. But these people forgot that while decisions

might be quicker in a dictatorship and the improvements might seem to be faster, in a democracy, involvement of the people ensured the acceptance of the decisions by and large and, therefore, it added to the general content of the people.

However, there were certainly some ways of improving our procedures. In a country where the Parliament sat for nearly six to eight months in a year, the Ministers were kept busy all the time. It was, therefore, very difficult for them to give attention to administrative matters fully. So, in bigger countries, it was advisable for Parliaments to sit for a minimum amount of time and leave the executive more time to attend to the administrative matters.

There had been some attack on the parliamentary system on the ground that a majority rule always meant the rule of a particular community, of a particular religious group or of a particular racial group. Now, we had to ensure that Parliament did represent the nation as a whole, that it had within its ambit the representation of the minorities such as the cultural, linguistic and other groups.

Regarding the dangers from within, there were many. But the greatest danger from within was that which arose from departure from the accepted code of discipline in Parliament. It made Parliament the laughing stock of the whole world.

The Government had a responsibility to the House and to the country and it was a part of the game that the Opposition must respect the majority. The majority

party reflected the majority of the people of the country. Attempt by the Opposition to strangle all norms in a House by recourse to extra-constitutional methods was one of the things which could endanger the working of the parliamentary system.

He agreed with the views expressed by many speakers that parliamentary democracy was not a well-defined and final system for all time to come. Parliamentary democracy was to be evolved by each country according to its own genius.

In our own country, we had complete adult franchise and we had had elections ever since 1952 on that basis. Our people had understood the essentials of democracy and they had conducted themselves in a more peaceful manner.

It was most important that Parliament acted not only quickly but all the time bore in mind the interest of the commonest man. It was all the more necessary in the case of backward and developing countries.

HON. NEIL MARTEN (*U.K.*) agreeing that there could be variations of democracy said: The U.K. system might not be suitable for all. Sometimes, actions that may not be classified as democratic may have to be taken.

There were four factors which were relevant to the question of the loss of prestige of Parliament. First, at the time of elections, the election manifesto should not go in great detail to attract the voters because, when the government was formed, it might not be possible to implement all those promises which had been lavishly

made. The result would be that the people might lose trust in politicians and consequently in the institution of Parliament. There should also be some humility in the politicians.

Secondly, after being elected to Parliament, the member must keep the personal pledge which he had made at the time of his election campaign. But if he had changed his mind, he must go back to his constituents and explain why he had done so. Otherwise, a great deal of individual respect was lost.

Thirdly, the members must not become mere rubber stamps or puppets of the party machine. It led to loss of prestige. Here the question of whipping system was also involved. No doubt, his job was to keep his party in power as best as he could, but that should not be done at the cost of the prestige of Parliament. However, when a member decided to vote against his party, he should tell the whip beforehand about it.

Fourthly, Parliament itself must dominate the Government and the Executive. If it failed to do that, then Parliament was itself failing.

The threat to the authority and prestige of Parliament lay in the conduct of Parliamentarians individually and collectively.

HON. TUPUI ARIKI HENRY (*Cook Islands*): The Cook Islands had a special interest in the present Conference as the question of Main Branch status for them was very important. Once upon a time, there used to be a Legislative Assembly of

21 members there, out of which only 4 were elected and most of the rest were nominated by the Resident Commissioner. However, since 1965 all the 22 members were elected by the people and our Parliament today was firmly representative of the people. But still the Main Branch status had not been given to us. If that was not done, it would be difficult for him to attend the next Conference in Mauritius.

We talked of various threats. But the main threat was from within because we did not have mutual respect for and recognition of each other. There should not be any classification of Parliaments into big and little.

HON. VASUDEVA SINGH (*Uttar Pradesh—India*): The functioning of the Parliaments today was becoming more and more ritualistic. We owed it to ourselves to make the Parliament a mirror of people's aspirations.

The Opposition should be given due respect in a Parliament. But a sense of respect for Parliament and its functioning must also be shown by the Opposition.

In view of the steady increase in the range and scope of Governmental activities, we should henceforth depend more and more on a system of evolution of committees.

For an efficient and smooth functioning of Parliament, it should have an independent secretariat.

In view of the complex problems of modern life and the manifold business that

Parliament was required to transact, there should be some specialisation on the part of members to keep themselves equipped properly.

Democracy was natural to India. Therefore, there was no danger to it. The emergency had brought about a qualitative difference which should not be lost sight of.

DR. THE HON. G. S. DHILLON
in the Chair

HON. RAOUF BUNDHUN (*Mauritius*) said that although the population of Mauritius numbering 850,000, consisted of various origins, the people lived in complete harmony. Thus, it could be a fine example of peaceful co-existence in the world. The British pattern of Government, based on the Westminster system, was followed in Mauritius and it was working successfully. The opposition leader was paid by the Government to oppose the Government. The party securing the highest number of seats in Parliament governed the country. Good politics demanded that the parties losing at the polls should respect the verdict of the people. The vast majority of Africans in Rhodesia were denied the right to govern their motherland. It would be fair enough if the newly independent countries in Africa united their forces together and moved their countries together for the betterment of their people.

Three or four years back in Mauritius, there was a coalition Government in which there were a number of young people who thought that what was being done was not

good. Therefore, they started revolting. The country was paralysed by strikes and they were on the verge of a civil war. The sovereign Parliament, therefore, had to take very drastic measures. A state of emergency was declared. Political meetings were banned. The leaders, who disturbed the country, were arrested and jailed for a full year because probably they meant bloodshed and *coup d'etat*. That situation was now no longer there.

HON. G. G. SWELL (*India*) said that there was no substitute for parliamentary democracy as a Government that was most suitable to the needs of the people. The freedom of an individual needs to be preserved. An individual had the freedom to decide his own government. That could be done only through a parliamentary form of democracy. It had been said that there had been more rapid, more spectacular developments, economic development, achieved by the countries which had totalitarian forms of government but we have seen all that happened in certain countries. When people were denied their freedom to choose their own representatives and to determine their own government, there might be progress in the short-run but ultimately the people felt the price they were paying was too high.

In Northern Ireland parliamentary institution was sought to be destroyed in the street.

The world needed a change towards progress but it had to come about peacefully and democratically. The United Kingdom decided democratically to join the European Economic Community. That

had been a very revolutionary but a peaceful change and at the same time it could still remain within the Commonwealth. That being the position, there could be no objection to the small Cook Islands to become a full member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Although there was danger to parliamentary democracy from outside, the greatest danger was from within itself. Parliament must reflect the will of the people. It should serve as a barometer of public opinion. It was also a safety valve for the people to let out their steam.

Parliament must present to the people the hope of stability which could only come in the way in which the Members of Parliament discharged their duties.

Parliament should provide leadership to the country. The opposition's good points should be accepted by the Government. Leadership came out of knowledge. A blind man could not lead another blind man. The Parliament of India had tried during the last few years to establish that kind of tradition.

The amount of salaries and allowances of Members of Parliament was such as could not attract really good persons to Parliament. Unless these were made really attractive, it would be extremely difficult to draw real talent.

HON. JAMES JOHNSON (*U.K.*) said that there was a big change since he entered the House in 1950 and there were now people there who did not believe in the institution of Westminster type of

democracy or party democracy. Referring to the remarks made by the Member from Guernsey he said that no elected government, anywhere, could legislate on national affairs unless they had the assent of the organised workers.

HON. BERNARD SOYSA (*Sri Lanka*) referred to the happenings in Chile and the downfall of the Government of Salvador Allende when they wanted to introduce fundamental social changes with the use of Parliament as a principal instrument. It was, therefore, important how one could use parliamentary institutions with the total involvement of the people for necessary changes in the socio-economic structure. Without that any country would find the challenge from those opposed to the use of Parliament for making great changes insurmountable.

HON. (MRS.) TEKAREI RUSSELL (*Gilbert and Ellice Islands*) said that her country was not independent but was given the opportunity to participate in the management of their affairs under a ministerial system. She had found that the system they had adopted sometimes conflicted with the customs in the villages, where men were decision makers and in many ways the ladies' views were quite different from those of men.

Politicians or decision makers many times worked above the people. Their main concern should be to work with the people and they should understand their real needs.

HON. GEORGE F. HOSTEN (*Grenada*) said that in his country they had parliamentary

democracy with a two-party system based on the Westminster model.

In countries where the Opposition was very limited the threat to Parliament came from the Cabinet when it took Parliament for granted. This did not, however, mean that the Opposition could resort to violence or come to power by force. In his country the Opposition having failed to come to power by ballot behaved in an irresponsible manner. The press also connived in this. He, therefore, thought that an irresponsible press was also a threat to Parliament. Too many promises which were difficult to be fulfilled were made at the time of elections. This led to disenchantment among the youth.

DR. THE HON. HENRY AUSTIN (*India*): India had tried to imbibe the spirit of democracy it inherited from classical India and blended it with the experience it had gained from the British Parliament to the realities of the situation.

Democracy was a way of life. It could not be confined into a rigid pattern. It had to take its own form relevant to the particular conditions.

In many countries of Asia and Africa, the spectacle of the nationalist organisations which fought and achieved independence was still the sheet anchor and Opposition found it difficult to offer an alternative socio-economic programme to the people, to wean them away from violence.

Unless the Opposition was responsive to the aspirations of the people and in combination with the constructive programme

offered by the ruling party, offered a systematic programme to the people, the effective functioning of democracy and democratic processes would, to that extent, become difficult. It was the absence of viable opposition parties acceptable to the people which was the cause of trouble in many countries in Asia and Africa. Defection was another vice against which we would have to guard.

SENATOR THE HON. L. H. LOCKHART (*Bahamas*): With the upsurgent and rebellious attitudes of our people in the various countries, we as parliamentarians must be very careful in our conduct, especially during election time and off election time in Parliament and outside. Election time was the time of mudslinging and exchanging low blows. We should try and get away from these things and bad politics because of their bad effects on the youth of our days as that would lead to sure ruin of a country.

HON. R. V. BET (*Maharashtra—India*): Complexity in State activity had resulted in the domination of the executive over the legislature and the legislatures were now finding new ways to assert their authority over the executive. Members of the legislatures must redirect their energies and initiative into new channels of the parliamentary activities which would eventually establish the authority of Parliament over the Executive.

Each member must make a conscientious effort to maintain the dignity and the prestige of the legislature. One of the main reasons for creation of disorder in

the House, especially by the Opposition, was the disrespect shown by the Government to their points of view. Government, therefore, must respond positively to the suggestions made by the opposition.

In India, 'Satyagraha' had become the mode of protest against its own Government, which had threatened the prestige and authority of Parliament when it took a violent turn in the streets. People must imbibe parliamentary spirit which was the best safeguard against corrosion of the prestige and authority of Parliament.

He suggested that all the statutory Corporations should be made responsible to the legislatures.

(ii) *Ministers, Members and Conflicts of interest*: This subject was discussed at the Conference in the afternoon session on November 1, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. Bernard Soysa (Sri Lanka)
 Hon. H. B. Dawkins (South Australia)
 Hon. B. Ramsaroop (Guyana)
 Hon. Henry E. Giraudy (St. Lucia)
 Hon. H. F. C. Ereaut (Jersey)
 Senator the Hon. Gordon Mathews (Barbados)
 Hon. Ram Kishore Vyas (Rajasthan—India)
 Hon. A. 'E' AuTaulupoo (Western Samoa)
 Hon. Roy Richardson (Trinidad & Tobago)

Hon. Lim Cho Hock (Malaysia)

Hon. Laurie Pavitt (U.K.)

Hon. Gulsher Ahmed (Madhya Pradesh
—India)

Hon. Paul Dean (U.K.)

HON. BERNARD SOYSA (*Sri Lanka*), initiating the discussion, said: This matter was concerned with the question of integrity on the part of those to whom the country's affairs had been entrusted.

The question was about the benefits arising to the individual minister or a member of legislature out of an improper exercise of his functions and duties. This problem would arise in different social systems in different ways.

The larger area in which this question cropped up was, of course, not in relation to public-owned enterprises but the private sector where one got most of the cases which parliamentarians were called upon to discuss. One was where the Minister or the Member might view policy decisions on questions of public importance from the group interest or his own individual interest.

There was another aspect of the matter *i.e.*, the deliberate and conscious use of the powers or the influence as a member of legislature or a Minister in order to secure that certain things were done which happened to be of benefit to himself; where you sought to influence the decision either for private profit in regard to some

other area of economic interest or private gain towards some person. It was in this sector that you had some other standards which were largely responsible for bringing this subject on the agenda. In these matters an M.P. or a Minister might easily slip into situations in the complexities of life and might find it rather difficult to extricate himself afterwards. There were considerations not entirely financial but there might be considerations of misdemeanour which bordered on corruption.

A Select Committee appointed in the United Kingdom was of the view that parliamentarians should be better paid in order to take them away from the field of temptation.

It was impossible to draw up a code of conduct for members of legislatures. The problem of definition in this matter could really lead to defeating the very purpose. We had in mind by some persons seeking to exercise the old principle of jurisprudence of inclusiveness. The other remedy was to maintain a register of interests by Parliament. The question remained as to who was to maintain this register or to whom this disclosure was to be made. If this declaration was made to Mr. Speaker, it might not satisfy public opinion and public would like to scrutinise it. If it was scrutinised by public, many objections might be raised by the legislators themselves who would not like to get their assets and liabilities investigated by the public. Declarations could be utilised for harassing members. Widest publicity to one's assets and liabilities would to an extent satisfy the public.

There could be conflicts between one's public duties and private interests in non-financial sectors as well. In some countries, a wide range of entertainments was provided to Members of Parliament in order to influence their conduct in certain cases.

We would have to fall back on the good sense and integrity of the individual members and on the capacity of the electorate and its good sense to choose the correct persons for Parliament. If a person was known to have done something wrong, the public must reject him at the next election. This was the area in which we had nothing to rely upon except the good sense of the electorate, the good sense of the members and their own integrity and their sense of honour and, above all, the capacity of humanity to set itself right.

HON. M. B. DAWKINS (*South Australia*): Probably the intention to discuss this subject was to deal with Members' private interests in relation to his public duties. Certainly, public duty must always take precedence over private interests. But, at the same time, Members should not be forced to disclose their business to all and sundry.

In the State of Victoria, a committee appointed by the Government recommended certain qualifications and responsibilities for the persons who might be elected as Members of Parliament. He agreed with its recommendation that certain normal guidelines should be introduced in public life, but he did not support legislation which could result in something like an inquisition into the

private affairs of the Members of Parliament and which would in most cases prove to be unnecessary and undesirable intrusion into the lives of individuals who desired to serve their country in a political way.

So far as South Australia was concerned, there had been no scandal whatsoever within the Parliament and it was an example of highest standard and integrity in public life from the beginning. In fact, the answer to this problem did not lie in public disclosures of interest, but in the example which would be set by the leaders of the people, whether in the Government or in the Opposition. The security of Parliament depended upon the legislators and the integrity of the Parliamentarians themselves.

HON. B. RAMSAROOP (*Guyana*): The question of morality was an essential aspect of public life. In Guyana, a code of conduct for the Members of Parliament had been promulgated and under that code, a Member of Parliament was described as a leader. Some broad guidelines as to what should constitute a code of morality for public leaders had been given therein. But unfortunately even that model might not be applicable to all circumstances and under conditions where Governments operated under different political and economic systems.

He maintained that this code was not a static document. True that it did not provide answers for all problems but it certainly provided a working mechanism by which the assets of members could be declared when they took office. In

Guyana, under the provisions of Ombudsman there was an instrument by which the conduct of leaders could be examined. Investigations against two Ministers had been examined there under this provision. These cases had established a very salutary precedent that executive action was within the purview and competence of Ombudsman. It was said by Mahatma Gandhi that "Truth is the right designation of God". Similarly it could be said that "Truth in public life is morality."

HON. HENRY E. GIRAUDY (*St. Lucia*): St. Lucia had an area of 238 square miles and a population of 120,000 people. With such a small population it was more than likely that everybody knew everybody else's business so that the urgency for any kind of accounting by a person in public life was not as great as in a larger country where a Member of Parliament enjoyed a greater degree of anonymity.

In recent times, newspapers played a tremendous part in exposure of corruption among men in public life. The clearest and the most recent example was the Watergate affairs. Since the newspapers knew very well juicy scandals accounted for the biggest circulation, they would not miss an opportunity to expose a man in public life who behaved in a manner that was not proper for his position.

Only in large areas where a member of Parliament was likely to be less well known throughout, we would need some form of codification.

HON. H. F. C. EREAUT (*Jersey*): In Jersey, Members of Parliament received

no payment and no allowances. There was a scheme whereby if a member could show that he did not have an annual income of 1500 pounds from all sources he could have something. There was a tradition of honorary service, and it was felt that Members of Parliament should give their services in an honorary capacity. That, in a way, solved the problem because it meant that the Members must have outside interests. But there was a vital duty of Members to disclose the influences which might affect their conduct in some ways. Since Jersey had a small community, the people there were in a specially good position to be able to assess a Member's motives and his actions. As regards privacy, Members of Parliament in Jersey were entitled to very little privacy because so much was known about them.

SENATOR THE HON. GORDON MATHEWS (*Barbados*): Corruption had always been going on. We should not think that corruption had just begun. That was why the British Labour Party had to shed blood, sweat and tears to get something for the working class. What was worrying people today was that people were setting themselves up to champion the cause of the small man. But very often some of these small grassroots men, accumulated an enormous amount of wealth. Members of Parliament in Barbados did not suffer from this embarrassment.

Parliamentarian was also a citizen and he had also certain basic rights just like anyone else. Therefore there should not be any code of assets whereby a Parliamen-

tarian had to make his business known to public. There were certain ways and means of stopping corruption without giving to the public the inner business of a Parliamentarian. The ballot box after every five years was still a good means.

HON. RAM KISHORE VYAS (*Rajasthan—India*): India had a living interest in democracy and in the democratic way of life. Democracy was an instrument of social change and, therefore, it was vulnerable to both external and internal challenges. The challenge from within the Parliament was more important than any other form of challenge. If a Member of the House consistently, willingly, and persistently did not allow the House to function and consistently flouted the authority of the Chair and acted in a way which sabotaged democracy, it should be taken serious note of. There should be no rigidity in the rules of procedure of Parliament; these should be adaptable in such a way as to meet political problems and the needs of the common man. The challenge to Parliament was from poverty, illiteracy and unemployment.

During recent years, not only in India, but throughout the world, there had been a deterioration in the standards of integrity in public life. In India within a decade after independence, there were quite high standards of integrity. But afterwards, there was expansion in the economic activities of the Government, bringing in many rules and regulations permits, licences and so many other things and there was deterioration in India also. There were certain provisions in the Constitution of India by which a person

was debarred from contesting elections. But it was the force of public opinion which should ultimately check a degeneration of standards of integrity and prevailing corruption in parliamentary life.

HON. A'E'AU TAULUPOO (*Western Samoa*): A cardinal requirement of Parliamentary Government was that there would be freedom of debate and freedom to criticise. However, on some important issues the whip demanded the attendance of its Party members and the casting of vote in a certain way. This apparently was tantamount to compulsion. This was imposing the will of the few on the whole of the country. Such imposition were not always bad, but sometimes they were intended to entrench the few into Ministerial jobs. Another danger confronting the Parliamentary Government was to allow the ancillary bodies to exert their will on Parliaments. Some Parliaments had amended the Constitution empowering the leader of a political party in the Legislature to expel a Member which had forced the people to be yes-men where even the authority of Parliament was challenged. Many countries of the Commonwealth now were under military rule, the rulers having suspended the constitutions under which they were elected. We should take serious note of these facts. However, we could be proud of the courts in the Commonwealth countries who had not hesitated to decide even against the Governments. One wished that this fearlessness in our courts would be lasting.

HON. ROY RICHARDSON (*Trinidad & Tobago*): A society did not consist of politicians alone. Magistrates and Civil

Servants were also there who were found to be as much corrupt as some politicians. If a politician was required to devote full time to public work, he should get sufficient salary and perquisites so as not to be tempted by undue offers. A politician was exposed to a lot of temptation. The interested parties would first corrupt him in order to get certain advantages and then dub him as a corrupt fellow. If outsiders were allowed to sit in judgment on the integrity of parliamentarians, it might amount to erosion of the sovereignty of Parliament. A politician was as much a citizen of his country as anybody else and we should not always talk about his obligations but should also see that he was not denied his normal entitlements in a society. Opposition might some time act only with an eye on wresting power, but there were governments also who would go to any extent to keep themselves in the saddle.

HON. LIM CHO HOCK (*Malaysia*): Most of the parliamentarians, who got elected, spent in excess of the amount fixed for election, expenses under the rules. If the Members themselves could not follow the election rules how could they expect others to act in accordance with the law? We must review our election rules; and if they were outdated, those must be modified so that the parliamentarians could enter the portals of Parliament with a clear conscience. Ways and means should be found to make elections cheap and within the means of politicians. One way out could be to make the casting of vote compulsory for every voter so that a politician would not be required to spend money to pull out the voters to vote.

Many Ministers and high government officials had become multi-millionaires over-night after they came to hold a seat of power. But it was very difficult to prove that they had accepted bribes. And again, no Government would have the courage to admit that its Ministers and officials were corrupt.

HON. LAURIE PAVITT (*United Kingdom*): Classical conflict which every elected Member of a legislature had to face was the amount of time that he was required to devote to public life *vis a vis* his family. The family had, generally, to forego the due attention of the elected Member. A Minister would be briefed by his ministerial staff on every single point in favour of his case. For a discussion to be fruitful it was necessary that the back-benchers in Parliament should also have access to all the information on the subject under discussion. The Members were exposed to occupational hazards in the sense that very often they would take part in parliamentary discussions with a view to find mention on T.V. radio or in the press. This would often distort the quality and value of the debate. The manufacturers and other trade interests tried to brief different Members on various subjects effecting their domain of activities. However, each Member had to be conscious of his responsibility to make his own conclusion after weighing the pros and cons of every case.

HON. GULSHER AHMED (*Madhya Pradesh—India*): In the past, there was no necessity for considering a member's personal or private interests. But as the time passed, economic and industrial

activities spread and a number of scandals occurred. People then started thinking whether some kind of code of conduct should be prescribed for ministers and members of Parliament.

In India, we had taken certain safeguards in order to keep the public life clean. Our Constitution provided a disqualification for being a member of Parliament if one held any office of profit under the Government. Parliament had also passed laws providing that such and such jobs would disqualify. The Central Government had laid down a code of conduct for members of Parliament which had been laid on the table of the House.

In some of our States, we had Commissioners to make inquiries against ministers or public servants and in the case of the Chief Minister, the inquiry would be made by the Vigilance Commissioner or Lok Ayukta appointed by the Central Government.

At least to satisfy the public psychologically, it was necessary if such kinds of codes of conduct were made for members of Parliament and ministers.

HON. PAUL DEAN (U.K.) said that the most important thing that emerged from the proceedings was that Parliaments in the Commonwealth were a powerful force for unity in Commonwealth. Another thing that united them was their faith in the Rule of Law. Rule of Law meant obedience to law made by Parliament which could only be changed by Parliament. It also meant independent courts to

interpret the law. This great prize of democracy had to be preserved.

The main threat to the Parliament came from the conflict between Parliamentarians and a small minority of those who believed in violence.

With the sheer weight of business, Parliaments were becoming legislative machines. The requirement for legislation, therefore, should be gone through carefully.

People should be given greater knowledge about Parliament and its business. Radio and television could play an important role in that respect.

VI. THE COMMONWEALTH AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

This subject was discussed at the Conference in the morning session on November 4, 1975. The following delegates participated in the discussion:

Hon. R. Gujadhur (Vice-President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association)
in the Chair

Hon. Maurice Dupras (Canada)

Hon. Michael Marshall (U.K.)

Hon. Dinesh Singh (India)

Hon. L. G. Blake (Falkland Islands)

Hon. D. Ramdin (Mauritius)

Hon. (Mrs.) E. DaSilva (Guyana)

Senator the Hon. Deighton F. Griffith
(Barbados)

Hon. Laurie Pavitt (U.K.)

Dr. The Hon. Henry Austin (India)

Hon. J. H. Taylor (New South Wales—
Australia)

Hon. Apurbalal Mazumdar (West
Bengal—India)

Senator the Hon. L. H. Lockhart
(Bahamas)

Hon. Mohammad Baitullah (Bangladesh)

Hon. James Johnson (U.K.)

Hon. R. S. Patil (Karnataka—India)

Hon. W. J. Cheddesing (Jamaica)

Hon. (Mrs.) Leaupepe Faimaala Phillips
(Western Samoa)

Hon. Neil Marten (U.K.)

Hon. G. G. Swell (India)

HON. MAURICE DUPRAS (*Canada*) initiating the discussion, said: The Commonwealth had undergone a change and it must now be looked upon as an informal and largely de-institutionalized association among countries of various races and continents. The Commonwealth was neither an empire nor a power block. Its members had some vital things common: they shared certain constitutional and legal attitude, governmental and business practices and habits of working together. The justification of Commonwealth lay in sharing of view-points and search for

understanding. In spite of the regional attachments; the Commonwealth was counter regional; its role was not to rival regional blocks but to link them.

The cooperation among Commonwealth countries was not limited to Governments. It took place among parliamentarians, industrial and commercial enterprises and voluntary societies and organisations. The countries worked together through three hundred and odd organisations that promoted Commonwealth interest in a variety of areas about which few people knew.

The CFTC was a multilateral development fund established in April, 1971 which provided assistance through the General Technical Assistance Programme, the Education and Training Programme and the Export Market Development Programme. There had been considerable expansion of the activities of CFTC because of the demand for its services.

One of the most important areas of Commonwealth cooperation was the field of education, where the Commonwealth Education Conference and the Commonwealth Secretariat played important role in stimulating activity. Under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, by 1973-74 the total number of Scholarships had reached 1008 with 442 new awards in 12 countries.

Health was another field where there had been close Commonwealth cooperation. Similarly, Member Governments were increasingly taking advantage of oppor-

tunities for legal cooperation within the Commonwealth. In the field of communications, there had been mutual postal concessions between Commonwealth countries for many years. The Commonwealth Air Transport Council was an important institution which advised on the civil aviation matters referred to it by Governments and was a medium for the exchange of views and information.

Concluding his remarks, he said that Canada's Commonwealth trade had expanded substantially. He added that Commonwealth had great possibilities.

DR. THE HON. G. S. DHILLON *in the Chair*

HON. MICHAEL, MARSHALL (U.K.): The Commonwealth was no longer, if indeed it ever was, a cosy kind of club of English-speaking people. It was a practical organisation and had a massive range of work in hand.

The people of Britain felt not only a special tie in the Commonwealth but a particular interest in the future of India. That country was the first of the developing countries to enter the Commonwealth. The question to which we should address ourselves was what we could do in Britain to help the Commonwealth in general and India in particular and what our friends in India could do to help us and the Commonwealth.

Any one who considered for a moment the problems of India with a vast population would not be prone to make quick

and easy judgments about threats to parliamentary democracy in that country. It was in a time like this that all of us should try to share some understanding and patience. He would, therefore, appeal to the press both in his country and in India to understand the problem in its proper perspective. In this connection he pointed out that the overseas aid in development work was not a popular issue in the individual constituencies in his country and the British private investment there was not only criticised but its positive side was also not stressed. As for India, he pointed out to the one-side reporting in the press on the issue of multi-nationals.

The time had come to end what seemed to many of us a war of propaganda and to get on with the war against hunger, want, depression and the imbalances in the world economy. Let all of us cooperate in this regard.

HON. DINESH SINGH (*India*): We all accepted that the Commonwealth comprising of independent sovereign nations was consultative body. However, we had to think more in terms of active cooperation and not merely consultation. The Commonwealth without being an active organisation and without any cooperation might remain merely an organisation to promote state tourism. This had now been recognised and that was why the Kingston meeting this year noted with approval the increasing use being made of Commonwealth Declaration and to promote consultation,

cooperation and collaborative action across and within the region.

The other day the delegate from United Kingdom raised doubts about his country's entry into the EEC and its active membership of the Commonwealth. Britain's entry into the EEC could not be considered as a restriction on its activities with the Commonwealth. Between Britain's entry into the EEC and its being in the Commonwealth positive assistance could be rendered to the developing countries.

The delegate also put forward the proposition that the United Kingdom could not act in Southern Rhodesia because the autonomous Government there had the army and the police in their hands. It was difficult to agree with this view. It was the primary responsibility of the administering power to have ensured that autonomy was not granted to a racist Government in Southern Rhodesia and to have ensured the participation of the majority community in all aspects of life before transferring any power to that Government. The United Kingdom, with its membership of the EEC and the OECD and various other organisations, could bring about a climate of effective sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

We had got to take a conscious decision whether we were going to cooperate actively in all the social, economic and political fields and thereby make the Commonwealth a dynamic body for active cooperation or we were going to reduce it to some kind of a goody goody body, where

we met merely to exchange recipes for good Government and for good life?

HON. L. G. BLAKE (*Falkland Islands*) said that Commonwealth being a family, there were occasional quarrels which arose only when money was involved.

The Membership of Commonwealth carried with it advantages, privileges and responsibilities. They had to support each other wherever possible. The members were free to choose their own friends and seek their own pattern. No State should be pressurised into a political or economic grouping with a foreign neighbour.

Falkland had natural resources like oil, fish, sea-weed etc., but because of uncertain political status, nobody liked to invest. Therefore, Falkland wanted the right to choose its friends; the right to go the way it wanted; the right to become a member of Commonwealth and the right to live as it chose. In fact, it wanted the right to self-determination.

HON. R. GUJADHUR *in the Chair*

HON. D. RAMDIN (*Mauritius*) said that the free world owed its very existence to the Commonwealth. During the Second World War, Britain had lost her European allies but had all the support and aid of the Commonwealth countries. But for that, Britain would have been nowhere. They had then put aside their own quarrels to give their unstinting aid and help to Britain. They could rise above their own petty differences to fight for a good

cause. Thus, the Commonwealth prevented the fall of freedom-loving countries.

The end of War brought changes in economic and political fields in all countries of Commonwealth, which thus grew up to be a kind of association of free and independent nations in all the six continents. Although they represented a quarter of the world population composed of various races and nations, the Commonwealth countries had at least two things in common, viz., the Westminster type of Constitution and the English language. The Commonwealth members, therefore, had no difficulty in understanding one another.

The Colombo Plan had greatly contributed in the development of all the member countries. The experience and know-how was being shared. The mutual aid had changed the face of the Commonwealth countries. The co-operation among the Commonwealth countries should be further extended. If any country belonging to that great family of Commonwealth was attacked in any way by anybody, the Commonwealth must stand together to put things right.

HON. (MRS.) E. DASILVA (*Guyana*) said that the Commonwealth stretched across the length and breadth of the world. It was a grouping of most of the successor States of the former British Empire. Those nations were freely associated together for their mutual benefit. This major Association linked, countries of the developed and the under-developed world. They were dependent on one another to a certain extent.

There was a crying need to lessen the gap between the haves and the havenots. Commonwealth was a means to that end, because it existed as a formidable body forming a cross-section of the world population. United together the Commonwealth could bring about a worthwhile transformation in the world. From it would flow the means of providing food, clothing and shelter, better educational facilities, health, welfare services and all other amenities for a better way of life.

The countries like the United Kingdom and Canada, by their monetary and technological aid, and the Caribbean countries like Guyana with rice, sugar, bauxite and lumber had their part to play. The Commonwealth must remain united—first in our own particular region and then as a group of the entire Commonwealth.

SENATOR THE HON. DEIGHTON F. GRIFFITH (*Barbados*): The time had come for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to go forward from its present position to another position of strength in keeping with the challenges and the circumstances surrounding the world. Now, it should seek to go forward to the improvement of economic, political, and social ties. Ultimately, it was necessary that we saw ourselves as a part of the mighty whole of humanity surging forward to progress and development and the emphasis was placed on economic and social development of the people and on political awareness of the masses.

A danger in the increased groupings of nations taking place across the world to-

day was of forgetting to move towards the ultimate goal of the unity of the mankind. We must reach down to the grassroots in the community and remind ourselves that we were serving the mankind, not only the Commonwealth.

The impact of the philosophy of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association should be to set out more forcefully than ever before even in small places like Venezuela or the Caribbean. The impact of this Association which was not being felt now, should come home to the people as a force for good. The common people throughout the Commonwealth should be made aware of what we had done, what we were doing and what we intended to do. Commonwealth active cells were needed in all those countries.

HON. LAURIE PAVIT (*U.K.*): The United Kingdom was now the member of the European Economic Community and that carried with it economic responsibilities and economic changes. In the transformation of Commonwealth trade, it gave us an extra responsibility to see that what practical measures we could take in order to strengthen economic ties. It might have been easier before, but now we had to take account of new developments.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association was a laboratory and a testing ground for the multi-racial world. We had to find practical means whereby, firstly, we strengthened various ties within the Commonwealth itself; secondly, to the outside world, we were able to extend those values,

which we ourselves had been able to build, to other multi-racial situations. We had now to move even further in practical collaboration to achieve the multi-racial society in those parts of the world.

The gap between the very rich and the very poor nations was so tremendous that it needed to be closed quickly. This was the responsibility which we must be able to accept. In the conference held in Kingston and Georgetown this year, it was accepted that in addition to agricultural development and the need to provide more food for the increasing population, there was increased need of rural development. It meant making life in the rural areas where 75 per cent of the people of the Commonwealth lived, a fuller and better life.

DR. THE HON. HENRY AUSTIN (*India*): One of the striking phenomena in the international relations of recent decades was the evolution of the Commonwealth as an effective multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious society.

In the past also, in India, Emperor Ashok after many conquests and bloodshed thought in terms of giving up power and the imperial idea and evolving a community of nations on the basis of tolerance and inter-dependence.

Commonwealth was a common world community of free sovereign States trying to solve their political, social and economic problems on the basis of experiments of a common humanity which bound all of

us together, trying to seek solution of our problems on the basis of mutual exchange of ideas without any political constraints. India itself had been going through those experiments in its own way. India itself was a Commonwealth of people having a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious society. It was trying to provide a sound economic base to itself so that the people of India might have at least two square meals a day.

Commonwealth infra-structure should be utilised for a massive economic transformation of all the Commonwealth countries by mutual consultation, by pooling of our economic resources.

Necessary public opinion should be created so that the Commonwealth or other international organisations could launch a massive programme of low cost housing.

In spite of our best efforts, we had not been able to pool our economic resources. Many of the Commonwealth countries had not been able to achieve 5 per cent growth rate it was only one per cent or 1-1/2 per cent.

We must build up a more effective public opinion to see that the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa or in Rhodesia could not continue any longer.

India was trying to acquaint the Commonwealth by mutual consultations and exchange of views about the efforts that India was making towards the massive socio-economic transformation. By this exchange of views, India and the U.K. could be

able to establish a better rapport. This co-operation would be very helpful in further evolution of the Commonwealth as an effective instrument of socio-economic and political transformation of the Commonwealth.

HON. J. H. TAYLOR (*New South Wales—Australia*): Under the Secretariat, some divisions had been operating and there had been progress from the passive role from the lesser level of the Association to a more active role where professional people were meeting together to solve problems in the various countries where they were working under the various programmes.

It was very important that the developing countries understood and respected the problems faced by the developed countries as well.

We believed that the Falkland Islands had the right to decide their own destiny to operate within their boundaries in the interest of their own people.

Commonwealth was helping to bridge the communication gap and thus make the Commonwealth Association an effective instrument for the betterment not only of the Commonwealth nations but of the whole world. But that must be a two-way bridge of understanding and respect. If that attitude was adopted and we worked through a Secretariat in various areas, we would work in a positive way.

HON. APURBALAL MAZUMDAR (*West Bengal—India*): The Declaration of the Commonwealth Principles in Singapore in

1971 had brought to surface the inherent strength that the consensus of this organisation wielded. It was there that the background for taking a concrete step towards the creation of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean was set.

The Singapore Conference also reaffirmed the principle that the wide disparities of wealth now existing between different sections of mankind were too great to be tolerated and needed to be progressively removed. It felt that a comprehensive and interrelated programme of practical measures should be launched for closing the gap between the rich and the poor countries and also for transfer of real resources from the developed to the developing countries.

As an instrument of social, political and economic transformation, the Commonwealth had gained in substance and stature since the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kingston, Jamaica in May 1975. The Heads of Government fully appreciated the increasing use being made of the Commonwealth Declaration and to promote consultation, cooperation and collaborative action across and within the regions.

Apart from being an instrument for political dialogue the Commonwealth was also emerging as an effective instrument in the sphere of economic co-operation. The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation was operating through its three main programmes: the general technical assistance programme, export market deve-

lopment programme and the education and training programme. Thus this Fund with its robust activities had been a catalyst to the transformation of the Commonwealth nexus into a closely-knit community sharing benefits of economic co-operation. Its working link with the other arms of the Commonwealth Secretariat had made it a potent instrument in various fields of activities.

He would appeal to the developed countries that the UN target of the net transfer of official assistance equal to 0.7 per cent should be taken as the minimum necessary to initiate a process in the developing countries which could lead to self-reliance and self-sufficiency in their economy and would release those countries from the dependence on the resources and technology of the developed countries

SENATOR THE HON. L. H. LOCKHART (*Bahamas*): The Commonwealth should think of taking some positive steps towards the creation of a rational and equitable new international economic order. The wide disparities between nations were too great to be tolerated. Our aim should be their progressive removal. Measures should be designed to promote development and to increase the transfer of real resources to developing countries. A group of experts should be selected from Commonwealth countries to go into this whole matter thoroughly.

HON. MOHAMMAD BAITULLAH (*Bangladesh*): The world today was at crossroads. The energy crisis had posed a

serious problem to the entire mankind. It was a problem not only for the Commonwealth but also for the whole world and so concerted action on world basis was called for.

The global food crisis threatened human survival, especially in the Asian region. The poor masses of this region constituted the vast majority of the Commonwealth. Food should, therefore, be taken outside the realm of international politics and made the responsibility of the community of nations.

The existence of the human race was threatened not only by a thermo-nuclear explosion but also by a population explosion. Progressive measures had to be adopted to overcome poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease and achieve a more equitable international society. Concerted efforts in close cooperation by all the countries of the world were needed not only to step up agricultural production but also to arrest the growth of population so that available supplies of food could match the population of the world as a whole. This would ensure mutual development and reduce disparities in wealth between different sections of mankind which generated world tension and hindered growth of parliamentary democracy.

Too much poverty in any part of the world had always been disastrous. The developed members of the Commonwealth should, therefore, extend all kinds of aid and assistance, technical, economic and financial, to their less developed partners.

This should, however, be done in an honourable and non-political manner and without any strings attached to the aid.

In that context Bangladesh had a special claim. She had inherited a poor un-diversified economy characterised by under-developed infra-structure, stagnant agriculture and rapidly growing population; her economy was completely devastated by the War of Liberation. She, therefore, deserved special aid, assistance, sympathy and cooperation, in cash, kind and technological 'know-how' from the Commonwealth of Nations as well as other friendly countries of the world.

HON. G. A. REGAN *in the Chair*

HON. JAMES JOHNSON (U.K.): The financial facts surrounding the establishment of the British Indian Ocean Territory, of which Diego Garcia formed a part, were made clear to the House of Commons on the 16th October, 1975 by Mr. David Ennals, Minister of State at the Commonwealth Parliament Office. According to these facts, far from pocketing £2m, Her Majesty's Government had spent £6.2m over and above the £5m provided by the US Government.

As the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the FCO, Lord Goronwy-Roberts, told the House of Lords on the 14th October, 1975, Her Majesty's Government did not seek at first to follow up the provision of the £0.65m for compensation by intruding upon the arrangements which the independent and sovereign Govern-

ment of Mauritius were themselves making. However, it now appeared that the great bulk of this money was still intact, and the U.K. Government had been approached by the Mauritian Government to help to put our earlier 1973 generosity to effective use. Her Majesty's Government had welcomed the suggestion of the Mauritian Government that U.K. should send out British experts to the area to help formulate an acceptable long-term resettlement scheme for the contract labourers transferred from the British Indian Ocean Territory.

HON. R. S. PATIL (*Karnataka—India*): The responsibility of narrowing the gap between the rich and poor rested to a greater extent on the shoulders of the developed countries of the Commonwealth. They had also the responsibility of mobilising the resources and putting them in the direction of building up the economy and making available to the people the barest minimum standard of living.

The Singapore Declaration of 1971 did not remain a mere Declaration, but was being translated into action to accelerate the pace of social and economic development amongst the less affluent nations and the Ottawa meeting in 1973 had added a new dynamism to the Declaration.

India's economy was predominantly agriculture-oriented. Yet, she had had to import large quantities of food. She needed fertilisers and high yielding varieties of seeds to have the maximum yield. She also needed financial help for the early

completion of her irrigation projects. These were really vital fields for participation by the Commonwealth countries.

HON. W. J. CHEDDESINGH (*Jamaica*): Super-powers had embarked upon world supremacy in their own way by building up forces and armaments so as to counter each other. The Commonwealth countries should be prepared in any eventuality to stand against tyranny and the use of force. Our Commonwealth could be so strong as to supply the necessary help not only to the Caribbean but also to the African countries and to the great nation of India. India could be made into one of the greatest nations of the world to supply not only economic but other aids to the countries of the Commonwealth. It was for us as a people and as a family to put our resources together, to knit this Commonwealth into a unit in our social, economic and political life without interference by outside countries. The more fortunate units of the Commonwealth should give necessary help to their less fortunate brethren.

Jamaica needed help for improvement of her roads for exploration of her hinterland and for improvement of her health situation. She also needed help for housing. He congratulated Canada for the role Canada was playing in Jamaica in this regard.

HON. (MRS.) LEAUPEPE FAIMAALA PHILIPS (*Western Samoa*): There were two words in the title of the subject under discussion which puzzled her. One was the word "transformation". She wanted

the economy of her country to become stronger, but she did not want it to be transformed if it meant changing over from an agricultural economy to an industrial or commercial economy. The people of Western Samoa were mainly tillers of the soil and fishermen. Their centuries-old customs and traditions were rooted in the soil and the sea. We would not want to be transformed from this type of society to any thing else, but we would want to greatly improve our economy. For the same reasons we would not wish to transform our Samoan Society, its structure or its mores and the political base and institutions that had grown up to support and give meaning to that structure. We would certainly wish to improve and up-date the structure of our Society and its political institutions but such improvement must grow with the people from within and not be imposed from without.

The use of the expression "the Commonwealth as an instrument" was also strange. The U.N.O. was an instrument used by its constituent members. The E.E.C., N.A.T.O., the Iron curtain countries and the Organisation of American States were used as instruments largely because these were regional groups with common interests. But the Commonwealth was global in character and consisted of countries with diverse societies and economic structures. It was difficult to understand how the Commonwealth could be used as an instrument even for political transformation. Setting up of another United Nations of Commonwealth would not serve any useful purpose. Indeed in the long run it might prove harm-

ful to the present forms of cooperation that we had in the Commonwealth.

HON. NEIL MARTEN (U.K.): The Commonwealth was the envy of the world because we could conduct in this way of mutual cooperation and understanding. There was some criticism of the United Kingdom for certain things. It had to be realised that this fire was being directed at the wrong generation, because thinking of the new generation was different from that of the old generation.

The quantum of aid which the United Kingdom would give depended very much on the government of the day. Aid was not popular with some people in the United Kingdom because many people had actually never the opportunity to go to developing countries and see the actuality of poverty there. If they saw for themselves the actual conditions in the developing countries they would support massive aid to the Commonwealth.

We had to explain to the people as to why aid was necessary. Aid was not a popular thing in the elections. Electors were sensitive to what was said. They would react very well to a few kind words about any help but they would not act very well to any unkind words. This thing had to be borne in mind. Therefore those who wanted us to help them should help us in this task.

There was so much to do within the Commonwealth. It was hoped he could regard this Conference as a new starting point of understanding and cooperation between the Commonwealth countries.

HON. G. G. SWELL (*India*): The subject for discussion to-day was: Commonwealth as an instrument of social, political and economical transformation. It had rightly been said that it must be a transformation for the better. The subject presupposed a certain projection into the future and to what the Commonwealth could do. It had tried to institutionalise a number of things for intra-co-operation within the Commonwealth. We, within the Commonwealth, could be of great help to each other in various ways, and that was the real relevance of the Commonwealth at the moment. Here all discussions had taken place in a fraternal spirit trying to understand and help one another.

Referring to what was happening in the Spanish Sahara, he said that if the countries in that region had had a kind of forum like the Commonwealth, they could have anticipated the situation and done something to find out a solution to the problem.

What was being done in Diego Garcia was a kind of a substitute for the base in the Philippines. If the United Kingdom as a member of the Commonwealth once enlisted the cooperation of the other Commonwealth countries to bring some kind of a pressure on the super-powers to prove that it was not necessary for their own interests or for the interest of the world, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth would have done a very good thing.

The people in India and the Commonwealth countries felt very much concerned and disturbed with what was happening in Bangladesh. All of us would like to see this country stable and engaged in the task of economic reconstruction. There might be an inter-play of super-powers in that part of the world in which one of the members of the Commonwealth was involved. The United Kingdom as a permanent member of the Security Council and other countries should try to exert their pressure in order to bring about stability in Bangladesh so that people there could live in peace and sovereignty and spend their time in what was necessary for them—the economic reconstruction of their country.

CLOSING REMARKS BY DR. G. S. DHILLON, SPEAKER, LOK SABHA AND PRESIDENT OF C.P.A. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE, ON NOVEMBER 4, 1975.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we now come to the close of the Conference and I hope on the whole it has been a rewarding experience. For our part, I would like to assure you that we enjoyed having you with us.

I am glad that our deliberations here have been marked by the same spirit of courtesy, goodwill and keenness to appreciate each other's point of view, that has all along characterized our proceedings at these Conferences. The success of our Conferences owes not a little to this. I would

like to thank all of you for your generous cooperation and assistance in ensuring the smooth conduct of these meetings.

The CPA meetings have been truly in the nature of a family get-together where we freely and frankly exchange our views. From these family meetings of ours, I have felt, we emerge every time drawn together a little closer. These meetings, in different parts of the Commonwealth in turn, have helped the members to visit the different countries, to see for themselves and know at first hand the land and the people, their hopes and aspirations, their ways of thinking and their problems. This makes for deeper understanding of each other and better appreciation of each other's policies and positions in the domestic and international spheres.

Ours is a fascinating land with a great past although as a nation-State we may be late arrivers in the technological age. We have tried to so plan your tours that you see a good bit of the rich cultural mosaic that India is and also get some idea of her developmental endeavours in the post-Independence period. During these tours, you will also have the opportunity to meet the leaders and the people of our States. I am confident, you will be received everywhere very warmly and with smiling faces.

I am very happy that my colleague Mr. Gujadhur has been elected President in my place. He is not new to CPA. He has a long background as a parliamentarian, and as presiding officer. He has been attending CPA Conferences for long.

By his temperament, affable and amiable manners, long experience and maturity, I hope the activities of CPA will receive further impetus and the concept of modern Commonwealth will take deeper roots among the people of the member-countries. He is a distinguished and respectable leader of Mauritius.

The Conference had the benefit of participation of many leading personalities. Very solid contribution was made by many like Lord Shepherd, Mr. Soysa, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Adams, Mrs. Batchelor, Mr. Bundhun. The debates have been of a very high level and the contributions very useful. We have many distinguished leaders from many countries. Many of them have been heard on the radio and seen on the T. V. Our people fully enjoyed the interviews and the talks.

We had arranged separate programmes for the ladies. But we never wanted to tire them much. They had ample opportunities to go shopping. I hope we had not emptied their purses! I must here express appreciation to the ladies who were in charge of the Ladies Programme—Mrs. Dhillon and Mrs. Lakshmi Raghuramaiah—for the imaginative way they had drawn up the programme of visits and entertainments for the lady members among our honoured guests.

Fellow delegates, before I conclude, I must express, on behalf of all of us here, our thanks to the hon'ble Mr. G. A. Regan for his able guidance of the proceedings of the Executive Committee. Mr. Regan

has so much endeared himself to one and all in such a short time. As Chairman of the Executive Committee, he has given new life to the CPA and revitalised its functioning. He has effected economy on his personal expenses. He has shown dynamic approach to problems.

We must also pay tribute to our CPA Secretary-General, Sir Robin Vanderfelt, and his dedicated team on the competent job they have done of the preparatory work leading to this Conference. I owe personal thanks to our Secretaries-General, Shri S. L. Shaktiher and Shri B. N. Banerjee, and their colleagues and other officers who have worked tirelessly on the Conference arrangements to make our meetings a success.

I must also say our word of thanks to the press, radio and television authorities; the

press photographers and reporters; the press, radio and television correspondents; and newspaper editors for the detailed coverage of our proceedings, befitting the importance of the occasion. There are also others who have provided excellent services on the premises—like the Bank, Post Office, travel agencies, and, last but not the least, the catering agents, who have taken care of us so very well. Our thanks are due to all of them.

Finally, I must not omit to thank our Government Chief Architect, Shri Benjamin; Chief Engineer, Shri Mittal; and Director of Horticulture, Shri Randhawa, and the host of workers who, labouring day and night, got the building ready in time for our Conference.

The session now comes to an end. Thank you.

4. Address by Commonwealth Secretary-General

HIS EXCELLENCY Mr. S. S. Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General addressed the Delegates to the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference on October 29, 1975. The text of the address follows:

DR. THE HON. G. S. DHILLON (*Chairman*): Hon. Delegates, since the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat, it has been customary for the Secretary-General to be invited to our annual plenary conferences. Sometimes the Secretary-General has attended in person and at other times he has been represented by his Deputy Secretary-General. These occasions have been used by us to give the delegates present at the conference an opportunity to hear an address from the Secretary-General or his Deputy giving a review of Commonwealth affairs and the role of the Secretariat. Following the address, delegates have been invited to ask questions of the speaker to obtain further information and clarification where necessary. His Excellency Mr. Ramphal is with us sitting on my right, but before I formally introduce him, I would like to place on record, with your concurrence, the high sense of appreciation and recognition of the services of the former Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith, who is succeeded by Mr. Ramphal. Mr. Arnold Smith represented the highest traditions of

nobility, dedication to humanity and services for the uplift and well-being of the peoples of the world, which are characteristic of his country and the Canadian people. I propose to place on record, with your concurrence, our deep gratitude to him for the intimate contacts, his role of helpfulness and his services for promoting the ideals and aims of the Commonwealth.

I would invite Mr. Ramphal to address you, but before that I would introduce him to you because he is for the first time with us. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ramphal, has a rich and colourful background. He has been successively Legal Draftsman, Solicitor General and Assistant Attorney General. He has also been a member of the International Commission of Jurists. He was responsible for drafting independent Guyana's Constitution. His legal career has been marked by a deep concern for constitutionalism and the preservation of Human Rights. Significantly, therefore, Guyana's Constitution includes an elaborate code of guarantees of Fundamental Human Rights. For his distinguished services he has received decorations not only from his own but from other countries as well.

His Excellency Mr. Ramphal has led his country's delegation to each successive session of the U.N. General Assembly until 1974 and to last year's Special Session which called for a new international economic order.

Among his notable achievements must be mentioned the part he played in building the Commonwealth Caribbean regional movement. As is widely recognised, but for his personal diplomacy, the regional movement would not have maintained the momentum it has, culminating in the Caribbean Community (Caricom). He provided creative leadership at the 1972 Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries and his role is well known in the adoption of an Economic Action Programme which elaborated a strategy of collective self-reliance among non-aligned and other developing countries. Equally memorable is the crucial role he played at the Singapore Commonwealth Conference, helping to draft the Commonwealth Declaration of Principles and to negotiate the concensus on it.

His Excellency Mr. Ramphal belongs to three continents, to India by origin, Guyana by citizenship or adoption, Britain by marriage. I think, because of his dedication and experience and service, he will be able to create some sort of similar contacts in the rest of the continents. May be, he may marry off his boys and girls in other countries. He belongs to the Commonwealth by his deep dedication to its principles and values. With his varied and extensive background, rich experience and total commitment to the cause of universal

peace and human brotherhood and prosperity, he has endeared himself to all the peoples of the world.

May I now have the privilege to call upon His Excellency Mr. Ramphal to address you? After that, you will be at liberty to ask questions which he will reply with pleasure.

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, my first word must be, Mr. Chairman, of thanks to you and the Conference for setting aside time in your crowded agenda to permit me to address you. When I was told that I was likely to be invited to do so at 9.30 in the morning, I was more than a little apprehensive because, accustomed as I have been within recent years to speaking in the General Assembly, the one thing you always avoided most carefully and speaking first in the morning in that distinguished Hall. I congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, and the Delegates to this Conference for being able to rise and be here at this early hour of the morning.

My next word, Mr. Chairman, must be of appreciation on behalf of the Commonwealth to the Indian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association for having made this occasion possible, an occasion which I regard as one of major significance in the service of the cause of Commonwealth friendship, Commonwealth understanding and Commonwealth solidarity, and for having provided for this occasion in so splendid a manner. May I be permitted also, Mr. Chairman, to acknowledge your own generous sentiments of

welcome to me and to say how greatly moved I have been by the many expressions of gratitude, many expressions of greetings, of good wishes, of assurances, of support and co-operation in the discharge of my new responsibilities to the Governments and to the peoples of the Commonwealth and, if I may say so, Mr. Chairman, of none more so than those of the distinguished and much admired Prime Minister of this great Republic in her opening address yesterday?

It has been a source of great strength to me and indeed to all my colleagues in the Secretariat that I should have begun my tenure of office in such a climate of warmth and generosity and with such encouragement for the concept of a Commonwealth that is progressive and purposeful and altogether relevant to the contemporary needs of its member States and the contemporary needs of the world society.

It is, Mr. Chairman, perhaps a little ironic that after nearly a decade of parliamentary service I should be attending my first C.P.A. meeting just after ceasing to be a parliamentarian. But, of course, in a sense one never ceases to be a member of this particular fraternity and you will understand. I am sure, how much at home I feel in your midst despite my new incarnation. This occasion for me is twice blessed for it encompasses the special honour of addressing the parliamentarians of the Commonwealth in this great city of Delhi, the capital of one-seventh of the human race and, of course, of doing so within the precincts of this illustrious Parliament.

Delhi has long been the symbol of India's history and of India's spirit, of its continuity and its endurance, of its vitality and of its resilience. It is impossible to stand here, it is impossible to have been as we were yesterday in that great Hall of the Parliament, and not be conscious of the great ones of this land that have gone before us, from the Buddha and Asoka down to Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, not be conscious of their message of tolerance, of their breadth of vision and of their constant concern for humanity as a whole.

Here in this very century was cradled the movement that became the inspiration of oppressed peoples everywhere. Here in this land in 1947, in years that do not seem so long ago, an age ended and freedom dawned, dawned not just for India but for a large part of mankind beyond its frontiers, and here first took shape the concept of the modern Commonwealth. Within the walls of this Parliament were articulated with much feeling and eloquence some of the noblest aspirations of our time. And here took root and was nurtured a political system animated by compassion, by morality and by a commitment to freedom and human development that has been quite unparalleled in our time. That commitment, I am quite certain endures India's record of parliamentary and constitutional government over the last quarter of a century of sovereign independence has earned and still commands respect and admiration the world over. It is a tradition which, I am certain, will continue to inspire India in the long hereafter and will continue to encourage mankind to look beyond the transient exigencies of

every passing crisis to the permanence of these values. Speaking in all humility as a servant of a Commonwealth whose 35 member-States span all the oceans and all the continents. I bring to India the salutations and the good wishes of its many peoples and the assurance of their understanding, of their friendship and of their confidence. The presence in Delhi today of the parliamentarians of one quarter of the world's peoples and one-fifth of the world's States surely bears witness to the strength of that assurance. And this coming together bears witness also. I venture to think, to the strength of the Commonwealth itself. And it is about the quality of that strength and the obligations, I would like to suggest, it imposes upon us all to use it with wisdom, with vision and with courage, that I should venture, Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, to say a few words to you this morning.

Our Commonwealth has emerged out of a varied past, or at least it has emerged out of a past variously received and variously interpreted. For some, it was a time of glory and dominion. For others, it was a time of growth, a growth sustained by kinship in realms beyond the seas. For many it was a time of reluctant subordination to power and a time of struggle for release. But for all, it was a time of learning, and as colonialism, first grudgingly and then with resignation, yielded to self-determination, new relationships emerged, founded on the dignity of equal status, sustained by the reality of mutual interest and supported by a miscellany of unifying factors that were the products of that shared experience. The totality of these re-

lationships is the Commonwealth to-day. But the Commonwealth did not emerge from them in an automatic way. It emerged instead, as you know, out of the deliberate assessments and decisions of a generation of statesmen 25 years ago. It was 1949, and India that had two years earlier begun the process of de-colonisation decided to adopt a republican constitutional system. Would she see value in preserving Commonwealth links? And could the Commonwealth accommodate itself to this great new republic of the Asian sub-continent? Those were the decisions that faced the statesmen of India and of the rest of the Commonwealth in those testing years. Nehru, with vision and courage—for it took courage—opted for Commonwealth membership, and the Commonwealth, not without some misgivings in some quarters, proved itself equal to the challenge of change, quite revolutionary change, and re-moulded the institution to give it a potential for growth and development in the post-war world. It was a great act of faith, inspired by Nehru's commitment to internationalism and confirmed, let it be remembered, by men like Clement Attlee and Mike Pearson, who shared his vision of an inter-dependent world.

In the final analysis, it is faith of this quality, faith in the intrinsic values of dialogue and co-operation, of a broadening of understanding and a deepening of the sense of community among nations and peoples who represent a true sample of human society, it is faith of this kind that must be the underpinnings of the Commonwealth.

On that kind of faith, on that kind of belief, we can build. Without them, we will labour in vain. Or at least we should labour without that assurance which is the precondition of true creativity. But to build itself is essential.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, is one of those instruments through which we can continue to build. You are, after all, the direct representatives of the people of the Commonwealth. And it is not merely for the people of the Commonwealth that we build, but through, and only through their involvement in, and commitment to, the process of building itself that we can ever build securely.

We have now completed the first quarter century of the life of this new Commonwealth which came into being in 1949. It should occasion no surprise that they were years of uncertainty; they were sometimes years of peril; they were years that marked a passage of time in which the Commonwealth spoke with a hesitant voice, sometimes almost with apology, for they were years of testing of the new relationships, they were years during which Britain was adjusting to the new realities of equality—years during which the old dominions were assessing the quality and the temper of the new association whose emergence they had endorsed. And, of course, they were years during which the new States were reassuring themselves that the new Commonwealth was not, after all, a new colonialism.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, I believe, distinguished delegates, that that time has now

passed and the Commonwealth has emerged from it with a character well defined, with a sureness of touch and with confidence in itself—confidence that, I believe, is built on realism—realism both in acknowledgement of its limits—for there are real limits—and appreciation of its great potential.

There is no question in my mind that our thirtyfive Presidents and Prime Ministers who occasionally sit around the oval table and talk with each other—not at each other as in the forums of multilateral diplomacy or to each other through formal declarations of their several group positions—are themselves convinced of these realities of the Commonwealth. I am equally sure that the reality of a dynamic Commonwealth remains to be transmitted in its full strength to the mass of the people of our member States.

Certainly my brief experience in the office of the Secretary-General has not served to dispel the impression that I had earlier formed that the clarity with which our Government leaders—both Ministers and officials—and Parliamentarians see the value of the Commonwealth needs to become more pervasive among the wider public. All of us are familiar with the majestic and visible summit of the Commonwealth, the periodic meetings of its Heads of Governments. Relatively little is known of the intermediate peaks and valleys of Commonwealth activity including important consultations of this kind which, I dare say, shall remain unreported in the Press of many Member-countries of the Commonwealth including many of its

most developed and its largest. And because the Commonwealth does not attempt spectacular things, because it is modest almost to the point of self-effacement in not publicising itself, an impression exists that it does almost nothing of practical significance. Indeed, a very real danger exists that it may be seen by the uninformed, including the mass of the people of the Commonwealth, as something of a museum piece, rather an ancient stately mansion, reserved for periodic and perhaps somewhat ritualistic family gatherings.

It is important, Mr. Chairman, that these myths—for they are myths—be dispelled. Some of you, the distinguished parliamentarians of the Commonwealth, have lived through, if not indeed been a part of, the process of transformation to which I have referred. You have helped to make the new Commonwealth. You have your annual conferences and your regional meetings which bear irrefutable testimony to its validity and character. If we are to match the confidence of the leadership of our Member-States with an awareness by the people of the Commonwealth of what the Commonwealth is and what the Commonwealth does, we must not allow past images, we must not allow the habits of thinking of an earlier era, to persist into a present for which they have lost both relevance and validity. Especially in relation to the Commonwealth, we need to be on guard against this danger of being out of touch with our own reality, a danger that was identified with such perception by Regis Debray, writing in an entirely different context. He reminded us: "*We are never completely contemporaneous with*

our present. History advances in disguise. It appears on the stage wearing the mask of the preceding scene and we tend to lose the meaning of the play. Each time the curtain rises, continuity has to be re-established. The balme, of course, is not history's but lies in our vision, encumbered with memory and images learnt in the past. We see the past superimposed on the present, even when the present is a revolution."

The Commonwealth's present is too rich and dynamic to allow us to superimpose the past upon it. Its contemporary role is too vital for us to permit it to appear on the world stage wearing the mask of the preceding scene for, if we did, we too, even within the Commonwealth, could tend to lose the meaning of the play.

So much, then, for the strength and the quality of the new Commonwealth. How are we endeavouring to fulfil the obligations which both impose upon us? The Commonwealth Secretariat is at once the clearing house of Commonwealth relations and the focus of the practicality of Commonwealth action. Over the years it has built up, responsive to the needs of member States, an impressive record of action-oriented programmes and an organizational capability appropriate to their implementation. I say this without the hesitancy that modesty might otherwise impose upon the head of the Secretariat, since these achievements are not mine, but my predecessor's, for whose dedicated and imaginative service to the cause of the Commonwealth and the interests of its member States I

should like to acknowledge before you our collective indebtedness.

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) is but one of the action-oriented programmes or agencies through which we seek to advance practical co-operation between Commonwealth countries. But it is a good example of our action in the field of development. It is a programme modestly endowed. Its budget this year is not in excess of £ 5.5 million, but it is a Fund subscribed to by most of our member States, developed and developing alike, each contributing on a voluntary basis according to its means. It is a striking example of the Commonwealth philosophy of mutual self-help; it has become one of the world's most effective agencies for co-operation in development.

Through the agency of the Fund, professional, technical and managerial expertise urgently needed in Commonwealth developing countries is recruited by the Secretariat from across the Commonwealth and deployed on the urgent tasks of development. Under this programme, Indian and New Zealand taxation experts are right now advising and assisting the Government of Kenya to set up a new national taxation scheme. In Lesotho, a Kenyan team of consultants has advised on tourism development. In Bangladesh, a Canadian group is advising on the development of deep underground coal mining. British experts are today helping the Zambian Government in planning rural development.

All this happens through the Secretariat's central organization and the deployment of

CFTC resources, and we are not here afflicted with the problems of procurement that mar the effectiveness of so many bilateral and multilateral aid programmes. We can use Nigerian funds to send a Barbados technician to Botswana; we can use Canadian money to permit a Ghanaian adviser to address a seminar in the South Pacific; we can use British funds to send a Sri Lanka expert to Jamaica; we can use the several contributions, large and small, of every member State to find talent wherever it exists within the Commonwealth and enlist it to the service of urgent needs within any of the developing countries of the Commonwealth.

These things happen because the Commonwealth exists. They are not the national of the association; but they do explain in part why the Commonwealth continues to survive, indeed, to thrive, despite all the scepticism, cynicism and misapprehension that surround it. But obligations to our member States are but a part only of our duty. No group of States as large as ours, or as representative as we are of human society, can fail to acknowledge its obligations to the international community of which it is an organic part. Both the interests of the member States and a wider morality require that the Commonwealth must see itself as being in the service of humanity.

This is, for example, why the problems of Southern Africa must remain high on the agenda of Commonwealth action. At Kingston, this year, Commonwealth Heads of Government in their discussions of world

political issues, reiterated their Ottawa sentiments in stressing that the maintenance of peace and stability could not be left to arrangements between the super powers, but was the responsibility of the entire international community. And, consistent with their previous and continuing commitments, they laid particular emphasis on the opportunity for the Commonwealth to make a constructive contribution to the resolution of the problems of Southern Africa. Their concern over the continued existence of racist oppression of the majority population of Zimbabwe and South Africa by white minority regimes was reaffirmed, and, meeting informally, they heard a statement by Bishop Muzorewa, as President of the then newly United Rhodesian African National Council, and benefited greatly from the presence in Kingston of his colleagues, Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole.

Many Heads of Government, including those closest to the situation, laid emphasis on the critical importance of unity within the nationalist movement. That unity is regrettably now less evident than was the case in Kingston, and this will not make the search for solutions any easier. Meanwhile, by following political developments and keeping in especially close contact with the Commonwealth Governments most immediately concerned, we continue to try to help in practical ways including help through the Commonwealth programme for assisting the education of Rhodesian Africans.

A major advance was achieved on another front at Kingston, when Heads of Govern-

ment, reaffirming the territorial integrity of Namibia and the right of its people to self-determination and independence, looked forward to the time when the Government and people of Namibia would be welcomed into the Commonwealth. And in a further demonstration of concern for practicality it was agreed that Commonwealth multilateral assistance should be made available to help in the developmental and training needs of Namibia. To this end, as well as continuing to make contact with the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, the Secretariat has developed its contacts with the liberation movement concerned, the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) and its President, Sam Nujoma.

For so long as human dignity remains affronted in Southern Africa and social, economic and political justice remains denied to its majority communities, so long must the Commonwealth remain in the vanguard of the movement to stir the conscience of mankind to redress the evils of racism and be activist in the promotion of all appropriate measures to end these evils.

In truth, there are few genuinely international problems affecting the quality of life on our planet that can escape the attention and indeed the involvement of the Commonwealth. Certainly, the gravest among them demand our attention and our contribution to the search for solutions. None, today, is more grave or pressing than the problem of international poverty; and the Commonwealth, I am glad to say, has responded to this challenge with energy and dynamism.

The debate on the international economic situation has been conducted over the last two years in a constantly rising tempo of crisis, yet never once, throughout that time, had the rich and poor sat down across the table in dialogue, in debate or, even in argumentation. At Kingston in April this year, Commonwealth leaders—reflecting in themselves and through their national interests the principal parties to the issue of poverty and wealth—redressed that omission. Their debate on the international economic order provided an opportunity for frank and penetrating discussion of these issues by the leaders of States on both sides of the question. It was a dialogue as it turned out to be of immense importance, of immense importance not just to the member States of the Commonwealth or to their leaders who participated in the debate. It was important because of its impact on the international debate and on the search for consensus on the practical measures required to inaugurate a new economic order.

Out of Kingston came a political commitment by the Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries to the principle of 'immediate action towards the creation of a rational and more equitable new international economic order'. And those are the words of the Heads of Government themselves. But conscious of the need to advance beyond principle and declaration, they established machinery in the form of a Commonwealth Group of Experts whom they charged with the task of putting forth for consideration by Governments, 'in the context of the current international debate, a comprehensive and

inter-related programme of practical measures directed at closing the gap between the rich and the poor countries'. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that it is fair to say that the consultations and decisions at the Kingston meeting and the subsequent work of the Commonwealth Group of Experts in the form of their Interim Report have played a significant part in influencing the outcome of the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly. That Interim Report, progressive and wide-ranging in its thrust and scope, received the general endorsement of Commonwealth Finance Ministers on the eve of the Seventh Special Session, and it not only helped to determine the positions of Commonwealth countries but shaped the positions of those other States who cannot but be influenced by the policies of our member Governments. In the result, the Commonwealth through its own processes of consultation and accommodation contributed in no small measure to consensus-building at the global level.

The debate on the new international economic order is not yet ended. The work of the Seventh Special Session has helped to create a more favourable environment, a more propitious climate, for redressing the grave economic injustices that have been endemic to the old economic order. But a great deal more remains to be done to secure the elimination of international poverty and to move the world closer to the goal of social and economic justice.

There is sometimes, in some circles, a temptation to imply that civil and political rights, the traditional fundamental freedoms, constitute the basis for a just society.

Certainly, their permanent denial is incompatible with the fulfilment of that goal. But in truth, civil and political rights represent but a part of the attributes of a just society whose foundations must be laid in the reality of social and economic rights of all the peoples.

International poverty, pervasive underdevelopment and an international economic system which does not place their eradication in the forefront of its objectives are the true aggressors in relation to the human rights of the mass of the world's people. The structures of elitism and privilege, which are even more grotesque in conditions of poverty than they are in an affluent society, must, of course, be dismantled. But, it is facile to assume that the equal distribution of poverty constitutes fulfilment of man's instinct for justice. It is just as futile to expect civil and political rights to fulfil their true potential for human development if they must subsist side by side with the denial of freedom from hunger, from disease, from illiteracy, from chronic unemployment, from inadequate housing or from no shelter at all. Today those whom Fanon described 20 years ago as the wretched of the earth equal nearly one billion of the world's poorest and they subsist on an income of less than U.S. \$75 per year, less than Rs. 2 per day. They subsist in an environment of squalor, of hunger and, perhaps, worst of all, of hopelessness. As the President of the World Bank, Robert MacNamara, said just weeks ago at the 1975 meeting of the Board of Governors of the Bank, they are the "absolute poor living in situations so

deprived as to be below any rational definition of poverty. Absolute poverty is a condition of life so limited by illiteracy, malnutrition, disease, high infant mortality and low life expectancy as to deny its victims the very potential of the genes with which they are born." In effect, said Mr. MacNamara, it is life at the margin of existence for these people. For these one billion people the fulfilment of their basic rights as individuals must begin with the right to survival at an acceptable level of human existence. Those in the developed world and they represent a vast reservoir of well-meaning and genuine people, those who are concerned for the establishment of just democratic societies not only within their own borders but beyond them and especially in the new countries of the Third World must. I feel, recognise that the elimination of international poverty is the pre-condition of human development. If their concern is not to lead to mere diversion, it must find expression, first of all, in the installation of a new international economic system which renders release from cramping poverty, more probable and actually reduces the intolerable disparities that now separate the peoples of our planet.

It is, Mr. Chairman and distinguished Delegates, just possible that the world is at last moving closer to an appreciation of the interrelatedness of issues and of the integrity of the human condition. It is inevitable, therefore, that in the years ahead the Commonwealth will remain preoccupied with the central question of wealth and poverty and will have as a

major charge upon its special resources the redressing of economic injustices.

It was the distinguished Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Gandhi, who urged us all at the opening of the Kingston meeting earlier this year and I quote: *"Just as we developed a common denominator of political commitment to equality so we should now address ourselves to the issues of economic inequality and generate momentum for co-operative action. Today there is a demand for a more positive approach, more purposful action and more tangible results. Past concepts and assumptions cannot meet the challenge of our new epoch. The Commonwealth must rise above all narrow considerations and give a bold lead in these matters. If we can make a small beginning", said Mrs. Gandhi, "on the general question of how to put the world on the right track, I think the Commonwealth would have proved its worth."*

At Kingston, and in what has followed since, the Commonwealth has made that small beginning. I am certain that the Commonwealth will sustain its responses to the challenges of our new epoch. To that end I am pledged. I assure you that the Commonwealth Secretariat will use its every strength and energy to translate into action these aspirations of the leaders of our member States.

You who speak on behalf of the people of the Commonwealth, you can, by your awareness and by your support, help us all in these endeavours and in so doing, Mr. Chairman, I believe, help the Common-

wealth to fulfil its noblest potential. Thank you, Sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before the questions, I would request the delegates to mention the name and the branch. I also apologise for one omission—that I did not mention the presence of our old, esteemed colleague, Mr. Azim Hussain, Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth. He is part and parcel of us. Whether the Secretary-Generals came or not, Azim was always with us; he is one of us, he is part and parcel of us. He enjoys our blessings, our esteem and our respects. He is very very welcome to this.

Now, the questions. Even the observers can ask questions, but the questions must be brief and to the point. Anybody to start the process? I know, once one delegate says "Yes, Sir," others will start following him.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

SENATOR KAUR BATTAN SINGH (*Observer from Fiji*): I would like to ask His Excellency Mr. Ramphal that all over the world people coming from India are subjected to ill treatment and what help your Government is giving to the Indians and what actions are you taking to remedying their problems?

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: Mr. Chairman, I am sure the Hon. delegate would acknowledge that I, as the servant of all the Commonwealth, am the least appropriate person

to respond to questions essentially concerned with the domestic affairs of member States. Since the question has been so framed, however, let me say I do not accept its premises. It is particularly important in such matters to resist the temptation for critical judgements, particularly in a Commonwealth context. They are better pursued in informal discussion. But let me say in a more general sense that the problems that affect plural communities affect such communities everywhere; they cover a wide spectrum of society, they affect people who are white and people who are black, people who are brown and people who are yellow. These are problems that transcend the exigencies of national situations. The Commonwealth cannot attempt to deal with them except at the higher level of principle. They are problems that individuals can pursue at their level of political conscience and political action. What we must not allow to happen, overburdened as we are with the transient problems of the time, is to allow them to colour our approach, allow them to colour our opinion, allow them to colour our attitude to the best values of Commonwealth co-operation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now I find Mr. Sathe there.

HON. VASANT SATHE (*India*): I am Vasant Sathe from India.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is a very fiery member of our Parliament.

HON. VASANT SATHE: Hon. Ramphal referred to the new international economic

system to which the Commonwealth supplies energies for its establishment. We often find, particularly in our developing world, that the old system where a few get the rights and opportunities to exploit many both internally as well as internationally, still continues to grow and we find that unless this system, this basic system changes, this basic economic structure changes, all this talk of establishing an egalitarian economic system, will be really futile. I would, therefore, request you to enlighten us whether in this new concept of economic system which you have in mind, you have also this idea of a system free from exploitation.

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: Mr. Chairman, I could not agree with the sentiments of the distinguished Delegate more wholeheartedly. In fact, I think, it is important that countries of the developing world who demand so incessantly a new regime that is more egalitarian in terms of relationships between the States, should assert without equivocation their commitment to the creation of just societies because there can surely be no rationale, no legitimacy, no validity in the demand for an egalitarian world community unless it is premised upon a recognition of the need for egalitarian national communities. I am glad to say that I believe that that commitment is built into the principles and the avowed objectives of a large part of the developing world. The concept of national self-reliance and of inter-regional self-reliance that has been adumbrated by the non-aligned movement which covers, as you know, so many developing countries of the

world, is itself premised upon that. But I think we must recognise the very real problem which requires action on both fronts, because if all we do is to seek to establish egalitarian societies at home unmindful of the external constraints upon growth and production, we will end up merely with an equal distribution of poverty. What we have to do is to first of all, I suppose, dismantle feudal structures, create new egalitarian structures at home and side by side at the international level promote an environment in which national effort can produce a real increase and hopefully a redistribution of the world's wealth.

HON. G. G. SWELL (*India*): After entry of Britain into the E.E.C., have you noticed any qualitative change in your functioning as Secretary-General of the Secretariat?

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: Thank you. I am grateful for this question because it was one of the matters I had hoped to deal with in a speech that was already too long and I had hoped that somebody would give me the opportunity to refer to it. The truth of the matter is, I think, that our attitudes to this question have changed tremendously over the years. When the question of Britain's membership of the E.E.C. was mooted many many years ago, Commonwealth countries were in the forefront of all those who urged Britain not to do so. They took that position because of the character of the Commonwealth as it then was and because of their anxiety that Britain in Europe

would mean Britain less willing, less capable, to help cooperative processes within the Commonwealth. All that has changed.

And before I deal with Britain in Europe, let me deal with something else that is happening in the Commonwealth. One of the new facets of the new Commonwealth is regionalism. In whatever part of the Commonwealth you are, it has become necessary—it has, I think, become desirable—that Commonwealth countries integrate increasingly within their regions—in some cases, integrate among themselves at the economic level; in others, integrate within their regions with countries outside the Commonwealth. It has happened in East Africa. It is happening in West Africa, where in a particularly enlightened way Commonwealth African countries are now engaged in an important experiment in economic cooperation with other African countries. It is happening in the Pacific—whether you are thinking of Australia or New Zealand in terms of new interests in the East, or you are thinking of Fiji, Western Samoa or Papua New Guinea in terms of the South Pacific. It is happening in a very illuminating way in the Caribbean where the West Indies are expected to have an identity with a part of Latin America. And that force of regionalism concerns Britain as well—and the Commonwealth cannot abrogate to itself the right to regional integration and deny it to Britain. But, beyond that, one of the realities, I suggest, is that this move to regionalism is in fact bringing in new strength to the Commonwealth.

And let me attempt then to answer your question more specifically. If you ask for my personal opinion—and I suppose Secretaries-General are not supposed to have personal opinions, but in this case I am reinforced by the fact that Heads of Government in fact have expressed their collective opinion—Britain in Europe has been good for Britain, has been good for Europe, has been good for the Commonwealth. Heads of Government in Kingston went on record to say to Mr. Wilson in an unsolicited way that he should have no anxieties about Commonwealth reactions to Britain remaining in the E.E.C. They were giving expression to this reality. Then they went on in that meeting to reach a broad consensus of principle on the need to take urgent measures for a new and more rational and equitable international economic order and to spell out for the group of experts the terms of reference for their work, in terms which matched very closely the aspirations of the developing world. Britain that was a party to that accord and Britain that was a member of the E.E.C. was of necessity obliged to spread the Commonwealth accord, into its wider dimensions of operation. And so what began as a Commonwealth accommodation inevitably led to a wider advance in the position of the E.E.C. itself. It led to changing attitudes in New Zealand and Australia. It strengthened and solidified the position of Canada, and within their own regional and sometimes less formal structures of cooperation and consultation it helped those member-States of the Commonwealth to advance the Commonwealth position into a global position.

Britain in Europe helps the Commonwealth to expand its own influence into Europe of which it is not a part. For my own part, I believe this is the view of Heads of Government generally, that they would take the view that it is an enlightened and progressive development.

HON. LAURIE PAVITT, M.P. (U.K.): On the question of the U.K.'s part the delegation here holds differing views and I think this is not the time to debate it. But I would ask a question following the extremely valuable contribution of the Secretary-General on the way in which the Commonwealth was using aid and technical assistance in a completely participating manner between givers and takers. Is there any further advance influenced by the Commonwealth on the specialised agencies of the UN and also by the bilateral agreements that take place to ensure a similar basic philosophy of no-strings, of participating in a two-way traffic rather than from one to the other being at the moment pushed by the Secretariat of the Commonwealth?

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: Thank you, Sir. The answer to your question is really that we have to attempt to improve the patterns of multilateral aid by example. The developing countries have for long been exhorting the international aid agencies on questions of untying of aid, the problems of procurement and so on. It is perhaps only by the example of a technical assistance programme that is working, and working well, along different lines that we will best persuade them. I hope that as

appreciation of what the Commonwealth technical assistance programme is doing expands, as more governments, parliamentarians, officials become fully familiar with the real value of this programme, they will themselves use its example in their bilateral contacts with the international aid agencies, in their regional and inter-regional groupings, to put more and more pressure on them for changes in this direction.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it has developed into a regular question hour. But I will allow two more questions.

HON. BERNARD SOYA, M.P. (*Sri Lanka*): You have mentioned in the course of your very illuminating address the operation of the technical assistance programme which represents a very practical step in the direction of helping the developing sector of the Commonwealth to get on with the job. Now it represents also a new institutional form in some way. But the needs of building a new economic order, as propounded at the Conference of heads of state, requires a finer degree of institutionalising. What is the institutional structure that is envisaged for the purpose of giving practical expression to the sentiments expressed in that document? I do not ask for a complete structural outline. But have you got even the commencement, the nucleus, of any such institutional form which would help, for instance, in the identifying of problems, in raising these problems and finding a practical solution for them according to some order of priorities, allocation of such assistance as is possible

according to greater needs? Do you have even the nucleus of an institutional form which could develop into a better and fuller structure for implementing the concrete proposals that should emerge out of the general propositions put forward in the beginning of the new economic order?

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think that perhaps there are two ways in which I should attempt to answer this question. First of all, what can the Commonwealth do to advance the purposes, the aspirations, of the new international economic order? What can it do by Commonwealth action among Commonwealth members?

I think there are perhaps some things that it can do, by example, perhaps, by way of creating a model that might be of value to other countries. Possibly, the area in which this can take place is the field of industrial co-operation. We are moving into the stage now where all the developing countries almost without exception recognise the need to move to processes of industrial development. The Commonwealth may be specially qualified to expand those opportunities for industrialisation. Countries like Canada that were themselves the recipients of some of the problems of large external multi-national corporations have developed their own internal structures of industrial development in many ways and they have become experts in the areas of intermediate technologies. Take a country like India. Despite cramping poverty, she has been able

to move ahead industrially and, in some ways, in heavy industries development.

These countries can perhaps specially contribute in the ways that are of value to themselves. So, I would hope that we can perhaps in time evolve a programme of industrial co-operation among the Commonwealth countries that the whole world can benefit from it. But, I believe, we also have to be very clear in our minds that the Commonwealth, although it is only a sample of the world, could help the world in some fields by helping to promote a consensus. There are some developments and one of them of course is the institutional arrangements at the international level. That would make the new economic order viable although those arrangements can only be brought into being through international consensus, through agreements, within the World Bank and the I.M.F., through agreements, within the specialised agencies and within the U.N. itself. The Commonwealth countries have felt it possible to do so. Sri Lanka, in particular, through the formidable services of Mr. Lal Jayawardena has contributed to the working of the Group of Twentyfive which has produced a new institutional model for the U.N. in the context of a new international economic order. Those, I think, are the ways of advancing international agreement.

HON. HILTON CHEONG-LEEN, M.L.C., (*Hong Kong*): Mr. Chairman, I have been impressed with the vision and a wide range of subjects covered by the Secretary-General in his Address. He has

not touched however on the subject which I consider vital to the future well-being of the Commonwealth. He has made a reference to the fight against poverty, to the need for industrial cooperation. Is there any particular reason that very little reference has been made in his Address on the subject of population control and family planning which I consider extremely vital to the future well-being of the Commonwealth? Is the Secretariat planning any future action on this subject which has arrived at a global proportion not only at the Commonwealth but of the world as a whole?

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: There are no reasons beyond the limitations of time and space and encroachment on your time that kept us out of the question of demography. I think we have to be clear in our minds that while many countries in the Commonwealth and, indeed, very many Member States of the Commonwealth share the assessments you have expressed about the impact of population on world development, these are not universally accepted either at the international level or within the Commonwealth itself. On that issue, I must say honestly that there is not yet any consensus and where there is not yet any consensus, there are therefore some limitations on what we might do. But, within the framework of Commonwealth programming, what I can say is this: that this is one of the subjects to be specifically discussed at the next Health Ministers' Conference. The Health Ministers are well equipped to deal with these matters and to focus upon them. Perhaps through

that kind of discussion we will have an opportunity of enlarging the area of agreement within the Commonwealth. When that kind of agreement has been reached we would perhaps be in a position to think in terms of programmes which is what I believe you are essentially concerned with. The first need is for you to convince more Commonwealth Governments and States of the validity of your approach.

HON. MAURICE EDELMAN, M.P. (U.K.): May I revert to the EEC and the Commonwealth? Yesterday Mrs. Gandhi spoke very appropriately about the paradox by which the EEC destroys its surpluses in the name of efficiency. That is something which of course, is as painful in Europe as it must be, elsewhere. What I should like to ask is, whether there is any intention to institutionalise arrangements between the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community, so that these surpluses which are created only to be destroyed or dumped at below cost price with the Soviet Union which is a willing customer, we may have some means within the Commonwealth of using the surpluses in the interest of those countries who are friends and associates and who have in many cases a real need of those surpluses.

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: I am sure every one in this room would echo those sentiments. There is a very strong case indeed to move in that direction. But we must acknowledge that we are up against some ideological, not to say practical, problems. We enter here into the whole

area of the doctrine of free market forces, into the capacity of the international community to accept intervention in the international market place. Whether you do it through the release of stocks or you do it through control and regulation of prices, this is a difficulty which we will have to encounter.

But I believe the humanitarian concern is so critical and so urgent that if collective voices are raised, they could not but be listened to and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association proceedings are particularly a valuable opportunity, meeting as it does here in an area of tremendous poverty, to raise this concern and give expression to it.

It means also that it imposes a very heavy responsibility on Britain as a member of the Community within which those policies have to be urged. What we can do within the Commonwealth is to strengthen the hand of Britain in its advocacy within the Councils of the Community. I should particularly like to mention in this context the great and urgent need for the effort that has already been launched quite recently by Mr. Prentice in his advocacy within the Councils of Europe for better and more effective and more meaningful relationships between the EEC and Asian Commonwealth countries, countries that were not allowed to be within the ambit of the negotiations that led to the Lome Convention, and for whom there continues to exist a pressing need for more equitable relationships with Europe.

HON. GRIFFITH, M.P. (*Barbados*): I should like to ask the Secretary-General this question. Do you foresee in the new move towards regionalism in the Caribbean a threat of the imposition of the new colonialism stemming from the participation of oil rich Venezuela in the process?

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: I am not sure if this is the question that I should have been asked three months ago before I left the Caribbean. But since I am asked this question, in this context, first of all, I would try to answer it generally.

Within every regional grouping, there is bound to be some State or a group of States, which will be more rich, larger in geographical area, more powerful and important in political influence than others. It is going to be very difficult to find a regional system in which all are equal in all respects. The great federal countries of the Commonwealth have not achieved this within their national frontiers. What you seek to do is to use the processes of regionalism to bring about a fairer and more equitable redistribution of wealth, the processes, for example, Canada has used with such astonishingly significant results. If you wait for a time when there is none so powerful that you may not be overborne, you may continue in a long indefinite future, a life of solitary isolation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sorry, I said the last, last time, but still one more last was left, and he is the very last, and the last of last is Hon. Austin R. Thomas, Bermuda.

HON. A. R. THOMAS, M.P. (*Bermuda*): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I was impressed with the statement His Excellency made this morning and indeed the speech of Mrs. Indira Gandhi yesterday in regard to certain conditions with which we in smaller territories of Commonwealth are most concerned. I speak, in particular, of the very vicious, insidious and indeed viperous propaganda directed against territories, which for various internal reasons or their own politics, seek ways of affecting their own internal policies. I was very pleased to hear you indicate your concern that we, as politicians and Ministers, should better inform our people concerning the work of the Commonwealth. I am concerned here with what the Commonwealth would do in this regard. Perhaps the Secretariat can assist us in offsetting this trend which I find does much damage to the good work which has been done in countries such as India and other countries. They are trying to work out their own particular methods for solving their own problems. Can you help in this respect? What is the Secretariat intending to do in dealing with this matter? Many of the States represented here, I am sure, find this a problem.

H.E. MR. S. S. RAMPHAL: Mr. Chairman, this is an important and difficult, and in some ways, a delicate matter, but it is one that cannot be blinked. I think, what lies behind our colleague's anxiety and worry is the absence, as it sometimes seems, of a greater level of understanding of each other's problems. These problems exist within all of our societies. No single Commonwealth country is free of them,

or is free of a situation in which the finger cannot be pointed. What surely must be the essence of Commonwealth relations is a special level of understanding. How can we promote that understanding? In some of our countries the Governments can do a great deal in not being themselves in the vanguard of accusation and condemnation and being cautious in criticism and careful in their relations with other member countries. Perhaps, we can do something within the Commonwealth agencies, within the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association itself, to develop and promote this kind of special understanding.

Last night, on another occasion, I ventured to make a suggestion which, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I repeat now. The discussions of this kind represent one of the best and most useful areas of dialogue within the Commonwealth. You represent a quarter of the world population. That is what you represent. Yet your debates, as I ventured to say earlier, while they are widely reported in the Indian press—I have seen no constraint on that reporting—will not be published in the press of most of the member countries. Important Commonwealth Conferences sometimes held in major Commonwealth countries do not even get published within those countries themselves which provide the venue for the Conference. This surely demands a higher level of contribution from the press itself. There is no point in merely indulging in exhortation and complaint. What can we do? What I was suggesting last night is that there is a great and pressing need for you

to share your discussions not only with the people of the host country but with your own people to the extent you can.

Now, there are many important international news agencies here. But they carry truncated reports—I do not suggest for a moment inaccurate reports—inevitably, highly condensed and summarised reports which go through a process of further condensation as they move from region to region. So, what will appear in their press as a result of the discussion this morning is three or four lines of the entire report. What is needed surely is reporting from the outer regions of the Commonwealth through the participation of the journalists in these proceedings so that you open them to the journalists not just of the host country but particularly of the smaller countries of the Commonwealth who cannot afford to have their journalists here. How useful it would be if it were possible to have journalists from Sierra Leone, Western Samoa, Papua, New Guinea, Barbados and so on. By being here, being able to send back reports on these proceedings and, through that kind of dissemination, reporting against the background of national interest and an awareness of the areas of special interest of your own people, we would be able to multiply immeasurably the benefits of this very important dialogue and, in that way, we will be doing something about it and not just complaining and exhorting.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. May I offer a comment on your remark, that our Press is generally very generous and liberal about international conferences. They reported the Conference that was

held in London last time, ten times more than it was reported in the British Press. Now, the Vice-President will thank the Secretary-General.

HON. R. GUJADHUR: Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasant duty as Vice-President to thank, on your behalf and on my own, Mr. Ramphal for his inspiring address to us this morning. I think there could be no two opinions about it that he has very ably and brilliantly outlined the value of the Commonwealth and the work of the Commonwealth Secretariat. He has also

spoken of the duties of the Commonwealth countries who are engaged in a common struggle to make their ideals realisable.

I must also thank the distinguished delegates for having heard in pin-drop silence the address of Mr. Ramphal, which shows how greatly they valued his illuminating address this morning.

I must thank Mr. Ramphal for also willingly and effectively answering the various questions put to him. I thank him once again.

The common bonds which link the member-States of the contemporary Commonwealth are the ideals of universal peace and prosperity, democratic government and freedom, elimination of all forms of colonial domination and racial oppression and discrimination, and the progressive removal of wide economic disparities among nations.

FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED
October 28, 1975

5. Meetings of Society of the Clerks-at-the-Table

Report of the meetings held from October 29 to November 4, 1975.

The following attended:

Enche Syed Ali B. S. I. Alhabshi (*Malacca-Malaysia*), Mr. Aminullah (*Bangladesh*), Shri A. S. Arthur (*Nagaland—India*), Shri P. D. Barua (*Assam—India*), Shri B. N. Banerjee (*India*), Shri S. S. Bhalerao (*India*), Shri V. P. Bhatnagar (*Himachal Pradesh—India*), Mr. K. A. Bradshaw (*United Kingdom*), Mr. D. H. Bramble (*Montserrat*), Mr. M. Bru (*Mauritius*), Mr. J. E. Carter (*Trinidad and Tobago*), Mr. D. F. Cauchi (*Malta*), Mr. Edley Deans (*Jamaica*), Shri D. G. Desai (*Gujarat—India*), Mr. A. M. Dumbuya (*Sierra Leone*), Mr. H. B. N. Gicheru (*Kenya*), Mr. I. P. Gontse (*Botswana*), Shri Ramji Lal Gupta (*Rajasthan—India*), Shri Te. Hanumanthappa (*Karnataka—India*), Mr. M. B. Henry (*Guyana*), Enche H. J. Hasmuni bin Hj Hussain (*Malaysia*), Shri

S. R. Kharabe (*Maharashtra—India*), Mr. L. M. Khofi (*Malawi*), Mr. Jacques Lessard (*Quebec—Canada*), Mr. C. P. Littlejohn (*New Zealand*), Sir David Lidderdale (*United Kingdom*), Shri Raj Kumar Malhotra (*Haryana—India*), Mr. W. Nickel (*Western Samoa*), Mr. S. A. R. N'Jai (*Gambia*), Shri G. Ramachandra Naidu (*Andhra Pradesh—India*), Shri G. S. Nande (*Maharashtra—India*), Dr. R. Prasannan (*Kerala—India*), Shri N. Rath (*Orissa—India*), Mr. P. O. Saunders (*Bahamas*), Shri S. L. Shakhder (*India*), Shri Gojendra Singh (*Manipur—India*), Shri Partap Singh (*Punjab—India*), Mr. Vijay Singh (*Fiji*), Mr. C. V. Strachan (*Grenada*), Mr. B. A. Tlase (*Lesotho*), Mr. R. E. A. Ward (*New South Wales, Australia*), Mr. K. H. Wheeler (*Hong Kong*), Mr. S. S. Wijesinha (*Sri Lanka*), Mr. A. C. Yumba (*Zambia*).

OBSERVER

Mr. R. Moinet (*International Association of Parliaments of the French Language*).

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Wednesday, 29th October, 1975

The Sitting was opened at 3.30 P.M.

MR. K. A. BRADSHAW: Gentlemen, shall we set a good example by beginning our proceedings on time?

It is my very pleasant duty as Clerk of the Overseas Office and Administrator of the Society's affairs to both convene the meetings and to open them when we reach our destination. It is a great pleasure to see so many people present, in particular so many Indian Clerks both from the Union and from the States. I have just been meeting several of them, and I hope to see more of them during the week.

May I express my warmest thanks on behalf of the Society to our two Indian friends seated to my left for the splendid facilities they have put at our disposal. It is an eye-opener for a Clerk coming from Westminster to two successive Conferences of the CPA to work last year in the Bandaranaike Hall in Colombo and this year in this well-equipped Annexe. It is a pleasure to work in such surroundings. I am sure our efforts will be all the more fruitful on that account.

May I just make one announcement about speaking? Our two shorthand writers sitting in the middle have asked me to say that they would be very grateful if before speaking, any member, who wants to take part in the discussion, would state his

name and country. And because probably some of our accents are not familiar to the shorthand writers, slow and clear speech would help to have the proceedings recorded as perfectly as possible.

May I now move on to my main duty which is to help you to choose a Chairman for this session. I understand that Shri Shakhder, Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha, would perhaps like to say a word at this stage.

SHRI S. L. SHAKDHER: My dear colleagues and friends, the other day when we met here for briefing Secretaries, I bid you welcome to this country. Today I have great pleasure in welcoming you to this meeting of the Society of Clerks-at-the-Table. It is our own trade union and our own society. So I have the greatest pleasure that I should be welcoming so many colleagues from overseas and also from the branches in India.

I hope that our arrangements have been satisfactory. Whenever we have gone abroad, we have been given such receptions and such facilities that I am not sure that we have come up to those standards. Anyhow we have offered our best and we have offered it from our heart and sincerely. This welcome is not only from the main branch but also from the State branches. My colleague, Shri Banerjee, and I have great pleasure in welcoming you to this meeting. About the chairmanship of this Conference, Mr. Bradshaw told me that it is the usual custom that the Clerk from the host

branch takes the Chair; usually, a proposal is made by one of the members of the Society and he is called to take the Chair. But today I have to make a different proposal. It is this. We have invited Sir David Lidderdale from the U.K. He was kind enough to accede to our request despite the heavy responsibilities and duties that he has to perform at home. His House is meeting. So we feel greatly honoured that he has found it possible to come here. This also shows how much importance he attaches to the work of the Society. Both Shri Banerjee and I feel and recommend to you that Sir David Lidderdale should take the Chair during the conferences of the Society here in this country.

In saying so, I am not suggesting that we should depart from the normal custom in future. This is only specially at our request that Sir David Lidderdale is being asked to take the Chair. Otherwise, your normal traditions will be followed in future and I have no desire that that should be changed by any other host country. But we shall feel greatly honoured if Sir David Lidderdale takes the Chair immediately.

MR. BRADSHAW: May I take it that the proposal of Shri Shakhder seconded by Shri Banerjee is agreed to by all of you. (*Agreed*). In that case, may I invite Sir David to take the Chair.

Sir David Lidderdale takes the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: My dear colleagues, it is the custom in the House of Commons that whenever a new speaker is elected, he

takes the Chair with "a show of reluctance". I feel very diffident to take the Chair for two reasons. Firstly as Shri Shakhder said it has been the custom of the Society that the Clerk of the Host Branch should take the Chair. I certainly came to India expecting to sit under his chairmanship. When he first proposed that I should take the Chair, I thought that it was not the right thing to do, because of this custom. But Shri Shakhder is an old friend of mine and when he wants me to do a thing I like to do it. That is why I have accepted and I express my deepest thanks to him and to you all for calling me to take the Chair. I have just a few words to say in inaugurating this meeting.

It is a particular pleasure for me to take the Chair here in India. It has been a longstanding wish of mine and, I think, this is probably shared by many people here, to visit India. Now this longstanding wish has been realised; and it is a great pleasure for me to be here on this occasion, with you all, with my Indian colleagues from the Central Parliament and many Secretaries of the State Legislatures, and with other colleagues from various parts of Commonwealth. There is a longstanding and particular relationship between the people of England and the people of India, a relationship of intertwined experience, which is not static but is changing all the time. Several people have told me since I came to India that in parliamentary matters, India has a lot to learn from us. From my experience in the last few days, I find that we have a tremendous lot to learn from India. In England, we were first to develop our

particular method of Government by consent; but in India, you have developed this in accordance with your own principle of "change without violence," in a way which is of tremendous importance to the whole world.

India, since the days of Gandhi, has been a happy country where changes had come about, but not in violent ways; and it is exciting to see parliamentary Government going on in India. Mr. Ramphal said this morning that the population of India was 1/7th of the globe. One-seventh of the population of the globe, in this country, is governed peacefully under parliamentary Government. It is a tremendous thing and is of great importance to the future of the world and must at all costs be preserved. As I said earlier, every minute that I am here makes me feel more and more that I have come here, not as a teacher but as a learner. So, it is an enormous pleasure to be here in India.

I also think this is one of the pleasantest gatherings of old friends to which I have ever belonged. This Society is unique and there are many old friends of mine here, from the Carribeans to East Africa, West Africa, India and the Far-East. I am very happy to meet them again here. Could I mention one particular friend who is on a slightly different basis, Mr. Moinet, Secretary of the International Association of French Speaking Parliaments, who attended the meeting last year and is here again. I am happy to see him here.

There are two sad things that I need mention. I only learnt today about the death

of Gordon Dubroy, Clerk Assistant of the Federal House of Commons of Canada. I understand that he died only a few days ago. He came to London to attend the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in September, but was taken ill and was unable to take part in it. Also, Roy Lawrence, Q. C., the Clerk of Assembly of the Canadian Province of Nova Scotia in Canada died. I am told that he was at the time of his death the oldest serving clerk in the Commonwealth. I do not know. It is sad to lose old friends.

This Society is not static. It must be changing all the time, but there should be a combination of tradition and change. There are certain traditions in Parliaments which are right and which should go on; there are other things which have to change. I take great pride myself that I personally initiated in my own country the abolition of the Committees of Supply and of Ways and Means about ten years ago. What my predecessor Edward Fellowes would have had to say about that, I do not know, if he had lived to see it. I was happy to bring that change about. But that does not mean that I am a person who likes to keep pulling down everything. One should see what should be changed and one should change that, but what is right should be kept.

I would on this point make one small suggestion for a change in the Society here. We are a gathering of a very large number of friends here; but we have not got one lady Clerk-at-the-Table here nor did we have one last year or the year before. Yet there are, I know, several

highly competent lady clerks at the Table in various parts of the Commonwealth. We have in the House of Commons three very competent young women; at present, they are too young to join this Society, but in course of time, they may contribute.

Before I come to our business, I would like to add my words to Mr. Bradshaw's in thanking Mr. Shakhder and Mr. Banerjee for the admirable arrangements that have been made for the meetings here and for the whole Conference. One knows very well, what tremendous activities go on arrangements. So, I would like to name, in conjunction with them, Mr. Patnaik, who, I know, has been very busy behind the scenes; and indeed, all the members of the staff of the two Houses have had their parts to play in various ways.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, we must seek to arrange our business. We have a lot of time at our disposal; we do not have to finish everything today. We can meet in the morning and in the afternoon tomorrow and also on Friday, if necessary.

You have had Mr. Bradshaw's circular mentioning certain subjects for discussion.* The first subject that we always take up is 'The Current Affairs of the Society'. Following that, there is the subject of 'The Status Powers and Duties of the Clerks'. I would suggest that we might

*See Appendix A.

start in that order. We have also on the circular, the third subject 'Problems of Current Concern to Members of the Society', and then we can discuss any subject which the Members may wish to hand in. Apart from my Indian colleagues and myself, I do not think, anybody has produced any ideas as yet, but it is not too late to make other suggestions.

I myself have a number of suggestions to make. First of all, as you know, the General Council of the CPA recently sent out a questionnaire about the powers and duties of the Clerks. Their Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. Ian Grey, would very much like to come and speak a word about that. Perhaps it would be convenient for him to do that first thing in the morning tomorrow.

MR. BRADSHAW: I saw Mr. Ian Grey today. He is tied up tomorrow with three Panels meeting concurrently. He undertook to come today at half past four to see if that time would be convenient for the society. He just wanted to explain the purpose of the questionnaire. He can do that if we can find five minutes late this afternoon.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think, that would be the best we could do in which case we might start tomorrow perhaps with considering the paper which has been put before us by Mr. Bradshaw, the Clerk of the Overseas Office at Westminster. You might like to have time to look into it before we talk about it.

Then Mr. Shakdher and Mr. Banerjee have suggested two subjects. One is the subject of Privilege and the other is the subject of Committee system. We could have a very interesting discussion on both of those subjects.

I have one suggestion to make. At the House of Commons, we have recently undergone a very thorough investigation. First there was a report made by Sir Edmond Compton and then there was a Committee presided over by Mr. Arthur Bottomley (an officer of the C.P.A.). If I get a chance, I would like to explain these to you. I did not say very much about the report in the Newsletter. It might be interesting to tell you something about it possibly without having short-hand note-taking because I can then talk about it more freely, about inside things that went on. It might lead to a general discussion on Parliamentary administration. I think that would give us the basis for a discussion.

Today, we might take up the subject of "Current Affairs of the Society" and the subject of "Status, Powers and Duties of Clerks". Then, tomorrow, perhaps, we might take up the subjects of Privilege, Committee Systems and Parliamentary Administration. I think, whoever is in the Chair, it is his duty to give a lead to the Association; but it is for the Association to decide what it is that it wants to talk about. I hope, you will now give me your ideas.

*For definitive Agenda, see Appendix E.

I take it that the general programme is accepted, it, of course, being open to any one to raise any other subject, if there is time, and we will do our best to discuss that as well.*

We move on then to the first subject, "the Current Affairs of the Society" and I invite Mr. Bradshaw to dilate upon it.

CURRENT AFFAIRS OF THE SOCIETY

MR. BRADSHAW: Gentlemen, may I call your attention to this paper which has been circulated to you? I hope, you have got a copy of it. It is the financial statement. We could perhaps go through that.

Last year, the Society of Clerks in Colombo discussed the financial position of the Society and considered whether the subscription should be raised. Their conclusion was not to raise the subscription, pending the submission of a full statement by myself on the details of how the Society actually stood. That paper is in front of you. Mr. Cubie, the Hon. Treasurer, and I have tried to set out as clearly and briefly as possible the essential facts. On page 1, paragraph 1, the Society's favourable balance in October, 1975 is stated to be about £840. That figure compares with the figures at the end of the last six financial years which are set out in the next paragraph—our financial years are rather curious, ending on 30th November. The figure is exceptionally low this year because we paid our dues in good time,

before putting the figure down on the slate. You can see that we paid two bills in 1975 because of the change of printer. So, those figures in paragraph 2 are over-inflated and unrealistic to the extent that in each case, the cost of the publication of the journal had still to be met.

The next point is in paragraph 4 where it says that if the outstanding subscriptions had been paid, it would have improved the favourable balance by £400. I think at this stage I have to draw attention rather reluctantly—nevertheless, I have to do it—to Appendix III which I am required each year to lay before the Society.* This shows those Houses of Parliament which were in arrears. I should be very grateful if some corrective action could be taken in those cases. The subscription is £10 per Assembly, although some pay more—that would be about Rs. 180. I should be very glad to take any subscriptions any time. If some people want to pay their subscriptions at this meeting, I would be very happy to take the money back home and hand it over to the Treasurer. I think I need not elaborate on this, except to say that it is in the rules that if subscriptions are not paid, the Members and the Assembly concerned are liable to disqualification. But I am sure we will never have to reach that point among such a friendly group.

To carry on with paras 5, 6 and 7; they don't need much comment because we think that the position is not bad, though it needs watching and possibly needs action. On that point, I would like you

*See Appendix C to this Report.

to look at Appendix I and Appendix II—one showing how the costs are running at the moment and the other one showing what our revenue is and commenting whether it is enough. Taking the costs first, I think you can see by looking at the end column how much this journal costs us to produce and what it cost during the last few years. Paragraph 4 on page 2 explains why we seem to have done rather better in the last twelve months than we had done before. We changed over to a new printer who has done the job more cheaply. I think all of you have received this 1975 volume and I think you will all agree, having had a look at it, that it is a very decent production and does not fall below the standards of previous years. The saving was considerable. The Society has benefited to that extent, but the new printers have announced that for the next edition, their charge will be 10 per cent higher so that whatever ground we have gained, we may lose soon.

Paragraph 6 deals with the staff costs. Our admirable and hard-working editor and treasurer receive modest rewards for their services and that is why they were increased at the Society's request last year. We have also a small additional burden because Butterworths, who were formerly our publishers and did the job of circulation, have now intimated that they do not wish to do it any more. So, we are doing it ourselves from the Houses of Parliament. While we saved their fee which they charged for that service, we have to pay a small sum to an Assistant in the

House of Lords to carry out the distribution.

May I come to Appendix II on page 3 dealing with Revenue? As set out in paragraph 1, our basic subscription income is £1300. Our other income is £200 from the journal and £100 from the interest making a total of £1600.

Paragraph 2 points out that from this income, about £1300 has to be paid to meet the printing costs and about £600 is our staff bill, with postage at, say £40 and tax, say, £50. So the crucial point is that we are about £400 short. It goes on to say that accumulated balances will look after the position throughout 1976 but it looks as if an increase in income for 1977 will certainly be necessary. Assuming we are going to think about that, what should be the increase? In paragraph 3, the suggestion is that an all-round increase of 50 per cent would bring in £650 or so a year and that will seem to cover up the deficit for 2 or 3 years at least. For most legislatures—this is a very important point—this would mean an increase of £10 to £15. It does not sound very great, but we have to consider the smaller legislatures, particularly some of the State legislatures to whom that sum is rather larger than to some of the National Legislatures. This is an important point to be borne in mind.

These points are made in Paragraph 4 which ends up by asking the question, 'What do Members think about this financial position?' and what steps ought we to take to do something about it? Mr.

Chairman, may I leave it at that? I will be very happy to listen to and answer any comments that are made.

MR. C. P. LITTLEJOHN: I think something will have to be done and ought to be done soon rather than late because we will otherwise, I think, fall into the position where we will be far too much in arrears and it will be too hard to catch up. It is a fairly confusing situation for us because the subscription of ten pounds per House is related in a rather ill-defined manner to the number of Members of the Society that each House has. In New Zealand, we have not had any specific request to increase our contribution to the Society. But, in the light of the present situation in the Society, we will be willing undoubtedly to make an increase. I do not know what procedures other Branches have for authorising payments. I know what we have. If I am presented with the proposal in relation to an increase in contribution, it will perhaps present me with a slight problem to decide how much the increase should be. Fifty per cent is rather an odd sum in New Zealand dollars. It may have to be rounded off and it may have to be rounded off upwards. Is it perhaps possible for us to understand a little more of the relationship between the amount of the subscription and the number of members? Could that perhaps be explained?

MR. BRADSHAW: Yes, certainly. I have a list here. Most Legislatures—there are about 70 of them—pay ten pounds per year. Some pay more. I do not find anything invidious in reading out the list,

since it is in the accounts which have already been circulated.

Australia, Senate	..	£ 50
Australia, House of Representatives	..	£ 50
Barbados	..	£ 20
Canada, Commons	..	£ 50
Malta	..	£ 15
Maharashtra	..	£ 20
Malawi	..	£ 15
Nova Scotia	..	£ 25
New Zealand	..	£ 40
Sn Lanka	..	£ 31.25
Tasmania	..	£ 30
United Kingdom, House of Commons	..	£ 100
United Kingdom, House of Lords	..	£ 100

The point about the 50 per cent raise is that this would be an increase *pro rata* across the board, so to speak.

MR. LITTLEJOHN: We would find it easier to pay the increased sum on receipt of accounts.

MR. BRADSHAW: This point was raised last year and I then promised to look into this. I think Mr. Holtby (Ontario) raised it, while somebody else did not want another piece of paper. So there was some slight conflict. May I say that it was the desire of some people that it is easier to pay if a bill is sent along with the annual accounts or at some other suitable time.

MR. C. V. STRACHAN: I want a small point clarified. Is this £10 in respect of a legislature or a person belonging to the legislature?

MR. BRADSHAW: The subscription is in respect of each assembly. If there are two assemblies in a Legislature, there may be two subscriptions.

MR. S. S. WIJESINHA: About the deficits in the budget, I am sure an attempt must have been made to get the money. Was it lack of response?

MR. BRADSHAW: I am not sure whether we sent out reminders. Perhaps Mr. Strachan could help us. I notice he is listed as being in arrears since 1972.

MR. WIJESINHA: I would suggest that the money be sent, if it is sent, along with the CPA subscription. If it is done in that way, Governments and Treasuries do not notice the parts of the whole payment. But if we send funds at different times, there may be trouble. Also, as my friend said, this has everything to do with the legislature. It would not be paid by us personally.

MR. STRACHAN: Is this subscription in respect of the House or the number of persons? Because I think the membership of the society is open to Clerks, Serjeant-at-Arms, Deputy Clerks and so on. I was always under the impression that it is in respect of each person. I am sorry, I do not have the rules with me here. I do not know if Mr. Bradshaw can help.

MR. BRADSHAW: Under rule 4(a), "there shall be one subscription payable to the Society in respect of each House of each Legislature which has one or more members of the society." In other words, there is no limit on the number of members. The subscription is for each House. In the House of Commons, for instance, there are six members but only one subscription payable. It has six members who satisfy the qualification required for the membership of the Society.

MR. EDLEY DEANS: On the point discussed, I might say that we have no choice but to increase the subscription by 50 per cent, because we are heading towards insolvency. Anyhow, I would myself support an increase of 50 per cent.

MR. R. E. A. WARD: What is the subscription now being paid by the New South Wales?

MR. BRADSHAW: It must be £10, since New South Wales is not on the list, I read out.

MR. WARD: I agree with the former speaker that we must face realities and have the increase in the near future, along with the increase that is required in the rate of CPA subscription. The increase is inevitable. I am in favour of increasing the amount now by 50 per cent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Would anybody else like to say something?

MR. BRADSHAW: May I say a word about the procedure for authorising an increase? Last year, I advised that all

that was required was that Rule 4(b) should be amended by the annual general meeting to change the amount of the subscription. Rule 4 (b) says that the minimum subscription for each House is £10, payable on 1st January each year. Having now consulted the Editor and the Treasurer, I am advised that the method of changing the subscription is by ballot. If this meeting agrees with the proposition that there should be a change, I would then be authorised to ballot our members on whatever the proposal is, whether it is 50 per cent or whatever it is. Then, it would be sent to every single member, who would say 'yes' or 'no' to the proposition. If the answer is 'yes', then the Society, at its next meeting, would amend the rules consequentially. I think the object of it is that this meeting should not regard itself as having the authority to change the subscription without reference to the full body of membership which is not present here. So, that is the procedure. What we have to decide here today is, therefore, whether a proposal should be put to the membership of the Society.

MR. DEANS: If we are to seek a ballot from more than 200 Members and we do not get a majority, what would be the position?

MR. BRADSHAW: I hope we would be able to put it to them in a way that would be persuasive enough to give the right answer and if this Meeting is convinced, it is a good start. If they say "no", we may have to go on till the financial position gets worse.

MR. VIJAY SINGH: In view of the fact that we have a majority of our 200 Members present here and in an attempt to save time, would it not be better if there is a ballot and those who are present gave you their replies in the way of the ballot that you are suggesting during our stay here? Then you will be left with a smaller number to deal with and the likelihood of getting this increase early would be greater.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think there would be any objection to taking the first step in the ballot here.

MR. BRADSHAW: I will draw up an explanatory paper in conjunction with the Treasurer and the Editor and it will be sent to everybody at the same time. I do not think there is very much in the point about saving time. If you decide that this matter should be put to the ballot, I will set the machinery in motion as soon as we get home. I hope that by January the latest, it would be in everybody's hands and I would have the answers in very good time. I do not see any danger of our financial position deteriorating so fast.

MR. M. B. HENRY: It is slightly dangerous because we have Assistant Clerks, Deputy Clerks etc. also here, and not all of us have mandates to take decisions. We should not do it by proxy.

MR. STRACHAN: What bothers me is the fact that we are dealing with a constitutional provision and that part of the rules states the amount of the subscription. Although I have seen the point raised by

Mr. Bradshaw, I think it should be the other way about. I think that first of all we should have a motion to alter the Constitution in order to change the subscription. I do not know whether the rules are silent on what should be done for a change in those Rules; they probably say something on that, and if they do, all you need is a motion for an amendment to the Rules to give effect to an increase in the subscription to whatever figure you like.

MR. BRADSHAW: There is nothing in the rules about changing the subscription. All I can say is that the practice in the past has been that if the subscription is to be changed, it is done by a ballot. If you want to change the practice, you will at least have to consult the Members generally.

MR. WARD: I would like to suggest that in the ballot asking for the opinion of the Members on the increase in the annual subscription, a question could at the same time be included asking if on future occasions when it is necessary to increase the subscription, that it be done at a General Meeting.

MR. WIJESINHA: This question of increasing the subscription is a matter in which we as a Society or as individuals are not responsible for payment. The money comes from the Government and unless there is some authority for us to act enabling us to commit our Governments, the exercise will be futile. We agree to this, but we have to convince our Governments that this amount of money has to come out of the exchequer. So, quite

apart from the rules and regulations, the practical way of doing this would be to convey the necessity for an increase to the Government in the form of a suggestion at one of the CPA local or branch meetings. I do not know about the rules and regulations; I am merely suggesting how to get over the problem in a practical way. When the CPA increases the subscription, is the time that you must, if I may use this expression without any disrespect, slip it in. Our getting involved in changing our Constitution and all that would be futile. What we want is increase in subscription, and the best way to do this is to suggest it at the time the CPA does it, at a branch meeting.

MR. STRACHAN: I wish to express my agreement with what the last speaker has said, and I submit that all we can usefully do here today is to get agreement that we will recommend to the appropriate authority an increase in the subscription. I do not think we can go any further than that.

THE CHAIRMAN: As I said in my opening remarks, the best way is to stick to the tradition, because however strong the representatives at this meeting may feel, it is not fully representative of the Society. I think it is the tradition that the proposition is decided by ballot, by the whole membership, because which countries would be present at a particular Conference is a matter of chance; it is beyond the control of the Clerks. In a matter of general import like this, it is right that the whole membership should be consulted. I, therefore, agree that the right thing would be for us to agree to a Resolution

to this effect that, in our view, the subscription should now be raised by fifty per cent and that the whole membership of the Society should be consulted on that proposition by ballot. I agree with Mr. Wijesinha that we should do our best to get the matter put to our Governments at the right moment. The best way to do it would be to get the agreement of the Association as soon as possible.

I would, therefore, suggest that we pass this motion along the lines I have indicated.

MR. BRADSHAW: There is a proposal from the Chair as follows: "*That this Meeting of the Society recommends.*

(i) *that the annual subscription should be raised by 50 per cent;*

(ii) *that in accordance with the Society's usual practice, this proposal should be put to the whole Membership of the Society; and*

(iii) *that if the result of that consultation is positive, the increase should be recommended to the appropriate authorities in Members' countries."*

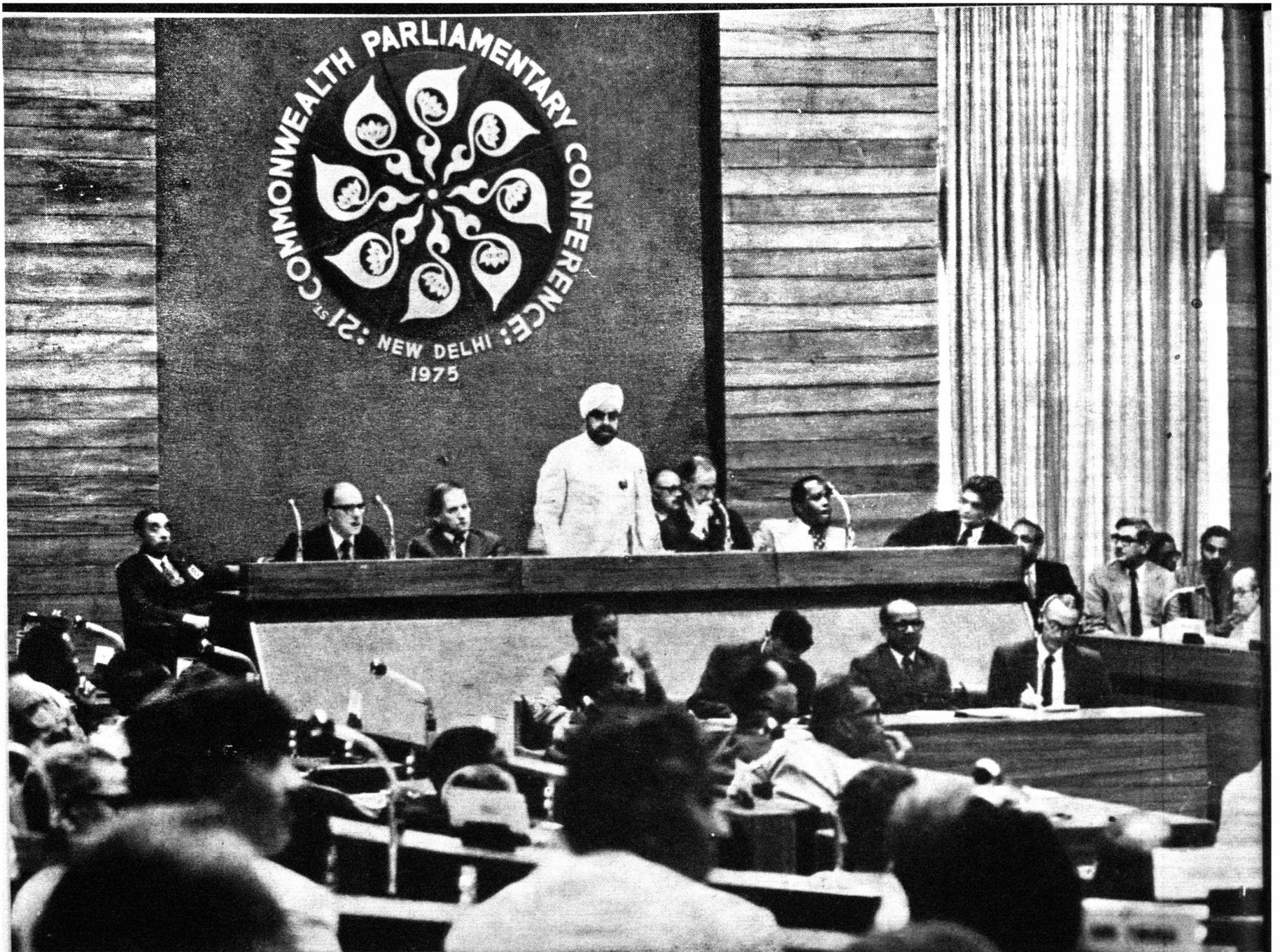
MR. K. H. WHEELER: I beg to second the proposal.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those who are in favour of the proposal may raise their hands. I think no one is against it. The proposal is carried unanimously. Thank you.

MR. BRADSHAW: I have made a note of the point that we are to send to each

Briefing the delegates on the opening day





**Dr. Dhillon inviting the Commonwealth Secretary General,
to address the Conference**

member annually in some convenient form a reminder that the subscription is due.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any other point which any Member wishes to raise under the heading 'Current Affairs of the Society'?

MR. BRADSHAW: I have a tiny point. I have some ties of the Society. I have about half a dozen ties. I have to charge for them and the cost is £ 1.50 P. in English money which works out to Rs. 27. If any one of you wants a tie, perhaps he would let me know.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think finally I have only to express, on your behalf, our thanks to the two Clerks of the Westminster who deal with the affairs of the Society—Michael Davies of the House of Lords, the Secretary, and George Cubie of the House of Commons, the Treasurer. George Cubie is a Scotsman. It is interesting that you have a Scotsman as your treasurer. I am not sure whether I entirely agree with him that because tax is imposed on the interest which we get from the credit balance, it is better to have no balance at all. It seems to be a Scottish attitude to it. So if I may, I will express my thanks to them when I get home. I would also like to thank Mr. Bradshaw who gives his tireless service to the affairs of the Society.

MR. DEANS: Lest those tributes might be thought too Nepotistic, I should like to express my support for them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

C.P.A. QUESTIONNAIRE ON CLERKS AND THEIR DEPARTMENTS

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ian Grey, the Deputy Secretary-General of the General Council, is here and he might like to say a few words to us.

MR. IAN GREY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I had earlier planned to seek your permission to talk more generally and at greater length on the Parliamentary Information and Reference Centre, and to speak particularly to the members of our Society of Clerks, but I will not inflict that upon you, since I have got to do it at the general meeting of the Association. During it twice, I think, would cost me some friends among you. What I wanted to speak at the moment particularly is about the Questionnaire on Clerks and their Departments. As you all know we produced a factual memorandum from the Centre on the Powers and Privileges of Members of Parliament which proved to be a very useful document and I believe referred to in very many Legislatures, particularly in countries which were carrying out or about to carry out their own members' salaries and allowances. Following that I received a request from two senior Clerks in the Commonwealth to produce a similar document on the organisation, distribution of duties, salaries and allowances, the retirement conditions and other details concerning Clerks in Commonwealth Parliaments. I sent questionnaires to 32 Parliaments and to-date I have received only 13 replies, which was somewhat disappointing for a document which would be of

direct value to all of you sitting here today. I will not read out names of those who have not replied. I think that might be misunderstood, but I would circulate the questionnaire among you during the course of the conference and hope that you will let me have replies as soon as possible. I cannot give you any timetable on the production of this memorandum. It can be quite a sizeable document and, as you know we are a very small staff, in fact, 2½ at the moment. So probably it may not be until late next year that the document gets produced, but it will be produced as soon as possible.

Thank You, Mr. Chairman.

MR. WHEELER: If you are reluctant to read out the names of those who have not replied, to refresh our memory, you may quickly read out the names of those who have replied. It would be helpful and it would be good advertisement for those who did it.

MR. GREY: Mr. Chairman, I should stress perhaps I did not send it to all Parliaments in the Commonwealth. It was sent only to sovereign Parliaments in the Commonwealth which would number 32 and all the members would involve a figure of 100. If you permit me to read out the names, I shall do it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nobody seems to object it.

MR. GREY: I am guided by the Chair. Replies from the following Parliaments have not been received, viz:—New South

Wales, Queensland, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Botswana, The Gambia, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritius, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Tongo, Trinidad & Tobago, Western Samoa and Zambia. I would welcome replies from the countries I have named.

MR. A. C. YUMBA: May I know from Mr. Grey if he did not receive answer to the questionnaire from Zambia because it was sent to his office?

MR. GREY: I do not remember. May I give you another questionnaire?

MR. YUMBA: I will arrange for another copy of our answer to the questionnaire to be sent to you. It has been replied to.

MR. GREY: Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I think Mr. Grey has made his point. It would be of greater assistance to this enterprise and it would be most helpful if the replies to the questionnaire are sent as soon as possible, if they have not been sent already. I am sure this will be possible.

Thank you very much.

STATUS, POWERS AND DUTIES OF CLERKS

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, we come to the next subject which is:—“*The status, powers and duties of Clerks (a compulsory item pursuant to the resolution of the Seventh General Meeting)*”.

We had a long discussion on this subject at a meeting in London two years ago directed particularly to a Motion to secure that the status of the Clerks of the House was equivalent to that of a Permanent Secretary in the Civil Service and other Clerks *pro rata*. And there was certain difficulty in reaching an agreed Motion because it appeared that it was a good deal easier to apply this principle to Parliaments with large staffs than to those with small staffs. However, we hit upon a formula. I will read the Motion—it was agreed. *“That a House of Parliament will not be well served by its Clerks unless:*

- 1. they have a thorough understanding, based on experience and study, of Parliamentary ways and proceedings;*
- 2. they act in everything with integrity, in the interest only of their whole House; and*
- 3. being known to possess these qualities of knowledge and integrity, they speak with authority; and that accordingly, in the opinion of this Society, in the opinion of this Society, it is desirable that Clerks should have a separate and distinct career in the service of Parliament; and to that end the salaries of the Clerk of the House and other Clerks should be not less than the salaries of the Permanent Secretary and less senior Officers in the Civil Service of the country concerned, as in the case in the United Kingdom.”*

The matter was again discussed last year in Sri Lanka and Mr. Curtis Strachan drew our attention to Grenada where a Committee had been set up, a highly representative one, which worked out a

plan to enable the Clerks to be promoted within the service and their expertise and experience retained. Has that been put into effect? This plan seems to meet the difficulty which we experienced in dealing with small Legislatures. I will be glad to hear about it.

Finally, at the end of the meeting, it was agreed to send to the Speakers of Legislatures copies of the discussions of last year with an annexure thereto, to be tabulated, a short questionnaire on the post of Clerks to be prepared by Mr. Bradshaw and to be answered by all the Clerks present in Colombo. That has been done, I take it.

MR. BRADSHAW: Yes.

I would like to say what happened. We drew up a questionnaire. It was quite a short questionnaire. There were four or five questions only on the rank and status of the Clerks and their relationship in the Service. We got the answers into good shape in Colombo, I sent the final document to everybody so that they could have a look at it in draft to make sure that the details were in the form they wished. As soon as the printed record of the Colombo meeting was received, I wrote to all the Speakers of Commonwealth Parliaments. I sent a copy of the record together with a copy of the answer to the Questionnaire to every Clerk in the Commonwealth. I got some twenty replies to my letter. If anybody wants to see them, they are in the file here. Out of 80 or 100 letters only 20 replies were received. But I do not think that matters

very much because the letter was sent to the Speakers for their records. Nor does it mean that they did not pay any attention to the content of the letter. I say that because Mr. Bru from Mauritius has drawn my attention to the change in status of the Clerks there. That change is described on page 181 of 'The Commonwealth Parliaments', in an article on the Mauritius Parliament, as follows: "*The Speaker, of course, relies to a very large extent on the Clerk and his officers to perform his duties and shoulder the responsibilities. It may, incidentally, be remarked that, very recently, the Clerk of the Assembly and his Assistant were given the status of a permanent and deputy head of ministry respectively.*"

I understand that the letter which was sent by me on the authority of the Society was a factor in that achievement. Sir, I think the work done at Colombo last year has borne fruit.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the situation on this subject and it is one of perennial interest. While we do not want to become too introspective, it is a matter to be discussed. I wonder if anybody would like to say something about it.

MR. LITTLEJOHN: Mr. Chairman, this subject was discussed in Australia some five years ago and since then on each occasion, it is being mentioned. I am glad that we have achieved something as a result of these discussions and I think we feel a sense of satisfaction to us that we have been able to help some of our colleagues. If they need greater help in regard to their own particular situation, it

may be that we can even establish a way of doing more. But the fact that it has helped people over the past five years is a matter for satisfaction.

MR. VIJAY SINGH: I would also like to go down on record as endorsing all that my colleague from New Zealand has said. In fact, the summary that was sent with the report came in very handy. There is an Australian team looking at our civil service structure itself and they have taken that summary to try and fit us into the appropriate slot as they find it. But taking the matter a step further, I would be grateful if the letter that Mr. Bradshaw wrote to achieve what he has obtained for Mauritius could be spared in our direction. It might also help our cause and we will be all the more grateful. Thank you.

MR. BRADSHAW: Well, of course, it would have gone to the Speaker of your House. I know it did because when Mrs. Ah Koy was in London we talked about that once or twice. So I think you need be in no fear that your authorities did not actually get it. I know for a fact that they did.

MR. VIJAY SINGH: Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there anyone also who would like to rise under the subject of "Status, Powers and Duties of Clerks"? In that case, I declare the discussion closed.

PRIVILEGE

THE CHAIRMAN: We might now start with the subject of Privilege. I wonder if I might ask you, Mr. Shakhder, to start with

the discussion. I know it is of great interest to you... If you throw an apple of discord in our midst, we might then pursue it.

SHRI SHAKDHER: I will speak later.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then are we meeting tomorrow? The other meeting will be starting at 10 A.M., I think.

MR. BRADSHAW: This is a point on which we ought to ask Mr. Shaktidher. I understand there are three Panels sitting tomorrow morning. That makes the problem for shorthand writers and rooms.

SHRI SHAKDHER: So far as room is concerned, it is available for the Society because there is no panel meeting here. We have three Committee Rooms for that. That room we have reserved for the Society. So far as reporting of the proceedings is concerned, I will have to consult the Chief Reporter and find out. We will know it tomorrow.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is difficulty, then we can have some other discussion which need not be reported.

SHRI SHAKDHER: Then Reporters will not be required. We shall see to it tomorrow.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a subject on the system of Committees. Mr. Banerjee is not here. I do not know whether he will like to set the ball rolling on that. So, we will meet at 10.30 A.M. tomorrow.

Some Clerks expressed their inability to be present because of their commitment to participate in the Panel Discussions.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will be losing a number of people for that reason. Let it be like this. Let us meet tomorrow afternoon with the understanding that there will be a further sitting on Friday. Otherwise, we can go on now as we have got Reporters here. Shall we take up Privileges? I have had lot of correspondence with some Clerks in the Indian State legislatures on this and I am sure that some of them would like to bring out some points. Let us carry on now. Would Mr. Shaktidher like to start?

SHRI SHAKDHER: I am not prepared. If some questions are put, I may be able to answer them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we finally decide, I think we can go ahead with the other items that we have. The difficulties are going to be there tomorrow also or even on Friday. It seems that we have got many things to discuss and I think we can finish some today and we shall have to go on with them tomorrow also with those persons who are able to be present. Let us now go on according to the order on which we agreed. Now, the discussion is to be on the question of Privileges and we can say as much as we can. I will request Mr. Shaktidher to speak.

SHRI SHAKDHER: Sir, when I suggested that we should take up the other subjects, subjects other than mere administrative matters and questions which have been generally discussed at the Society, I was thinking that the Society should be more purposeful and that the Members should be enabled to make their contribution in the profession in which they are, every

day in their official career, and I, therefore, suggested the subject of Privileges be discussed because, so far as our country is concerned, this has become a very ticklish matter in our Parliament.

To start with, I should say that the privileges of our Houses are equated with those of the British House of Commons as they were on the 26th January, 1950. Our Constitution provides for that and, therefore, whenever we have to resolve a question of privilege, we have to look up the law and the precedents in the House of Commons. Of course, May's "Parliamentary Practice" is the main guide and then we refer to the reports and other precedents which are the material for original research. Nevertheless, there are many matters which crop up for which no answers are provided in May's "Parliamentary Practice" or in the precedents of the House of Commons. This question of privilege has assumed great importance in our country today and there is a lot of literature on the subject both at the Centre and in the States dealing with the cases that have arisen, the way they have been resolved and various other matters. But the main question that has arisen, the first and the foremost question, is whether we should codify our privileges by a separate law of the Parliament because our privileges, as I told you, are stated by an indirect reference to the House of Commons in our Constitution and, therefore, by an indirect legislation we get all the privileges that the House of Commons has. But, now our Members are asking whether we should not have our own law because our Constitution also provides

that until we make our own law in this respect, the privileges of the House of Commons will prevail.

Therefore, any day, any time, we make our own law, the privileges of the House of Commons enjoyed by our Parliament and Legislatures will be superseded by the law we make. The main difficulty that arises in making such a law is that that law will itself be justiciable in the courts of law. Therefore, the privileges of Members of Parliament will be subject to adjudication by the courts of law—unless they are again put in the Constitution itself and then the authority of the courts is ousted. And there is a debate going on on that. Some people think that no codification is necessary. Some people want that there should be codification so as to enable them to know precisely what the privileges are and how they are applied, so on and so forth.

The second question that arises is, what is the jurisdiction of the courts in the matter of the privileges of Members of Parliament? From our reading of the House of Commons privileges, we feel that although the courts have to determine whether a privilege exists, and when they find that there is a privilege, they take no further action in the matter. But the primary question to decide is whether there is a privilege or not. That is for the courts to decide. And by an unwritten convention between the House and the courts, they have agreed that the courts will go no further in that, and the House will acquiesce to the extent that the courts will find out whether there is a privilege.

In our country also, this view has been held and our courts have agreed with that point of view. Nevertheless, there are occasions when a citizen feels aggrieved—supposing a press man feels aggrieved—and he goes to a court of law and the courts issue summons. Our House has decided that there should be no submissions to the courts. That means that the House is not represented before the courts. But the Government, the Union Government, is represented through the Attorney-General who goes to the court and tells them that this is a privilege of the Parliament and that the Court should not interfere. And then the court determines whether there is a privilege or not and decide the case accordingly. The matter for discussion is whether courts have any jurisdiction and, if so how the question of privileges of Parliament, *vis-a-vis* the authority of the courts, is settled.

Another point that arises is, when the question of privilege is submitted before the Speaker, what are the powers of the Speaker *vis-a-vis* the powers of the House in the matter of privileges? In the United Kingdom, as I understand, the Speaker has to decide whether there is a *prima facie* case. There has been a long controversy whether the Speaker should decide or should not decide. But I need not go into that. What we have decided is that the Speaker decides whether there is a *prima facie* case for a particular matter to be discussed by the House as a question of privilege. But our Members insist that before the Speaker takes a decision, the Member must be heard in the House and

then the Speaker might decide. The answer to that is that there are so many questions of privilege every day that a lot of time will be spent on the determination by the Speaker whether there is a question of privilege or not. So the question arises, what are the powers of the Speaker precisely *vis-a-vis* the House in determining the admissibility of a question of privilege?

Then, there are other matters. For example, whether a wrong answer to a question given in the House constitutes a breach of privilege. What happened was that when the last edition of May's Parliamentary Practice was published, they discussed the Profumo case. Editors of May's wrote that a deliberate misstatement or a wrong statement to the House constitutes a breach of privilege. Now, in the Profumo case, what happened was that the Member himself had admitted that he lied to the House of Commons, and a question of privilege was based on that. Our Members are taking note of a general statement in May's Parliamentary Practice that any wrong reply given to a question or any incorrect statement given, constitutes a breach of privilege. Of course, it has been settled by rulings by our Speaker that it must be shown that the Member had deliberately lied and that he was, in fact, in possession of information which he did not give to the House deliberately. What will not constitute a question of privilege is when a Minister is wrongly briefed by his officers or has no knowledge of it while speaking in the House or answering a question and gives some information which needs to be corrected later on.

Then there are questions of privilege against the Press. Sometimes, the Press may not give adequate coverage to a Member's speech or misquote him or may not reproduce his speech or omit names of Members. That also becomes a question of privilege. It becomes more sensitive when it is done by the All India Radio or the Television which are Government organisations. Members insist that these two organisations must be correct in all respects. It is one thing to be correct in all respects and another thing to base a privilege on such wrong reporting. This is a matter which comes up before our House every now and then.

On another aspect of the question of privilege an interesting case arose recently. It is what is called here 'the import licence case.' It was a very controversial issue and also a political matter. This case generated a lot of heat. The matter was debated for several days. The main question was that an officer had written a note on a file in the name of the Minister that a particular licence or a particular matter may be expedited. Now, that Minister had been transferred from that Ministry on the day this note was written. So, the question was whether that Minister was responsible for the noting of the officer and whether a question of privilege lay against him. Of course, the Speaker ruled later that the Minister was responsible for all the acts of his officer and, therefore, if this note had been written with the consent of the Minister, the Minister would be responsible and it would be as if it was a note by the Minister himself and a question of privilege could be raised. But when the

Minister was transferred from that Ministry on that day, the responsibility should be taken by the Minister who had taken over and not by the Minister who has left the Ministry. It was solved that way. But the question arises whether a Minister can be held responsible for a breach of privilege on the ground of some action by his officers and how far the question of privilege can be admitted on that basis?

I just wanted to raise these points for discussion in this Society so that we would benefit by the experience or knowledge of our colleagues in resolving these matters.

MR. DEANS: Mr. Chairman, with your permission, may I ask the Clerk whether they have got any legislation on the question of privilege in India?

SHRI SHAKDHER: As I told you, our Constitution says that the privileges of the House are those of the House of Commons on the 26th of January, 1950. That is the only clause about privileges. Of course, the Constitution also provides that the Members have the right of freedom of speech, etc. Until Parliament by law makes its own privileges, the House of Commons privileges will prevail. That is the only provision in the Constitution.

MR. DEANS: We do not have many questions of privilege. Indeed, we have what we call "Protection of Privileges Law." You have no such thing.

SHRI SHAKDHER: No. If I remember aright. Jamaica had a question of privilege on the day when we were there recently.

On the day we were there, they brought some question of privilege. Didn't they?

MR. DEANS: Yes.

SHRI SHAKDHER: Therefore, you also occasionally get questions of privilege. There may not be many, as many as we get here. But sometimes they do arise.

MR. DEANS: Besides question of privilege we do have this law to protect the privileges of Ministers and Members of the House.

SHRI SHAKDHER: Our Constitution guarantees these privileges because there is a protection in-built in the Constitution itself.

MR. LITTLEJOHN: It was very interesting to hear what my distinguished friend and colleague, Shri Shakhder, has said, and it is a very great privilege to be able to follow in a situation like this. I was interested in the first place to hear what he said about the limits of the courts, the question of jurisdiction of the courts. The traditional remedy is that the courts have had to decide whether or not the question of privilege exists. And if they decide that it exists, their jurisdiction finishes and the jurisdiction is taken over by the House and it is their responsibility to decide the issue. We do not have anything like the number of cases of privilege in New Zealand as you have in India because we do not regard the detailed matters as coming under privilege but rather as coming under points of order. But we have had several cases like this. We have had the question raised of the right of the House to judge in whether or not the jurisdiction

presently it has is something that it should retain. Our provision is slightly more clear than yours. We accepted the pattern of the House of Commons of January 1865. Since then, we have been developing our own conventions as regards the issue of privilege. But we also have some standing orders that we enacted, I think, in 1962. We have just the bare bones of a code of privilege under which cases are dealt with. The first step is, of course, the traditional one where the Speaker considers *prima facie* whether the case is a case of privilege or not, and then we may decide it then and there, or the matter can be considered by the Privileges Committee and is finally decided by the House. This is on the traditional lines. But the question of Parliament being the judge in its own case arose in a very interesting case which has happened just this year. There is an entertainer in Wellington, a transvestite, who runs a night club and who dresses in a very spectacular way. This is not a very common thing in New Zealand. But it happened that this particular person was being interviewed on T.V. and was asked something about the Members of Parliament. And he made several remarks about the Members which attracted the attention of the Members and as a result of that, the Privileges Committee looked into the matter. It came out in the end that the suggestions and inferences were without foundation. But this person came before the Privileges Committee with the benefit of quite eminent counsel, and they did consider the question of the power of Parliament to

exercise the disciplinary power. We thought about it. There is no consideration being given to the question whether we should establish a statutory code but it is clear from the discussions that took place that there is a lot of more active thinking of a critical nature of the existence of parliamentary privilege in so far as it affects the private citizens. My own feeling is that Parliament must retain its own jurisdiction and it must always be prepared to defend its own jurisdiction.

As long as I have any influence on the matter, I will be for the retention of privilege in its traditional way because I do quite firmly believe that the purposes and functions of the concept have grown up out of necessity for a very very long period of time and should not be lightly set aside. So I say that and bring up this issue before us here just in case it does happen that questions relating to the establishment of codes of privilege should come up before any of our colleagues.

I also want to say that I was very interested indeed when my colleague, Shri Shakdher, said that so many privilege cases arise every day. Do you think this is because of the priority that can be obtained, that is, by reason of a question of privilege having a greater priority?

SHRI SHAKDHER: Yes. Under the Rules, if a question of privilege is raised, its admissibility is to be decided there and then. Our points of order can arise only on the interpretation of rules of procedure but a privilege can be a substantive matter. What happens is that a Member wants

to discuss a matter but does not get the opportunity; he cannot come up under any rules and if he comes up under a rule, the discussion has to depend upon the consent of the Government, the parties and other factors. If he has no means of raising it immediately, he comes up on a question of privilege and somehow gets some sort of hearing. He quotes some sentence from a book of authority to dwell upon it as a question of privilege. He is not interested later on whether the question is decided as privilege or not. He has had his say and the other Members have had their say.

MR. LITTLEJOHN: Thank you. I think the interpretation of the rules is very much more precise and correct in the Parliament of India than it is in the Parliament of New Zealand where we tend to accept points of order rather in a generous way except that the points of order are not questions of order at all. Thank you for that answer.

Could I throw one more question for discussion? This is regarding the power of the House to administer punishment. The powers of the House of Commons are, I think, reasonably clear and fairly widely expressed in 'May'. So, most of us who follow May as their guide know pretty well what should be done. But, it is being exhibited for a very very long time that the House of Commons has no power to fine. It has been included since the 4th Edition that the House of Commons has no power to fine. But, in its 3rd Edition, regarding the privileges of the

House of Commons, there was a discussion on the imposition of fees. They had a different system in those days. When a person was found guilty of some breach of privilege or of contempt of Parliament, he was taken into custody and could be released from custody only on payment of a fee. There is a very subtle distinction between a fee and a fine though it is said that fines have not been applied since 1663 or something like that.

Now, I have a feeling myself that for historical reasons as well as reasons of necessity we have a fine in New Zealand which we used to exercise. One person was fined £500 once. We used to have a standing order for defying members. That was repealed in 1951 for the reason that the people concerned at that time felt that the House of Commons had no power to fine members. Now this is a very appropriate type of punishment in many cases, for cases like newspapers who are the principal offenders so far as New Zealand is concerned, and all we are able to do at present is to admonish them in some way, demand an apology in some way. I would like to know if any Parliaments do have powers to fine, whether they use them and, if they use them, whether they are acceptable to those who suffer under them. Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: May I intervene at this moment? Of course, the powers of the House of Commons to punish for contempt are, in fact, derived from the powers of High Court of Parliament.

SHRI SHAKDHER: May I intervene? In India, we have also inherited these powers and we have punished offenders by imprisoning them, by expelling them, by admonishing them. All the powers that we have, we have exercised them over the last 25 years. In our country, it has been held in the courts that when we have inherited the powers of the House of Commons, we have inherited all their powers including the powers of punishment.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the Indian law, which is supported by the Courts. The difference between the House and the Courts in the United Kingdom is described in May. In the old days, there was conflict between the claim of the House to be the sole judge of its own privileges and the claim of the courts that these privileges are part of the laws of the land. That conflict has never been decided. But for a long time now, each side had tried successfully not to do anything which would obviously be offensive to the other. So, if the courts feel that a matter involves the House of Commons' privileges, they hold back. I would also like to stress that there is another difference between not having a Code and having a Code. If you have not got a Code, I would be very careful before you adopt one. You do not want to find yourself in a straitjacket. As the last resort, the House of Commons decides on each case as it comes up and if it wants to take contradictory decisions, then it is free to do so.

The procedure in raising a matter of privilege is, first, to raise it in the House

with the Speaker. If it is raised at the first opportunity, he has no power, even if he has been given notice, to stop the matter being raised. If he is given notice of a matter which, in his view, is clearly not a matter of privilege, he will try hard to dissuade the member from raising it. That is something effective, because if a Member knows he can be shut down any time, he does think twice about it. That means we are not prejudiced with cases coming up with undue frequency. The Speaker, under a practice introduced some 15 years ago, takes 24 hours to consider his view. On the following day, he says whether or not he thinks that the matter is such that he should allow a motion relating to it to have precedence over the business of the day because it is connected with the privilege. If he does, the Leader of the House moves, as the modern practice is, that the matter is referred to the Committee of Privileges, and not much time is wasted in that way. And then you get a consideration by the Committee followed by a report.

I think it has already been mentioned that in 1971, after the publication of the last edition of May, the House of Commons agreed to a Resolution as a result of which it is no longer even technically a breach of privilege to report anything said in the House of Commons. It is possible that the House might be moved to do something similar in relation to the production of the Journals and of Hansard before courts of law. The present rule, which is strictly imposed, is that if anybody wants in a court case to produce as evidence,

either what was decided in the House (as recorded in the Journal) or what was said there (as recorded in the Hansard), he has to get the leave of the House for the proper officer to attend the court and to produce the relevant record. It is rather an antiquated and confusing procedure. A petition has first to be presented by a Member. He then immediately moves a motion for leave to produce the required record; but if there is any objection to the motion, debate cannot take place then but must be put off till a later occasion. Such a case arose recently in connection with the publication of the diaries of the late Mr. Richard Crossman, who had been a very controversial Member in Mr. Wilson's Government of 1964—70. He would go home every evening and record on tape his impressions of the day's political events, including a great many things said in Cabinet. After some extracts from these diaries had been published in the 'Sunday Times', the Attorney-General went to court seeking an injunction to restrain that paper from publishing any more. He thought that it would help his case, if he could produce Hansard in evidence to show what eminent people such as Sir Winston Churchill, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Gladstone had said about the principle of Cabinet secrecy. He, therefore, presented a petition on a Friday morning, when he probably expected that it would not arouse interest. However, an irregular debate began, which was eventually adjourned to a later occasion.

The following week there was a long debate on the matter, late at night, at the

end of which it appeared that the Government had persuaded most of the critics. However, a few of them forced a division. Although the Government won the division, the absence of a quorum was revealed, and the matter had to be put off. But by that time it would have been too late for the Attorney-General to produce Hansard anyway, so he did not pursue the matter, and did the best he could without it.

I think really it has become a little out of date for the House to insist upon this particular privilege, and that there are signs of a feeling that the time has come to waive it, as we did in the case of the reporting of our proceedings.

I have mentioned this case as a bit of late news about privilege.

I think the impression on the whole that I get is that members of the Indian Central and State Legislatures are apt to detect privilege in what are really matters of inadvertence, which from our standards would not fall in that category. There was the Profumo case which I have discussed with Mr. Shakhder. On that occasion, the House did find that it was a breach of privilege when the Member admitted that he had lied to the House. But that should not really be taken to mean that whenever a Minister gives an answer which is subsequently found to have been wrong, he must be considered to have deliberately lied and therefore it is a matter of breach of privilege. Ministers frequently give answers which are later found to be wrong simply by mistake and we are too used to that kind of thing to take it as

a breach of privilege. However, these things develop differently in all places and that is what makes it a fascinating subject of discussion.

SHRI SHAKDHER: May I intervene for a minute? Mr. Littlejohn raised a question about fines. I am informed by my colleague, Mr. Hanumanthappa, that the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly imposed a fine on the Municipal Corporation of Bombay for committing contempt of the House. So we have found somehow even a power to punish which does not exist in the House of Commons and made use of.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the City Council of Birmingham would not take kindly to that.

MR. WIJESINHA: I was interested in the discussion. If you do not mind my intervening, I was wondering what would happen if the Parliament fines either an individual or a corporation and the fine is not paid. What sanctions have you against that? We talk of the separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary, and concepts like that. But suppose a judge or Parliament imposes a fine or a sentence of imprisonment, what if the executive does not carry it out? What is your remedy? After all, even the Chief Justice can only haul a man for contempt and impose a fine or imprisonment. But the sentence of imprisonment has to be carried out by the executive. The police have to take him to the jail and the jail official has to imprison him. If these public servants do not carry out the order, what is the remedy?

Then, another thing which has struck me during this discussion is this. For instance, questions are asked of Minister. Suppose, a Minister does not reply to a question. It is privilege of a member to ask a question according to the rules governing the formulation of questions. But what happens if the Minister does not reply?

If, after the Member conforms to the rules or standing orders with regard to the questions and asks a perfectly legitimate question to elicit information and if the Minister does not give the answer, what is the remedy? Is it not a breach of Privilege of the House not giving the information asked for by a Member of Parliament? On the other hand, the Minister asks for time or he continues to ask for time. Then what is the remedy? There are situations like that.

The members make speeches and it is known to us that they make speeches not so much for the other Members but for the public and the effective way they reach the public is through the newspapers. A particular newspaper group belonging to an individual or a particular newspaper which is in the hands of the Government may not allow certain Members to be reported at all in their newspapers. What is the remedy that he has either for misreporting or non-reporting?

It may be that he can take it up with the Speaker. And the Speaker calls up the editor. If the editor does not come, then what happens? Or if the editor does come and he admits the lapse that he has not

reported this particular Member properly. What is the remedy that the Speaker has?

At the most he can withdraw the admission pass. Suppose he does not apologise. What is the remedy for this? We have problems like that.

For instance, this morning, one of the papers reported that I had made a speech whereas this was made by one of the members of the Executive Committee, Mr. Tillekeratne. The speech reported was in my name. What do we do about that?

Then, there are public servants who are constantly criticised on the floor of the House who cannot defend themselves in the House. They cannot take any action for libel or slander or whatever you may call it under the law. There is no remedy for that. It is true that the British have no written Constitution or written law with regard to the privileges. But some Legislatures have passed laws relating to privileges. There is recourse to the courts. That is not enough. More and more of the activities of human beings come under the surveillance of Parliament and the Legislatures and more and more outside people are being criticised on the floor of the House. The helpless outsiders have absolutely no way of meeting the criticism on the floor of the House. Once, I believe, if my recollection is correct, Mr. Peter Howson of Australia, who was the Chairman of our Executive Committee, had some trouble. As a result, he as the Aviation Minister, who was giving an answer to a question which ultimately turned out to be incorrect either, had to resign

or give up his ministership or suffer some-
think like penalty.

Parliament Members have got privileges and Parliament is privileged place and no writ can be served on a Member in the Parliament premises. And police officers cannot act there sometimes. Particularly, in a heated debate, we do not find the officers of Parliament sufficient to maintain discipline or order. And so we summon the police. We summon the police but get over the situation of outsiders coming in, by a peculiar manner saying that the police officers who act in Parliament on that day are officers of the House. This is a privilege which we observe more in the breach because we do not like to admit that the police officers are not the officers of the House. They act in the House but as servants of the House.

Then, with regard to the matters that arise constantly pertaining to the adjournment motions where the Members want to focuss attention and constantly criticise many things very often on very flimsy information.

In such cases, the breach of privilege is a two-way traffic, that is, those who are inside may be criticised or those who are not inside may be criticised. For instance, a Member makes an allegation against an outsider and the outsider thereafter replies to those allegations. If the replies are published, then in Parliament the Member raises the question of breach of privilege. The situation is that the criticism made in

the House is replied to outside. These are some of the problems that have come to my mind at random and there must be interesting answers from my friends here. This being an occasion on which we can share our experiences and learn from the experiences of our colleagues, I am sure, you will have interesting views to express. Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: I can comment on one or two things. As regards what happens if somebody is sentenced to jail and the executive does not act, the House of Commons have the power to send him to jail. I do not think that power would ever be used now. If at anytime someone makes a scene in the gallery or elsewhere on the premises, the Serjeant-at-Arms takes him into temporary custody. He is given a hour or two to cool down and attempt is then made to find out what made him do it. If he is found to be a harmless crank, he will be let go. But if it were thought necessary to charge him with any offence, he would be handed over to the police.

As regards the question of a Minister refusing to answer a question, that is a privilege which the Minister is always entitled to use—at his political peril. The sanction against that is that, if a Minister were too often to say: "That is not a question I am prepared to answer", he would get a bad name; and eventually his Prime Minister might decide that it was not helpful to have him in the Government and might drop him. There is a rule, however, questions may not be asked on matters which are in the nature of secret,

though the rule is not quite firm as it was twenty years ago.

About reporting, in a case of thoroughly distorting as it were and purposely doing so with evil intention and giving a slanted report, the House has good reason to treat it as contempt. There are certain norms of reporting. But in the U.K., the amount of space given by the leading newspapers such as *Times* to reporting what goes on in the House of Commons has shrunk dramatically and it is only such papers that report the proceedings of the House in any length at all. They do not report by any means all the speeches, and nowadays seldom report anything of what is said after midnight. This has one effect; Members do not seek to speak quite so long as the day gets late. It is possibly a sad thing that every word that a Member says is not regarded as sacred as it once was. But I think no privilege arises in that.

On the question of slander of a civil servant on the floor of the House, it would be the duty of the Minister concerned either to take the responsibility on himself for what had gone wrong, or take necessary disciplinary action against the civil servant or to defend the civil servant in clear terms.

Twenty-five years ago, there was a famous case. Some of you may remember the case of the missing diplomats of the Foreign Office, when Mr. Herbert Morrison was the Foreign Secretary. Two members of the Foreign Service fled dramatically to

Russia, because it had been discovered that they were secret communist agents. It was alleged at that time that there was a third diplomat concerned, who assisted their escape and a Member, Mr. Lipton named him in the House as Mr. Kim Philby. Mr. Lipton had subsequently to make an apology in the House, although some time later, it was revealed that he had been right all the time.

SHRI B. N. BANERJEE: I was not here throughout; work relating to the Commonwealth Conference kept me out of this room for sometime. I heard a portion of Sir David Lidderdale's speech and also my friend, Mr. Wijesinha. I will tell you, how we have tackled these situations in the Parliament of India. First, there were very few occurrences when we had to take notice of the contempt in the House—contempt to use the technical language, committed in the immediate presence of the House like throwing of leaflets from the gallery or somebody carrying the weapon to the public gallery and things like that. There were very rare occurrences until the last four-five years, but there were frequent occurrences during the last three-four years. Immediately the offence is committed, the man is taken to a room and subjected to interrogation. If he is found to be a 'nut', he is released, but if he is of a doubtful character, and the Marshal or the Serjeant-at-Arms—we call him Marshal here—finds that it is not a simple case, then the matter is brought to the notice of the Leader of the House or the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, if the leader is not there. If you

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with some delegates





**An outer view of Parliament House Annexe (Sansadiya Soudha)
where the Conference was held**

look to the proceedings of Rajya Sabha, we are a peaceful body and less troublesome than Lok Sabha. We have such an occasion once a year, Lok Sabha definitely has such occasions twice a session. The attitude of the House previously was not to take up these matters seriously, but having regard to the repetition of these offences of contempt before the House, it has been found very necessary by both the Houses of Parliament here to take serious note of these incidents. Immediately, a Motion is moved by the Leader of the House or somebody in the Government and if it is not a very serious offence in that sense, then the man is kept in custody in the Parliament House and is discharged at the end of the day, when the House rises. But lately the House was compelled to sentence them at least for seven days imprisonment and in many cases, till the end of the session, that is, till the prorogation of the session. They are sent to Jail with a warrant issued under the signature of the Presiding Officer asking the Superintendent of the Jail, the Prison authorities, to keep them in Jail till a particular stated date.

Now, there have been cases later on when somebody was seen carrying with him weapons or explosives in the Public Gallery and the House felt that in such cases, the matter should not be taken very lightly. The House passed a Resolution, without prejudice to the authorities, that is, the law taking its own course, that the House sentences a particular person to imprisonment till the prorogation of the session and, thereafter, in view of the

motion adopted by the House, it does not debar further prosecution of the particular person if the authorities outside the House decide to take action against him. I can tell my colleagues here that such action in two or three cases is pending in the ordinary courts of criminal law. We were very reluctant to assume such powers. But circumstances made it necessary to assume these powers.

My hon. friends may also be interested to know that it is rather unfortunate that when such a motion is made on the floor of the House, the voices are heard from some parts of the House even trying to oppose a motion like that. However, such motions are carried. We have never had any such occasion, as my hon. friend here said, "What happens if the civil authorities refuse to carry out your order?". The answer is simple. We can get hold of the civil authorities and take action against the persons concerned for contempt of the House. But such a situation has not arisen; I hope, it would never arise and, even if it arises, if it becomes necessary, we might have to have a "Tower" in the Parliament House!

Coming to the point about refusal to answer a question in the House—I am not a very good reader but occasionally I read the House of Commons debates—if one goes through the debates of the House of Commons, one will find that there are umpteen rulings given by the Chair and it happens many times during a session where the Chair has said, "I am concerned

only with seeing whether a question is put in order or not. The Chair has no power to compel a Minister to answer a question or answer a question to the satisfaction of a member." But I must tell you here that even if I know that that is the practice in the House of Commons and it can be supported by a good deal of authorities—this is not one of the ancient authorities which we may forget—and if I tell my Chair, "Sir, relying on the authority of the House of Commons, you can tell the hon. Member that the Minister is not bound to answer your question or answer it in the manner in which you want", the Chair's position will be very difficult. Therefore, though we tell the Chair privately that these are his powers, we also advise him, "Kindly don't say that my Clerk has advised me to give a ruling like that?"

I may take my colleagues into confidence. There are very few Chairs who would like to receive such advice. Unfortunately, the Presiding Officers sometimes feel that while presiding over a session, they can issue all sorts of directions to the Government. But if the Parliamentary debates on the authority of the Chair are gone into, no support would be found for this. Therefore, it is for us to tell the Chair politely 'you don't have this power' inside the chamber but not on the floor of the House. No Chair or Member would like it and the Secretary would be a controversial figure if he tenders advice like that.

If one looks into the Rules of Procedure of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha

and the Rules of Procedure of the State Legislatures in India—which are more or less replicas of the Rules of Procedure of the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha—there is a rule relating to the admission of questions. It says that a question shall not be admitted, the answer to which has been refused. This is just the same as is followed in the House of Commons. Therefore, this particular sentence in the Rules of the House which says that a question cannot be admitted, the answer to which has been refused, pre-supposes power in a Minister in rare cases to refuse to answer questions.

I would leave it at this stage and I would not ask my Indian colleagues to give advice to the Chair that 'you don't have this power and you cannot tell the Minister that you want the answer by tomorrow' or things like that.

The next point was about non-reporting and mis-reporting. Mis-reporting is there but unless and until there is deliberate mis-reporting, you cannot take serious note of it. If, instead of one name, another is mentioned, it is apparently a *bona fide* mistake. When such a situation arises, we advise the Chair as also the Press Gallery that the names should be carefully noted or something like that. While even on the Floor of the House, we sometimes pass on a chit to the Press Gallery that they have made a mistake, and they usually make amends. Sometimes the Member concerned writes a letter to them and also to us.

I had a Member—and he is still there—in my House, and almost every week ever since he became a Member eight years back, he has been complaining that the newspaper is deliberately suppressing his speech. He says, 'I have spoken for two hours and it appears that I have got only two lines; I have spoken in every debate and I have not been mentioned;' etc. So, on many occasions, he introduced breach of privilege motions and I had to make a research on the subject. I could lay my hands on very ancient rulings in the House of Commons, may be hundred years old. I found only two cases which also do not support the proposition. They support, definitely, the fact that non-reporting is not a breach of privilege of the House. But there are some indications that if a particular Member's speech is systematically and deliberately suppressed, there may possibly be a cause for action. And if I remember correctly—I am taxing my memory—I think it was in the Orissa Legislature that this point arose. The Committee came to the conclusion that non-reporting of a member's speech in a newspaper is not an offence at all. In that particular case, they said there was no suppression, but they did not lay down any proposition that the suppression of a member's speech is a breach of privilege. I am inclined to feel that if a case can be made out that for some extraneous reasons, a member has been systematically and deliberately suppressed in the newspaper, some action might be necessary against the offending newspaper.

Very often, members come and tell me, "You are giving all facilities to the press, but my speech is not being reported." I have very often advised the member, "You are not spending any money on public relations. Why not give the press man a cup of tea in the Central Hall of Parliament?" A senior member of the Congress Party, Prof. Ranga, made the complaint that his speeches were not being reported. We brought this to the notice of the newspapers. They explained that it was not a deliberate act. But the member raised it on the floor of the House. From that time onwards, for about a month, the newspaper, after reporting other members' speeches extensively, added one line, "Shri Ranga also spoke". I told the member, "If you want a thing like that, it can be done, but that serves no purpose." There was one member who was very particular about giving one notice of privilege every week for suppression of his speech. After we communicated to the member on two or three occasions that the Chair had withheld his consent to the matter being raised on the floor of the House, he forgot about it and the matter ended there. That is how we are handling this situation.

Coming to allegations against public servants, a question like that was discussed sometime ago in our Presiding Officers' Conference. The question was otherwise: Is it permissible for a member to give encomium to a civil servant on the floor of the House? The argument was, if allegations can be made against a public servant, why can't a civil servant be praised?

Be that as it may, let us take a different case which is of great practical importance on which there was a privilege case in our House, which went to the Privileges Committee also. As has been pointed out, if allegations are made against a civil servant, he is not unrepresented on the floor of the House. There is the Minister to defend him. But what about private individuals and members of the other House? It is a matter of every day occurrence in the Parliament of India. A member of my House will say, "Mr. X has said something."

Mr. X may or may not be a member of the other House. If he is a member of the other House, he writes a letter to my Presiding Officer saying, "My name has been mentioned by so and so, a member of your House. Could you take some action?" We have received letters from individual citizens outside also saying, "I have been maligned on the floor of the House. Am I without any remedy?" We have apparently not taken any action on that, the reason being we cannot enter into correspondence with private citizens outside, on a matter relating to the proceedings of the House since the proceedings of the House are completely privileged.

But, there have also been occasions where privilege cases have arisen in a different context arising out of the same facts. A particular individual, say, a businessman, who is abused on the floor of the House rather uncharitably by a Member of Par-

liament, comes out with some statement in the newspaper. He may be a newspaper baron and he utilises the newspaper. If he has a newspaper under his control, he writes there 'this particular Member has maligned me' possibly using polite language sometimes, if he is careful and he will say 'I would challenge the hon. Member to make this statement outside the House.' When such things appear in the newspaper, the Member concerned comes up in the House with a notice of privilege and says 'this particular person had challenged my statement outside the House'. Invariably, we have said that so long as that Member does not use an impolite language or does not impute motives or malafides to the Member who made the speech, privilege jurisdiction is not attracted. In a case which came up before the Rajya Sabha, the Minister of Company Affairs at that stage made a severe criticism, a very severe criticism, about a particular newspaper baron and then soon after that, on the next day or the day after that, that newspaper came out with a scathing criticism about that particular Minister in relation to his speech made on the floor of the House and in that statement, he imputed motives to that particular Minister for making this statement on the floor of the House. This matter was referred to the Privileges Committee and the Privileges Committee found that newspaper baron guilty of breach of privilege but recommended to the House that the House should preserve its own dignity by not taking any further action in the matter.

I thought that I would just mention the four particular points and the way in which we have tried to handle it. I should say one thing. As has been pointed out already by Sir David Lidderdale, it may be so that in the House of Commons, the privilege cases are not that frequent; at least, the notices of privilege are not that frequent. But, things are a little different in India. That particular sentence for which Sir Barnett Cocks is responsible and which Sir David Lidderdale is also retaining in his new edition of May's Parliamentary Practice relating to misleading statements and breach of privilege, or those particular three sentences are responsible for at least not less than thirty privilege notices in a year in our House. So, we had requested Sir David Lidderdale during our stay in London if he could in some way modify the statement which would remove a lot of our headache and also save the time of the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think I should intervene and bring to your notice that the Conference has adjourned at 6 O'Clock and the coaches are now leaving and we do not want to be left behind.

It seems that it is not going to be possible for everybody to attend future meetings though there is still some business I would invite those of you, who are able to do so, to come here at half past ten tomorrow to continue our discussion. The meeting is adjourned.

Adjourned till 10.30 A.M. on 30th October, 1975.

Thursday, 30th October, 1975.

The Sitting was opened at 10.30 A.M.

Sir David Lidderdale takes the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, gentlemen, we seem to have a good attendance. I think we might open. Before we come to the matters on the agenda, Mr. Bradshaw has an announcement to make.

MR. BRADSHAW: Gentlemen may I just draw your attention to the papers which have been put round? There is, first of all, the agenda which has been adopted yesterday with some eight items on it. There is secondly an attendance list. I would also request you to look at it carefully please and if there is anything more in it affecting your name or your country, perhaps, you would be good enough to make the correction and hand it over to me. I will see that it is put right. It is also important to see if you have not been left out. In that case, please write your name on it and hand it over to me. We will not publish the attendance list for each sitting of our present session. There will be just one comprehensive attendance list of everybody who has attended.

We thank the Editor of Debates for the extreme swiftness with which they have produced the verbatim account of yesterday's record. I have over here twenty copies of the proceedings of yesterday. May I ask everyone who spoke yesterday to take a copy. It is in the draft stage at the moment so that you can then make your corrections and again hand them over to me. Thank you very much indeed.

PRIVILEGE (*Continued*)

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have the agenda paper. We are in the middle of the discussion on 'Privilege'. The suggestion I would make is that we continue with the discussion on 'Privilege' and when we have finished it, then we will take the subject of 'Attachment of Clerks to Westminster' where we may have some discussions and that will probably complete the morning. It might, I think, be for the general convenience if we did not meet this afternoon but aim at meeting again sometime tomorrow morning. That is my feeling but, of course, if members would like to go on this afternoon, we can do that. We would have two hours left to discuss the Committee System and the Administrations of Parliaments. You have other things to do also and I would like not to go on in the afternoon but if anyone has any views about it, we can continue in the afternoon. Has anyone views on this? I take it that is generally acceptable programme that we continue our discussion tomorrow.

Well, let us then continue our discussion on 'Privilege'. Mr. Dumbuya from Sierra Leone, I think, wanted to take part in it but he is not here. I presume he will be coming. Now, who would like to set the ball rolling? I would like someone from the Indian States to start. I am very sorry that Mr. Desai from Gujarat has had to leave to go back. Now I see somebody there who would like to speak.

MR. TE. HANUMANTHAPPA: May I have a clarification The Select Committee of

the House of Commons had given a report on the powers and privileges. I would like to know whether any decision has been taken by the House of Commons on that report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Which report?

MR. HANUMANTHAPPA: 1947 Select committee report on parliamentary privileges.

THE CHAIRMAN: No decision has so far been taken on that.

MR. WARD: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. After listening to the previous speaker, I may say that we all experience the same problems, no matter where the Parliament might be. This was shown yesterday in one form or the other.

New South Wales has never legislated for parliamentary privileges. Apart from the fundamental and inherent right of freedom of speech, New South Wales has no privileges. This has been decided on many occasions by court cases in the early days of responsible government. We have the power under the constitution to have standing orders and rules which are more for self-preservation than for anything else. In other words, we can remove from the chamber and from the precincts of Parliament House any stranger who might cause disorder, but we have no right of imposing fines—that has never been done—nor of imprisoning people. So that whereas we have freedom of speech, we have no right whatsoever of punishment.

Our Standing Orders Committee has been considering this matter in the last few weeks, and one of the matters discussed was that we should at the commencement of each session set up a Privileges Committee. But I had to convince the Committee that there would be little point in establishing a Privileges Committee because all we can say is that a breach of privilege had been committed; but that we could not do anything about it. So there was little to be achieved by the setting up of a Privileges Committee.

Many many years ago, Parliament had ordered that breach of privilege had been committed and editors of newspapers had been brought to the Bar and perhaps admonished. But I do not think that that would be very popular these days, and it has not been attempted.

It has been suggested by the Standing Orders Committee recently that we should perhaps legislate for privileges. But once again there is now a popular impression going round that these parliamentary privileges are for overdone. So far as the privileges are concerned, they are reduced to freedom of speech.

We have problems of names of civil servants being mentioned and slanderous remarks against them. But that is generally stopped by cries of 'Shame'. The Speakers in many rulings have said that members should not indulge in mentioning names of people like civil servants or members of the people who have not the right of redress in the House.

I was interested to hear yesterday the discussion about Ministers not answering questions asked by members being treated as a breach of privileges. Recently, this matter was raised in the House where members came to ask a series of questions, some of the answers entailing detailed statistical information. In recent occasions, Ministers have answered that the cost involved in the research would be such as not to justify it being done.

'Thank you.'

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. Now, coming back to the question posed by Mr. Hanumanthappa, I said that no action had been taken on the recommendations of the Committee on Parliamentary Privileges of 1967. Some action has been taken in the case of certain of the recommendations but no formal decision has been taken.

Yesterday I mentioned that recently, that is, in 1971, the House resolved to waive the principle of theoretical insistence that reports of debates should not be published; and that was on the basis of the Select Committee's report in 1967. It took us some time to take action on that recommendation.

One type of case which comes up regularly from time to time with us involves the extent to which a member sponsored by a trade union can be told by that trade union what to do. There was a definitive decision on that matter way back in about 1947, that of Mr. W. J.

Brown, which is reported in May. It is perfectly proper for a member to receive a subvention from a trade union or other body which sponsors him, in case, and it may suggest to him what things are in its interest and so on but it must not tell him what to vote or what to say. If it did, it would be committing breach of privilege. From time to time, associations go over the line and the latest case was last summer when one of the leaders of the Yorkshire miners, Mr. Arthur Scargill, was responsible for a resolution in his branch which rather offensively criticised the Yorkshire MPs for the way they had functioned and told them that they would cease to be supported by the union. That was referred to the Committee of Privileges which has only recently reported. There might have been a rather unpleasant clash between Parliament and the national union of mine workers, but it was avoided because the central governing body of the union persuaded the branch to rescind the motion and give a somewhat guarded apology, which was accepted.

One point I should like to ask Mr. Ward and it is this. Can the Assembly discipline its own members?

MR. WARD: Yes; there are powers to discipline members. In extreme cases, we have powers of even expelling them from the House. But there is no provision that an expelled member cannot contest the subsequent bye-election. On those rare occasions, when we had expelled a member, that member is invariably returned, generally with an increased majority.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are famous cases in British history: John Wilkes, Bradlaugh, who were expelled or otherwise unseated and then re-elected.

MR. YUMBA: I want to ask Mr. Ward how the New South Wales Parliament deals with a member of the public who persistently fails to appear before the House or a committee of the House, since the Parliament in his country has no legislation on privilege? If you ask a newspaper editor or indeed any other person to appear before the House and he fails to do so, what action does your House take against that person or newspaper editor?

MR. WARD: All that is done is to admonish the editor. Perhaps the biggest control that we have over the newspaper would be the threat to refuse admission to the gallery to the representative of that newspaper, if no apology was forthcoming for any breach of privilege of Parliament or for misreporting etc.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it not a fact that in Canberra, they can imprison and have, in fact, imprisoned some journalist?

MR. WARD: It was not a recent case. They can imprison for the remainder of the session.

MR. D. H. BRAMBLE: I think, the question that my friend asked here was not quite answered. He wants to know, what happens if someone from the public has been summoned to come to the bar of the House and he persistently refuses to come. What action is taken in that case?

MR. WARD: I do not think, that such a case has arisen, and I do not think that Parliament would press such a matter very seriously. The question of insisting upon a member coming before the bar on a matter of privilege is a very very touchy one.

SHRI BANERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am not saying something new, but I take this opportunity of intervening to mention on two matters raised here, first, action against newspapers and the second, expulsion of members from the House on account of misconduct and how we look at these questions. The Chair has been very indulgent. I must say, and has always in India given a specially favoured treatment to the newspapers. I will explain, what I mean by that. Whenever there is a complaint of a breach of privilege against a newspaper either for misreporting wilfully the proceedings of the House, or for reflection on Parliament, we immediately take action if there is a *prima facie* case. But it is invariably the practice in the Central Parliament here that before bringing the matter on the floor of the House or before permitting the matter to be raised on the floor of the House, under the direction of the Chair, we write to the newspaper editor and tell him that there is a case like this and what he has got to say. At that stage, most of the editors tender apology and the matter is closed.

I know of one case in Lok Sabha—this is a solitary case to my knowledge—where the editor of an important Weekly in Bombay was brought before the Bar

of the House. Mr. Shakhder will correct me if I am wrong that this happened to be the only case where the editor had to be brought before the Bar of the House and reprimanded.

As regards the other point about expulsion of a member, the right of the House to expel a member, this has become a very debatable issue in India. There have been some cases where a member did act in a very bad manner in the House and the House did expel him. It happened in Rajasthan; it happened in Maharashtra and it happened in other places also. The member concerned was expelled on a motion brought by the House and carried by the House. As was mentioned by Mr. Ward, in one of the cases, the member was re-elected. He was expelled from the services of the House but, later on, he contested a bye-election and was re-elected. At the present time, he is a Member of Parliament.

When the member was expelled from the House by a resolution of the House, it was contested in a court of law. The two High Courts held, that the House has the power to expel a member. But on this point, the law is not finally settled because the matter has not gone to the Supreme Court.

There has been a recent instance in Haryana where a member of the House wrote a book in which he severely criticised the Speaker of the House, the House and also the Chief Minister, the Leader of the House. The House expelled him after the Privileges Committee went into

that matter. The Member has taken the matter to the court. At the present moment, the matter is pending before a full Bench of the court.

The point that I am trying to make out is this. It is well recognised that the House of Commons has not got the right to expel a member for mis-conduct. In India, we have a written Constitution where a particular article of the Constitution says how the member's seat in the House becomes vacant. It is argued by the member who is expelled that since in the Constitution it is laid down how the member's seat becomes vacant, the House has no power to expel the member. The courts have taken a different view by giving a harmonious construction to the article of the Constitution where it is said that until the Parliament or the State Legislature make a law, the powers of the House in relation to privilege are the same as those of the House of Commons.

So, they have said if you give a harmonious construction between these two Articles of the Constitution, the special power retained by the House under that Article can be equated with the power of the House of Commons in the matter. But the matter is still open and I am pretty sure that until the Supreme Court of India decides in favour of the House, the law is still nebulous.

MR. HANUMANTHAPPA: There are two cases in U.P. where, when a member of the public refused to appear before the House, the Speaker issued a warrant of arrest. One case was that of a paper in Bombay where the person concerned was

arrested and brought to Lucknow. Subsequently, another member of the public refused to appear before the Privileges Committee of the Uttar Pradesh Assembly and he was also arrested and brought to the House. Because the question was raised as to what would happen if a person refuses to appear before the House, I have given these instances to show that the Speaker issue a warrant for their being brought before the House.

MR. WIJESINHA: I do not know how relevant some of the things we say are but, instead of sticking to a particular heading, if we give our experiences like this, I am sure we can benefit from the discussions.

To give one or two examples of things that happen in Sri Lanka, we do not have the practice of the Speaker being unopposed at elections. The Speaker, like any other Member, has to face the next election and the fact that he has to face the next election does affect his attitude. For instance, there were very powerful Ministers of Public Works, Health and Education and these Ministers have a lot to do in various electorates. Let us face realities. They can do a lot to make or mar a Member and it will take much courage on the part of a Speaker who has work to be done in his electorate to do anything to annoy a particular Minister.

In some countries you find that one Minister has many portfolios. For instance, in Ceylon we have one for Justice, Public Administration, Local Government and Home Affairs. This is a very powerful position and if you try to pull him up,

what may happen is that the electorate could get affected. Take, for instance, the problem where the Speaker has to name a Member. If he feels that the atmosphere in the House is such that a Minister may not move a motion to name him, or, even if the Minister moves the motion, the House may not support the motion that a particular Member should be named, then what is the position? The Speaker has to go and I don't think many Speakers are going to risk that. Ultimately, all these rules and regulations depend on the approach of human beings who work these institutions.

Let us take another example. For instance, in most countries, the Auditor-General is an officer of Parliament and the Auditor-General reports to Parliament; he reports on the accounts of a particular year which would be taken up by the Public Accounts Committee. But suppose the Auditor-General is asked by a Minister to tender directly to him a report on some particular point, what is the position. If he reports to the Minister and not to Parliament, is it a breach of privilege of Parliament? These are questions that arise. For instance, there are allegations of maladministration and the using of PL 480 funds in a particular way; on the Floor of the House, there could be accusations of misusing the PL 480 funds. What is the position of the Auditor-General if he is asked to report directly on that to a minister?

Our Speaker very often uses a method whereby whenever he finds a member would not withdraw an offensive remark

or persists in un-parliamentary language, he orders those portions to be expunged. However much you may not find any legal basis giving him the authority to expunge from the record anything, he does it. What is the remedy of the member? Whenever we have problems like this, i.e., if a member has to be named and the Speaker does not risk asking a minister to move the motion, he may ask the member to withdraw from the House. If the member does not withdraw, he is to be carried away by the Sergeant-at-Arms. If all the members round start a fight and prevent the Sergeant-at-Arms from removing him, what happens?

In countries where members do not speak from their seats but have to walk up to a rostrum as in Japan, you could get a situation where other members who are hostile to that particular member hold him back. There was reported one instance in the Diet in Japan a member raised a chair, hit another member and he died. The Japanese are presumed to be highly polite who do not show their emotions. If that story is true—I hope it is not—what happens to us in the tropics who are more hot-headed? We have situation in which the Clerk has to advise the Speaker, it is our responsibility and we can not constantly turn to May and look particularly at the footnotes. The footnotes are so numerous and there is constant confusion. We cannot find solutions there in May for most of our problems. New situations arise in most countries and it is up to us, the constant factors in Parliament rather than the variables in the form of politicians, to esta-

blish traditions and see that the system works.

That is why I have always maintained at these meetings that we cannot treat our posts as a job to which we get appointed and from which we are looking forward to promotions, using this position as a stepping stone. We should make the post of Clerks a closed avenue. After getting our salary scales fixed, we should make it clear to the administrators and legislatures that this must be a closed field where, once in, you are not using it as a stepping stone. That security of tenure will enable us to see that proper standards are set and precedents created. When we think of the possibilities that arise in view of these situations, a few examples of which I have given, you will realise that it is we who have to make the system work and the Clerk's duty is heaviest.

THE CHAIRMAN: That was a very interesting and valuable contribution from Mr. Wijesinha, highlighting the differences between the various Parliaments in the Commonwealth. In a Parliament where problems such as those which he described arise, you cannot rely upon the footnotes in Erskine May. Indeed, where the Chair is weak, it is even more important for the Clerk to be strong. For that reason, he must be protected from the possibility of any improper kind of removal. We have discussed that and we all know it; but what Mr. Wijesinha said underlined the reasons for it.

Let me pick up one or two things he said. What he described is a very differ-

ent background from that to which I am used.

The Speaker in the UK is not necessarily unopposed in his election to Parliament; indeed he has not been elected unopposed for sometime now. But he does not take part in the electoral campaign. He issues a sort of a general statement to his electors and sits back. But, while he holds the office of the Speaker, he is not deprived of the possibility of looking after his constituency. Although he does not personally deal with complaints, he can forward them to a Ministry, which, no doubt, because they come from him, get very careful treatment. In fact, his constituents are quite well looked after as anybody else. Of course, normally, we do not choose a Speaker from a constituency where he does not have a safe majority. Sometimes, it happens. It did happen in the case of Sir Harry Hilton-Foster. When he was elected Speaker in 1959, I think he stood for the City of York. It was not a safe seat. But he moved, before the next election, to the City of London and Westminster. Normally, a Speaker seeking re-election is not at risk.

Then, the question was, as to what the Speaker would do if he named a Member and the Government refused to move the necessary motion. If that happened, the Speaker would undoubtedly have to resign, as he would have clearly lost the confidence of the majority of the House. But, at the same time, I think every Leader of the House, who is of course a Minister, clearly realises that if the Speaker does name a Member, then even if the

Member is of his own side and even if he himself, indeed, in his heart of hearts, does not thoroughly agree, it is his duty to move the motion and the Chief Whip should see that other Members on the Government side support it. One can never say that in parliamentary affairs, any situation is impossible. If it ever arose that the Speaker was not supported in one way or the other, when he named a Member, then, something would have gone wrong very badly and he ought not to remain Speaker.

Then, a brief word about the expulsion of Members. Of course, the House of Commons like that of New South Wales, can expel a Member. But, it would not prevent him from being re-elected. We have now a case going on, which may lead to the expulsion of a Member. Some of you might have read about it in the newspapers. This is the case of Mr. John Stonehouse. He staged his apparent drowning off the coast of Florida. But, in fact, he had escaped under a false passport and under another name, to Australia. There he apparently hoped to begin a new life using the money which he is alleged to have misappropriated and taken with him. I do not wish to say anything by way of criticising the Australian Police. I think they have themselves given the reasons why they caught him. They were looking for somebody else. He was quite a different character, by name, Lord Lucan who has been alleged to have committed murder in England. He also disappeared at the same time as Mr. Stonehouse. The Australian Police were looking for him, they

noticed a suspicious looking Englishman, but, when they investigated him, they found that it was Mr. Stonehouse, MP. There were various goings and comings, extradition and so on and eventually, he came back to England and he is charged with a series of criminal offences. The trial is likely to last for a very long time.

First of all, he was remanded in custody. Then, finally, the magistrate concerned, somewhat strangely after his earlier stern refusal, gave him bail and he was enabled to come back to the House of Commons, which irritated some members. Of course, he has not been found guilty and he is not in custody. He can appear in the House of Commons and he did eventually get the magistrate to adjourn the court proceedings early one afternoon, so that he could make a personal explanation to the House on why he disappeared. Now a personal explanation is supposed to contain nothing controversial. It was not easy on the occasion to reach agreement with the Member on a non-controversial draft; but eventually it was done; and the Speaker persuaded the House to hear it in silence. If Mr. Stonehouse is acquitted, as some experts say he will be, he will remain a Member because he will not have been found to have done anything wrong. If he is found guilty, the House will, on precedent expel him, after giving him an opportunity to say anything he may wish to say in self-defence. Even if he were found guilty and sentenced, when he came out of prison, he would be able to stand for re-election. Whether he would do so is another matter.

Well, this was a diversion, though on a matter of some topical interest.

MR. MAURICE BRU: Referring to the points which have just been raised by my friend Wijesinha from Sri Lanka, I would like to say that in Mauritius we have had a few instances where the Speaker has been brought to the extreme situation of having to name a Member. Of course, he did take the decision and the appropriate motion was moved thereafter by the Leader of the Opposition to the effect that the hon. Member be suspended for a certain period of time. That was on one particular occasion.

We had another occasion when a Member after having been called to order by the Chair on several occasions persistently refused to do so. The Chair had no other alternative but to ask the Member to withdraw. Again he refused to withdraw. Then the Speaker ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms to have him removed from the precincts of the House and that was done.

Surely the proper functioning of a Legislature depends on the authority of the Speaker, the degree of discipline which a Speaker can maintain in a particular Legislature and also how far the Speaker can get his decisions supported by the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think that is so everywhere. A Speaker who wilfully goes beyond the kind of action which he can normally expect the House to support, is getting into very deep waters and is in grave danger. May has recorded a case

of mass indiscipline in the House of Commons which happened in 1931, when a number of members resisted the Sergeant-at-Arms when he was seeking (under the Speaker's direction) to remove a Member who had been suspended. But the Speaker's action was supported, because the general feeling of the House was not behind those members, who later apologised to the House. One can only hope that it would be so in the Commonwealth Parliaments, if violence were tried out. Short of violence (violence would generally occur only rarely and not normally) cases may cover refusal to sit down and things like that; and if there are deep political divisions and the Chair cannot get his way, he will be in great difficulties. Do I understand that in Mauritius, the position of the Speaker would be uncertain in such cases?

MR. BRU: No, certainly not.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that he does in fact and can rely on the support of the House. That is what it should be.

MR. HANUMANTHAPPA: When a Member is speaking and the Speaker asks him to resume his seat but the Member continues to speak, the Speaker can direct him under the Rules of Procedure to withdraw immediately, or name him. But suppose the Speaker does not exercise those powers but directs Hansard reporter not to report the speech, can that Member raise a question of breach of privilege against the Speaker for not following the rules?

THE CHAIRMAN: I fear I cannot answer a hypothetical question.

SHRI SHAKDHER: In our rules of procedure, we have rules empowering the Speaker to expunge words and sentences from the speech of a Member if, in his opinion, those words or expressions are unparliamentary, defamatory, indecent or otherwise inappropriate. Sir, it is not a question of privilege. It is a question of rules; and if the Speaker asks the Member to resume his seat and the latter goes on speaking in spite of his directions, the Speaker can either order that nothing more should be recorded, or expunge the words that he has spoken. So it is a question of arbitrary powers of the Speaker. There is no question of breach of privilege on this matter, or the Member doing anything about it. What in other countries are regarded as questions of privileges are here also questions of rules. For example, in our country—and possibly in Sri Lanka I am told just now—the Speaker enjoys enormous powers and more powers than any Speaker in the world. There are many powers given to him by the rules which he exercises in his discretion arbitrarily and without anything being done in that respect. He has got inherent powers. What is not provided in the rules is also vested in the Speaker. So, he can devise the procedure or the practice on the spot when a case arises. That is the power given by the House to the Speaker. Therefore, these powers are not comparable with the powers of other Speakers, particularly the Speaker of the House of Commons; and, in fact, our Speakers started with the same tradition as that of the Speaker of the House of Commons, but

they have since departed quite a lot, because if I remember aright, I have heard Dr. King several times speaking on the office of the Speaker and he has said that the Speaker has no power to interfere with the political affairs of the country, and to express his opinion on any matters which are before the country, but our Speakers do take part in the deliberations of conferences, of Parliamentary Unions, C.P.A. etc., and even in our own country, they make speeches, and the Speaker here has more powers than the Speaker of the House of Commons. They cannot be compared.

A point was raised as to what action the House should take if the Auditor-General reports against a Minister. In our country, if the Auditor-General reports something, that is automatically referred to the Public Accounts Committee. The House should take any action in the matter only after they hear from the PAC. The PAC examines all these matters in details and makes its recommendations. Our rules further provide that when a Committee makes recommendations, the Government is bound to consider them, though not accept them, and after they have considered these recommendations, they are required to make a report to the Committee again. The Committee can again go through what we call the "Action Taken" on the recommendations and make a further report on the action taken by the Government. In some cases, the Committee may agree with the views of the Government and drop the matter, but there may be one or two matters where the

Committee finds itself in disagreement with the action of the Government and it is in respect of these areas that the matter can come up before the House and there can be a debate and the House will then take up whatever decision it likes.

I remember one case which arose in one of our State Legislatures, Andhra Pradesh, when the PAC had reported that one of the Ministers had given orders for fertilisers involving a lot of money, at the direction of the Central Government. That matter was raised as a question of privilege in our House, but then after discussion, it was dropped and the matter was settled.

In such matters, we do not raise them as a question of privilege, we only bring a motion for discussion in the House. A Member is entitled to bring a motion of censure also, but matters reported by the Committees or the Auditor-General or any other authority will be only matters for further discussion, debate and probing, and not questions of privilege.

There are certain matters which are regarded as questions of privilege in other countries, but they are regarded here as breach of rules because we have provided for them specifically in the rules.

On this question of privilege I was very happy that so many colleagues participated in the debate and raised many interesting points. I have also seen that outside the Commonwealth, no other Parliament attaches importance to privilege at all. In the European Parliaments, they have got immunities of Members, not privileges.

When we discuss them in an international body, we come across lots of difficulties about what is privilege and what is immunity, they do not understand us and we do not understand them because there is no common ground.

Also I find from a survey that these questions of privileges are mostly raised in India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and one or two other countries. There are not so many even in the other Commonwealth countries. There they are few and far between and only when they are real questions of privilege. In our country, even a matter for discussion is raised as a matter of privilege because this gets priority and attracts notice and people have to be alert. That is why this is giving us more trouble, really because the privilege law is very strict, and in fact, we have not admitted many cases as questions of privilege. A few that were admitted were sent to the Committee of Privileges, and in most cases, the Committee of Privileges have said that there is no question of privilege or that nothing was done or that, after an apology, they have closed the matter. That only shows that our Members have used that as a weapon for criticising the Government or censuring the Government in an indirect way.

This debate that has taken place has cleared the air and has also given us the experiences of other Parliaments. My colleague, Mr. Banerjee, has answered yesterday the many questions that were raised, particularly about sending people to prison and things like that, and I do not think I should repeat them now.

MR. B. A. TLELASE: Nine years have passed since we attained independence, and in that period we have had only one case of breach of privilege raised on the floor of the House. This happened when a Member wanted to move a motion that the Government appointed a Select Committee to make a new Constitution for the country. As soon as the notice of the motion was out, the Government began to negotiate with the Member that Government would itself give notice of such a motion if he would agree to withdraw his which he did. It took some time before the Government could come up with this motion, and when they did, it was slightly different from his motion. The Prime Minister piloting the motion made all the points in favour of the motion. It took some time before this particular Member could catch the eye of the Speaker to speak on that motion. In his fury or anger, he went out to the Press and tendered to the Press what he thought he would have tendered to the House if he had been given an opportunity to speak. Most of the press in our country is expatriate, that it is South African press. When the South African press came up with the news, it was very malicious and the chief whip of the Government side raised a question of breach of privilege. The Privileges Committee was ordered by the Speaker to sit and consider the allegation of breach of privilege. It took them some time. The reason why it took them that long time was that it tried to get the expatriate editor to appear before it. He had said that he was not bound to appear before them and, therefore, he would not

appear. The local press, I suppose, owe a certain amount of allegiance to the Parliament of the country; they appeared before the Select Committee to give evidence, but the South African editor refused. The local papers had reported the same news in a somewhat milder and plausible way that could absolve the accused gentleman of the breach of privilege. But the news that was reported by the South African press was very malicious and the chief whip of the Government side raised the question of breach of privilege relying specifically on what had come in the South African press whose editor refused to appear before the Committee till the end. By the time the Select Committee reported to the House, it was evident that the Speaker would have no option but only to reprimand the Member for the breach of privilege. This is a breach of privilege from the South African press but we are helpless before them because we cannot ask them to appear before our Select Committee. We have decided to swallow the whole thing and forget what the South African press says if only we could manage to go on in our own way. Our situation is that we happen to be surrounded by South Africa which politically at times wants to be our friend and so reports us so well. But when the political wind changes, it takes a hostile attitude. So, this is our helplessness in the face of an hostile extraterritorial press.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a very interesting account. I suppose in the matter of parliamentary privileges, we are in the same situation as your country is in relation to

the foreign press. We extend to you our sympathy. However, as I gathered, you had in the report at any rate laid down the principle even if you could not bring the South Africans to book.

MR. BRU: I have a small question to put. Suppose in the course of a meeting of the Public Accounts Committee, a Member raises a point to the effect that it has been brought to his notice that a public officer has been indulging in unlawful activities involving misuse of public funds, then would it be proper for the committee to ask the Director of Audit to investigate the matter and to report thereon?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, the committee has the power to ask the Comptroller and Auditor General to do that.

MR. TLELASE: Another question I have. In the course of a debate, Hon. Member 'A' attacks Hon. Member 'B' and hits him below the belt. 'B' considers it to be a really vicious attack on him and when he takes the floor, Hon. Member 'A' walks out. At that time, can the Speaker ask 'A' to sit in the House and hear Hon. Member 'B'?

THE CHAIRMAN: If 'A' really hits below the belt, I think it is the duty of the Speaker to pull him up straightaway for using unparliamentary terms and order him to withdraw.

MR. TLELASE: Hon. Member 'B' considers it a political attack and he wants to defend himself but Hon. Member 'A' walks out.

THE CHAIRMAN: It sometimes happens. If it is a political matter and if 'A' simply walks out, he lays himself open to the political accusation that he cannot take it. I am afraid in the House of Commons, the habit has been growing for some time that Members make their speeches and then they go out and they do not stay on to hear the others. The Chair has very frequently deprecated it. Of course, it is particularly bad if an hon. Member does make a vigorous political attack on another Member and he does not stay on to hear the answer. The only sanction against it is the general feeling of the House and it is for the Members to act. The Speaker cannot order him to come back or anything like that.

MR. WIJESINHA: Now, under the Rules of most Parliaments, any document produced on the floor of the House becomes a document in the custody of the Clerk. Suppose a Member wants to inspect it. Most Standing Orders say that every Member shall have the right of inspecting any document produced on the floor of the House. A particular document with the Clerk has to be inspected by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister sends for it and the Clerk gives it. Then, the Prime Minister gets the document examined by a handwriting expert and gets an opinion on that document. Subsequently, the Prime Minister makes a statement on the floor of the House saying that the document is a forgery and that is the opinion of the handwriting expert. Then the Prime Minister returns the document on the floor of the House. Has the

Clerk committed any breach of privilege in giving the document to the Prime Minister?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a very interesting point, but I do not see how it could really arise with us. In the first place, the only people who can lay documents on the Table of the House are members of the Government and the Chairmen of Committees or the Speaker or the Clerk, so that any paper laid upon the Table of the House comes, in some way more or less, from the official source. Secondly, nearly all documents which are laid on the Table of the House are ordered to be printed and they are immediately printed. For instance, the Report of a Select Committee is simply laid on the Table, with two sheets, of paper. The manuscript is given by the Clerk to the printer to get it printed. There are a number of papers which are of very little general interest and which occasionally are not printed. In such cases, a copy is laid in the Library. As I said earlier, all these come from official sources and the possibility of such a document being forged, I think, does not arise for us. If in some way, it was ever alleged that the Clerk of the House had caused some papers which are forged to be laid before the House, then he would be vulnerable to the accusation of breach of privilege, but I sincerely hope that I shall not have to face that.

SHRI SHAKDHER: Mr. Chairman, it is an interesting point that has been raised. Our rules provide, in addition to Ministers, for the laying of papers on the Table by a Private Member. He is also entitled to

lay papers on the Table with the permission of the Speaker.

That means, the Speaker lays down a certain test—if the Member reads from a document, if he has made some allegation, if he wants to support it with documentary evidence and if there is a demand in the House that it be laid on the Table of the House and if he is allowed to lay it on the Table of the House, then we also either print it or keep it in the Library or in the custody of the Clerk. It becomes the property of the House, which is in the custody of the Clerk of the House. Our rules provide that no paper or no document shall leave the precincts of the House. And if anybody has to see it, he must come to the precincts of the House and see it before an officer of the House; for whatever purpose he wants to see it, he can see it and return the paper then and there. It never leaves the custody of the officer of Parliament. But if some paper has to be handed over to the Government for investigation of the kind that was referred to, then the Speaker makes an announcement in the House that it is a paper which must go to the Government or that the Government has asked for it or that he wants it to send it to the Government, then it can be sent to the Minister concerned with the approval of the Speaker or the House. In such cases, which are few, the approval of the House is required. But the Clerk never does it on his own, he never gives the paper outside his office. If anybody wants to see it, he must go to the office and see it there. Even if he is a Member or even if the Government or anybody wants to see it.

MR. J. E. CARTER: On this question of laying of papers, we have an interesting situation which arises now and then. In this particular case, the Auditor-General's Report and the Accounts of the previous years were laid to meet the deadline, soon after the 31st July. And when it was laid, there was only one copy available. That was the original report. Another copy was sent for printing. Naturally, all members and the public were interested in seeing this report. And is it right for any individual member or one section of the media to come into the office to take extensive notes and gather as much information as possible from this when even the Ministers have not seen it or the MPs have not seen it?

SHRI SHAKDHER: In our House, the rules provide that as soon as a paper is laid, it becomes a public document; anybody can see it; anybody can take extract from it, either in part or in whole. There is no secrecy about it.

MR. CARTER: It is the same case with us. But we have only one copy available.

SHRI SHAKDHER: Yes, it may be one copy which is available and somebody, even a Member, can take notes. But they cannot take the copy away. It cannot leave the precincts of the House. That is our rule. But anybody can see, can inspect it; take notes, take extracts sitting there, in front of an officer.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does it apply to Reports of Select Committees?

SHRI SHAKDHER: It is about reports that are laid on the Table of the House, not before that. They are absolutely secret. Anybody can go and see and inspect or take notes of documents as soon as they are laid on the Table; one minute after being laid on the Table, they become public and anybody can go and see it. That is our rule.

THE CHAIRMAN: With us the report of the Select Committee is laid on the Table but it is not disclosed until it is published. The Press is sometimes informed 24 hours in advance of the contents. If before that they want to see, we will refuse.

SHRI SHAKDHER: In case of a manuscript copy, the pressman can see. Everybody can see it because the publication is deemed to have taken place at that time. Printing may take time, taking out of copies may take time. But our rule is that as soon as it is laid on the Table of the House, that very moment it becomes public. It does not matter whether we have this, that and the other and how long it takes in printing. We print them afterwards or we may print them simultaneously sometimes to avoid difficulty. But that is no bar against people seeing it. Even if the Prime Minister requests, it is not permitted. The Prime Minister is in the same category as any other Member. In this matter, the Member and the Prime Minister are in the same category; there is no distinction.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we have other matters to discuss before lunch. It is time to bring this extremely interesting discussion to a close.

I have just two points to say in conclusion. First is I am very sorry Mr. Dumbuya could not be here today. He wanted to raise certain problems of privilege. It might be possible that he and his other African colleagues might have an informal discussion later on. I will try to see if I can arrange that.

My general feeling about this discussion is that although privileges of various Parliaments have a common base, they seem to be developing in different countries in varying ways and sometimes in different directions. In some cases, privilege is supported by law and in some cases not. It seems to me that the time has come when a comparative study on this subject would be of great value and intensively interesting. It would need a great deal of work to do it. Perhaps Mr. Wijesinha might take up this task. I am sure we can use the facilities of this society, possibly to circulate the questionnaire or something that. It could be the IPU method.

SHRI SHAKDHER: The questionnaire need not be brought before the society for approval. It would be for the rapporteur to frame his own questionnaire to seek information and make his own report, rather than go through the lengthy process of framing questionnaires and getting them approved. That will be a very long and a very tedious process. We do not want comprehensive reports. We want some sort of a study. And it will be the first time in the Association to start such a ball moving.

MR. WIJESINHA: In the other body attached to the I.P.U., the questions that are

sent round get answered sometimes two years later; by that time the questions are out of date. But we are having the advantage of one language and similar institutions and that advantage can be made use of by us. If I send questions round, they may be replied preferably with a copy of your standing orders or the relevant rules, if any, dealing with parliamentary privileges. Some countries have a parliamentary privileges Act.

SHRI SHAKDHER: It can be made an appendix to the report. I would suggest that Mr. Bradshaw would have to send out a circular—this is the first time we are doing it—so that members who are not present here would also know what is proposed to be done. It would facilitate the work of the Society in this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: May I ask the Society to invite Mr. Wijesinha to prepare on the subject, on behalf of the Society, which can eventually be published, and to that end, to obtain by whatever method he thinks fit, information from all members of the Association, the facilities of the Association being at his disposal for that purpose, it being agreed that this is not a matter which has to be brought up back for discussion in detail, but the drafting and the wording of it is left entirely to Mr. Wijesinha.

MR. BRADSHAW: May I just make one point? Mr. Shakdher will agree—he knows much more about it than I do—that in the Association of Secretaries-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, there is an enquiry going on into this very subject under Mr. Shakdher's direction. I

only mention it because quite a lot of Parliaments, one of which is our own, have already put together a good deal of material in answer to a questionnaire and therefore, would have this material very readily available in any form that Mr. Wijesinha would think appropriate to draw upon.

SHRI SHAKDHER: I agree that some countries have replied to the questionnaire sent by the IPU, e.g., the U.K., India and Sri Lanka. That was Khan's questionnaire and I think Khan has prepared a preliminary draft. But last time I was told that very few had replied to him. Therefore, he was not yet ready with the report. Maybe he comes up next year. Anyhow that material which has been collected for that questionnaire can very easily be passed on to you so far as Commonwealth Parliaments are concerned. After all, our enquiry is directed to the Commonwealth Parliaments and that can be made use of here also. That is a very elaborate questionnaire and a lot of information is being collected and we can make that available to you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

MR. YUMBA: In order to assist Mr. Wijesinha, I wish to request the Chairman to stress the importance of this assignment to all of us so that we give him maximum cooperation in returning the completed questionnaire promptly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. I am sure we are all seized of that. I think it need not be emphasized because everybody realises the desirability of giving

cooperation in this matter. I am sure all Clerks are equally interested in it.

ATTACHMENT OF CLERKS TO OTHER PARLIAMENTS

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we move on to the next subject—Attachment of Clerks to the Westminster Parliament. Mr. Bradshaw will say something about it.

MR. BRADSHAW: I think you have all got the copy of the paper that I have prepared on this subject. May I say at the outset that this paper about the attachment of Clerks to Westminster Parliament is not intended in any exclusive way. It is one of my responsibilities since we have started the Overseas Office in Westminster to receive and look after Clerks who come to Westminster on attachment. And there have been quite a number of them. Some of you will have seen the list published in the latest version of the Table. The list was submitted to all members of the Society in draft, and the printed version is the result of the corrections they have made. Among the earlier names there, I see the names of Mr. Kaul who was a very distinguished Clerk of the Indian Lok Sabha and his distinguished friend Mr. Shakdher who is sitting on my left; and the names come right down to modern times. Quite a number of people who are present here today have been to Westminster on attachment and one or two more who are also here will be coming. I would be very grateful if anybody could give his views from personal experience as to how the scheme could be improved.

The paper itself sets out the bare facts of the Westminster scheme. Para 2 summarises its broad objects which are very clear. Paragraph 3 lays down a few very basic qualifications that we had asked for most important of which is that a Clerk coming to Westminster should have at least a year's experience in his own legislature and should understand the basic language of Parliamentary procedure so that he can conduct discussions with all the officials of Westminster knowing that language. He should also be experienced enough to distinguish what is useful from what is not so useful for his own Parliament.

Para 4 deals with the general programme which the Clerks coming to Westminster are invited to carry out. Roughly speaking, it is an attachment to each one of our main offices for one or two weeks. By this means, the main parts of the business of the House and the way in which they are dealt with by the Clerks and prepared for the Members can be seen and studied at first hand. In addition to the attachments in the House of Commons, visits are made to the House of Lords also and to the other departments in the House of Commons, the most important being the Editor of Debates, the Library, the Serjeant-at-Arms (since the security of the Parliament is becoming increasingly important), the Printed Papers Office and the Administration in general.

Most of the Clerks who come to Westminster come probably within the first four or five years of their life as Clerks

in their own Parliaments and I think I can say that they come to Westminster in order to see what it has to offer to them and how the working of Westminster is similar or dissimilar to their own Parliaments. Obviously, it is important because Westminster procedure has been the origin and basis of the procedure of the Parliaments of these Clerks. But, latterly, there have been what might be called refinements in the attachment system in that Clerks with much longer experience have also been coming, mostly Clerks from the independent countries of the Commonwealth, and perhaps these Clerks have fifteen or twenty or more years of experience. We have developed the custom of regarding this kind of Attachment very much as an exchange scheme rather than as a pure Attachment, that is to say, these Clerks would carry out much the same kind of programme as Clerks on what might be called pure Attachments, but when that has been completed, arrangements are made as far as possible for a return visit by a British Clerk to the country in question. We have several examples of this exchange in the case of Australia from where Clerks have come to Westminster and return visits have been made by the British Clerks both to the Federal Parliament and to the State Legislatures. The same has occurred with Canada where the Clerks have been swapped, as it were, between the Canadian Central Parliament and the provincial legislatures and Westminster. I need hardly say that these exchange schemes are extremely popular with the British Clerks at any rate. Just as the visiting Clerks like to come to

Westminster, I can assure you that the British Clerks also like going to the other Parliaments. This, of course, depends on the availability of the British Clerks, and that is a matter for the Clerk of the House of Commons. But I can say now that, having taken part in one of the schemes myself, having spent about six months in one of the provincial Legislatures of Canada, the professional experience is the most valuable that can be gained. It is the best kind of sabbatical period, because, when you are away to another Parliament, you spend the time not as if you are on a holiday—although after about twenty years or so in your own Parliament, a holiday would be no bad thing—but in doing the things somewhere else that you normally do in your own Parliament.

I offer one final thought in conclusion. In September next, that is, in 1976, in London, the Speakers of Commonwealth countries are holding their next conference—from the 7th to 10th September, I think. We are looking forward to that very much. On a previous occasion, the Speakers did consider this question of attachment and exchange of Clerks between Parliaments and what could be done to enlarge and stimulate these attachments and exchanges. It might be worth bearing in mind that one possibility may be to give the Speakers a report of what has happened so far, and may be, ask them to take action in a certain direction. Thank you very much.

MR. TLELASE: I want to address myself to these attachments and the benefits that

accrue from the attachments. We are very appreciative and thankful for this kind of exercise. But I want to say that in arranging for a Clerk to attend the attachment, there are a number of difficulties that come up our way.

You start to negotiate with the British High Commission and you go to the British Council. It does not have the capacity to deal with the financial problem in your country. It does not have the same capacity, financial capacity, as it has in Great Britain. I wonder if you could advise us as to the best way we can avail ourselves of the benefits—instead of sending us from pillar to post. Can't it be done by one person?

MR. BRADSHAW: There are various ways in which money can be obtained to finance these schemes. They are not all purely British as Mr. Tlelase knows. There are opportunities of drawing on United Nations Technical Funds in some cases; and in Asia there are organizations like the Colombo Plan, through which money can be drawn. But certainly it is true that there are specifically British technical assistance funds. If there are two authorities actually dealing with this matter, it is hard for me to say anything. But I can say this much that I keep in close touch with the British Council in London. We can very quickly straighten between us any problems that are arising in a particular country. If anybody has that problem, I would urge upon him to get in touch with me and I would take steps to take up the matter straightaway with my friend in the British Council. He

is an extremely helpful man and we have cleared up a number of cases of trouble. I do not know if that is helpful.

THE CHAIRMAN: We do value very much that type of exchange and I would like to suggest an exchange between the Indian Parliament and ourselves at Westminster. I wish I was 20 years younger so that I could go myself. I would be willingly send my younger man.

SHRI SHAKDHER: We are already receiving people. Under the Colombo Plan, we have got some people from Sri Lanka, Nepal and other countries also. They come off and on. We shall be very happy to receive any Members on attachment to our Parliament and we shall certainly keep them busy. There is a lot of work going on in our Secretariat and we have never a moment's rest. So, any Clerk who comes here is sure to get work here and not a holiday. I agree with the Chairman that it should be a multi-channel attachment and not only a one-way or two-way attachment because procedures are developing in different parts differently, as we had occasion to see earlier this morning and yesterday. So, attachment in one country is not enough. I think a person who has gone to one country will do well to go to other countries also. Our people can go not only to one country, but to several countries and this cross-fertilization of ideas will help in developing procedures on sounder basis and with better understanding.

MR. YUMBA: Mr. Chairman, I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere

gratitude for the co-operation that our Parliament has received from the Clerk of the House of Commons at Westminster in offering us places on attachment courses. The Clerks who have attended these attachments have learnt a great deal from them and places permitting, it is our wish to send more Clerks on Attachment Courses at Westminster Parliament.

Whilst on this topic, I also share the views expressed by Shri Shakhder that the interchange should not only be confined to one or two Parliaments, we should encourage our Clerks to exchange ideas on Parliamentary procedure with as many Clerks as possible in other Parliaments in the Commonwealth also so that there is a multichannel exchange. I have one suggestion to make on these attachments, and here I am assisted by the explanation given by my colleague, Mr. Bradshaw, who has classified the attachments into two categories, namely, Clerks on pure attachment after two or three years' service in their Parliaments, and the experienced Clerks who are encouraged to go on exchange schemes. My suggestion on Clerks on pure attachment is that in order to gain more knowledge in procedure from Clerks at Westminster, they should spend more time in the principal offices of the House of Commons. Clerks from Parliaments in developing Commonwealth countries should be encouraged to spend more time with the Serjeant-at-Arms, Librarian, the Official Reporters, in the Printed Papers Office and the Administration Department. I am making this suggestion because most of us, in addition to procedure, are responsible for administration in our Parlia-

ments. Experience has shown that the time spent in the principal offices is not enough.

THE CHAIRMAN: It will be a very helpful suggestion and I am thankful to you for your kind words.

SHRI BANERJEE: I must express my gratitude to Sir David Lidderdale and Mr. Bradshaw. I sent two of my Clerks, one last year and the other this year, to Westminster. I found by my discussions with them and also seeing their work after they came back, that they came back with a lot of experience and they are doing very well since their return. And I particularly refer to one point. One of the Clerks had a difficulty in the matter of getting his case cleared through the British Council because he started his efforts at a very late stage. The only way by which he could solve the difficulty was by sending a cable to Mr. Bradshaw from here. And I am very glad to report that Mr. Bradshaw got the case cleared. The matter related to the passage money from India to England and back. If I remember correctly, this facility is given by the British Council only when the period of training in the U.K. is for a period of three months. By the time this particular Clerk was to leave, it fell short by a few days, and he very intelligently, instead of knocking at the doors of the British Council, sent a cable to Mr. Bradshaw. And I must tell you that Mr. Bradshaw got the case cleared within less than 48 hours, and so that period of few days' shortage from the stipulated period of three months could be waived at the instance of Mr. Bradshaw. So, it will be

my advice that if you have any particular difficulty on the subject, do not knock your head against the local British Council but go to Mr. Bradshaw and he will get the case cleared.

MR. BRADSHAW: First of all, may I just say a word of thanks to what has been said by Mr. Banerjee. As regards what Mr. Yumba said, I wonder what he feels amounts to the point that the whole period of attachment was really too short. It seems to me that if you are going to set more time in the principal offices than is provided for now and also see more of the administration—and as you rightly have said that Clerks are as much administrators as procedural advisers—then I think that the overall period may be too short. But the problem there I think is that we have to fit in the attachments into the framework of the sittings of the House because so much of the value of attachment lies in visiting a Parliament when it is at work. As we all know, the whole attachment programme is likely to fall to pieces when it stops sitting, when the staff go away on holiday and you cannot find the people you want because they are not there. Therefore, we have to necessarily confine the period of attachment to two or three months. That is, I think, the practical difficulty there. But, I think that we can do something more in the sense that will try to find out what each individual visitor requires and concentrate more on those areas where they are most fruitful. Smaller legislatures, for example, find particular interest in some aspects only and they would like to concentrate on those areas only. I think that is something

which as an organizer of the programme one has to bear in mind.

I am very grateful for the comments and suggestions made. I am most grateful to Mr. Banerjee for the kind remarks and examples that he gave. But it does, I think, underline the point that British Council are faced with a variety of different circumstances. Almost every Clerk who tries to go to Westminster has a background of circumstances of his own. The British Council people are the most obliging and always very ready to help because they believe in these attachment schemes which is evidenced from the fact that they are very happy to have their money used by us.

SHRI BANERJEE: I would request Mr. Bradshaw to let me know for my own clarification as to how the period of three months attachment is distributed in the various departments of the House of Commons.

MR. BRADSHAW: I have not specified the particular offices in the paper. Normally, we would ask a visiting Clerk to be attached to each of the four main offices for two weeks and we have got four main offices. These are the Table Office, dealing with questions which, I think, is universally important; two more weeks in the Public Bill Office, which again is of great importance. Two further weeks are spent in having a look at the Select Committee system, which is very expanding and about which we will be talking later. Then, two weeks are spent in the Journal or Record Office which

produces our daily record or daily minutes and is the expert procedural office. In all, that takes eight weeks. Then, we would like the visitors probably taking further two weeks in visiting other departments and also a little time in the House of Lords. That is the basic pattern of the programme of attachment.

Your two Clerks were particularly interested in seeing something of the House of Lords, *i.e.*, the Second Chamber and they spent rather more time up there because they were interested in that.

SHRI BANERJEE: I may just mention here that the procedure in the Upper House here or the Rajya Sabha is almost the same as in the Lok Sabha.

In fact, excepting some powers which are not exercised by the Upper House, the Rules of Procedure of the two Houses are even worded in the same language. So, we follow the same procedure. Naturally a Clerk from the Rajya Sabha visiting Westminster would like to know a little more about the House of Lords though they are not directly relevant for the purpose of our work here, but very often questions are asked of us by the Members as to the procedure in the House of Lords on the subject. And even the Editors asking me have devoted quite a number of pages to the House of Lords. But Sir David would surely accept my criticism that if we could arithmetically distribute these, it would be 20 per cent for Lords and 80 per cent for Commons and for very right reasons.

THE CHAIRMAN: If I may just intervene, the House of Lords are proud of having their own procedure. The present generation of Lords clearly seem to me to be much more procedural-minded than their predecessors were. One difficulty I find in editing Erskine May is the rather unexpected expansion of information from the Lords on particular points so that one has to readjust the things to fit in. It is important that if anybody from your House goes to Westminster, he should have an opportunity to study there, and I am sure the House of Lords authorities will always cooperate with you.

SHRI A. S. ARTHUR: Mr. Chairman, in support of this from Sir David Lidderdale, in India or in the States there are no officials or organs from where we can get expertise or advice or anything except a few officers in the Legislatures. Earlier the Lok Sabha Secretariat had been giving some sort of training to the Legislature staff but that is also now stopped. We were talking earlier of the privileges of Members and I would like to give just one instance.

Now, the Speaker becomes so important, so powerful and so influential that the Chief Minister thought that if he is re-elected, he might aspire for the office of Chief Minister and, therefore, he could not get elected in the elections.

In some cases, the Speaker decides earlier what the embarrassing questions or motions are, and there are 101 conditions for disallowing them, to save the Ministers

from embarrassing situations. But then the Speaker could be in a position of insecurity. Now, therefore, I could foresee a turbulent House in the Nagaland Assembly, and in one of the conferences of the Secretaries, the Secretary-General, Mr. Shakhder, told us that when there is a turbulent House, when the Speaker asks for advice, you just remain quiet. In Nagaland, it is not so. As soon as the House is turbulent, the Speaker will say, "Mr. Secretary, what is your advice?" One just cannot sit quiet there. Immediately he will have to give it. Unless we are well experienced, it will be difficult. The House of Commons being the Mother of Parliaments, I think this proposal is a very good one and I think we should all support it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. That is most helpful. I think that in view of our lunch engagements, we cannot go on for more than another five minutes.

MR. TLELASE: If the House is turbulent and the Speaker calls me to advise what he should do, I myself would say "Please suspend".

All we advise him is to suspend.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the thing that the Speaker has on several occasions done with us without any conflict in it and it has resolved things. There was one case, I think, last year, and during the suspension, we quickly got hold of the Government Chief Whip, and other key figures and got things sorted out.

MR. ARTHUR: There is the question of point of order where the Speaker has to give decisions. When the House is turbulent, several members rise up and raise point of order and ask for ruling of the Speaker. In that case, a decision has to be given on the spot. You just cannot say that you will give the ruling after two days or three days. There may be important cases.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, very often, important cases come up and the Speaker has to deal with them on the spot. Surely, it is better to put things suspended. I think on this, we must draw a conclusion now because otherwise there is no reason I think really other than the logic of lunch, why we should ever stop. But that logic of lunch is fairly strong. Anyway, your point was on this question of 'Attachment'. We should take it at the beginning of tomorrow's sitting.

Well, I think you want to speak. But we will be very short and very brief now.

MR. YUMBA: In fact, I am going to assist you. These matters should have been raised when we were considering the subject of 'Privilege'. Now they can be raised when we come to 'Any other business'.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think they have a very considerable relevance to the question of 'Attachment' but certainly they could be raised again and more fully exploited under "Any other business". I think we must stop this discussion now. I am extremely grateful for the various suggestions that

have been made, and will bear them all in mind. I think we must adjourn now and meet tomorrow again at 10.30 A.M. and proceed with the discussion on the subject of 'Committee System and Administration of Parliament' and 'Any Other Matters' if there are any.

The meeting is adjourned.

*Adjourned till 10.30 A.M. on 31st
October, 1975.*

Friday, 31st October, 1975

The sitting was opened at 10.30 A.M.

Sir David Lidderdale takes the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Good morning my colleagues. We come now to the last two items on the programme, the first of which is the Committee System and the second being the Administration of Parliament. But before we start, Mr. Bradshaw wants to say a few words.

MR. BRADSHAW: I may just call your attention, gentlemen, to the papers sent round and I am most anxious about the attendance list. It is revised up to yesterday. If you have not put your name, please put it on and hand it over to me and I will make sure that it is included. The second point is. I have over here on the desk a transcript of yesterday's proceedings. If anybody who spoke in those proceedings would like the copy to be corrected, perhaps he would help himself on the side here. There are 20 copies, I

think it would be helpful to confine them to those who actually spoke so that they may correct them. Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think probably it would be a good thing to aim at bringing the meeting to an end by half past twelve. Again there are lunch engagements and other things. If we do our best, we will achieve an adjournment in good time.

The next matter is that our kind hosts, the Clerks of Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha, have kindly arranged a conducted tour of the Main Parliament Building this afternoon. If any of you would like to take part in that—I would think it would be extremely interesting—would you please gather downstairs at the entrance just before three, and the buses will be leaving at 3 O'clock.

On the Committee System, I will ask Mr. Shakhder to be kind enough to open the discussion.

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

SHRI SHAKDHER: Mr. Chairman, the other day I had suggested that in addition to Privileges we may take up the Committee System. In doing so I had in mind the prevalent thought in the whole world today that business of Parliament should be conducted more through committees rather than in the House. House is most fitted for discussing matters of policy and arriving at general consensus but the detailed study and scrutiny should preferably be done in smaller committees where de-

bates can be meaningful and where study can be made of facts and detailed administrative matters.

I as a rapporteur in the Association of Secretaries-General conducted a study on the system of Parliamentary Committees some years ago. As a result of that study, I published this book, "The System of Parliamentary Committees." I do not know whether all the members of the Commonwealth are members of the IPU. Those who are may have received this publication but, to those who have not, if they are interested in it, I can make available some copies. It contains facts about the existing systems of committees in many Parliaments of the world.

I need not dwell on that because we are not concerned here with the world Parliaments but with the Commonwealth Parliaments. As you know, the Committee system, in addition to simplifying the work of Parliament, leads to public participation; for instance, Committees can invite witnesses, non-official witnesses in addition to officials, and anybody interested in any matter before the Committee, can appear, send a memorandum or represent himself or the interests of his organization and the Parliament as a whole will get to know the views of the public.

So far as India is concerned, we have several Committees which are very effectively functioning. One is the Estimates Committee. It is the only such Committee I think in the whole Commonwealth. I think the U.K. has also abolished the Es-

timates Committee and they have now got Committee on Public Expenditure. I do not know whether any other country in the Commonwealth has the Estimates Committee. This is a very important Committee so far as we are concerned. It can go into the whole administration. Although it is concerned with money, with the budgets and estimates but it does not confine itself to estimates only. It can go beyond the estimates, into the organisational set-up, in the methods of working, in finding out whether the money has been usefully spent and all the relevant matters. Now, we find over the years—this Committee has been working throughout the year, both during session and in inter-session periods and it usually breaks up into sub-committees also—that we are not able to cover the whole Government machinery in one year or 5 years of the life of Parliament because the administration is so complex and vast and it is not possible for one committee to do it. This Committee has nevertheless made very useful recommendations and the Government respect the views of this Committee and as far as possible, they accept the recommendations and implement them. If you are interested in the work of the Estimates Committee, we have got numerous reports of the Committee at the Publications Counter and you might have a look at them. You will see that the studies are very detailed and factual and the recommendations are of far-reaching character. It was once noticed by the U.N. also and one of their financial experts or an economic expert said that it was doing a very useful work. In our country also, it has

got a great prestige and commands respect. Such Committees, I may say, have also been introduced in our State Legislatures. So all over the country, the Estimates Committees look into the administration of the Central and the State Governments.

Then we have got Public Accounts Committee which is common to all Commonwealth Parliaments. I need not say much on it because we all know the work of the Public Accounts Committee. It is almost similar in all countries. But I may say that our Public Accounts Committee goes beyond the report of the Auditor General. It goes into the merits of the things sometimes and it takes up a study, and like the Estimates Committee, goes deep into it and makes a report.

Then we have another Committee which is called the Committee on Public Undertakings. Neither the Estimates Committee nor the Public Accounts Committee look into these Public Undertakings. We have well over 100 public undertakings in this country. This Committee deals with all the industrial undertakings, financial institutions and various other organisations which are of autonomous or semi-autonomous character, banking and insurance and agricultural and other bodies. So we have got this separate committee called Committee on Public Undertakings and it does the same work in relation to public undertakings as the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee do in relation to the Departments of the Government,

The method of working of the Committee on Public Undertakings is slightly different because they work on the principle whether the moneys have been usefully laid out and the undertakings have been doing all that had been expected of them. It is more a commercial type of scrutiny than the departmental scrutiny.

These three financial Committees among themselves discharge the whole function of administrative scrutiny. But as I told you, they are not able to cope with all the work because during five years they are not able to complete scrutiny of all the public undertakings and the departments of the Government. There is need for strengthening these Committees, for making more use of Sub-Committees, giving them powers, and things like that. We are looking into this.

Then we have a Committee known as Committee on Subordinate Legislation. It is also doing very useful work in the sense that our Parliament makes laws and leaves the details to be legislated by the Government, to make rules and regulations, bye-laws and the like. Now there is a large area of this legislation which is outside House scrutiny. But Parliament has constituted the Committee on Subordinate Legislation which goes into every rule or regulation or bye-law made by the Government and scrutinises it in the same way as Parliament would have done it. The result is that the Ministries of the Government are now very careful when they make rules and regulations because the Committee can find out whether they have

exceeded the powers given to them, whether they made the proper rules and regulations, whether there is a variation between one rule and another rule. These reports are very extensive and they have helped in properly regulating the rule-making powers of the Government.

We have then the Committee on Petitions. It is unlike the other Petition Committees in the Commonwealth a very comprehensive Committee in the sense that it looks into all the petitions that are submitted to it on the merits of the case. It hears the Government and the petitioner and then makes appropriate recommendations. All their reports are submitted to Parliament. I have written an article called *The Two Petitions Committees*, which was published last year, in which I compared the work of the U.K. Committee with the Indian Committee. I can tell you an interesting story.

Mr. Wijesinha said yesterday that supposing a Member makes an allegation against a person who is not a member of the House, in the House, what happens to that. Now in our country if a Member makes an allegation against a non-Member, he can make a petition to the Petitions Committee bringing out the facts of his case and telling them how innocent he is, and the Petitions Committee can look into it, call the Member, call the other person and hear them and then make their report and give findings. Two such cases arose in our Parliament. A Member of the Communist Party once alleged that one of the banks had indulged in misuse of securities and made money out of

that and defrauded the bank. He made this allegation on the floor of the House. The General Manager of the bank said that it was all false, there was nothing like that. The matter was referred to the Petitions Committee and they held inquiry into the matter. They heard the banker, they heard the Member, and then they made a report. In the end, the Member could not substantiate the allegations. So I am saying that this is a very useful Committee so far as we are concerned. It enables the citizen to ventilate his grievances through this Committee. Of course, there are some restrictions on the working of this Committee. For example, they cannot look into the judicial orders passed by the courts, they cannot look into cases where departmental remedies are available to Government servants, and matters like that. But matters of general public importance come up before this Petitions Committee.

Having said this, I still feel that there are large areas of work which should be done in committees and which need not be brought on the floor of the House. Our House has been considering whether we should expand the committee system, and to what extent we should do it.

In the U.K.—I do not know much about it; Sir David will be able to say about it—they have constituted some committees on various subjects, not the full comprehensive committee system yet, but a few committees, and we have been watching their working. Conflicting reports come some-

times. But on the whole, I see from papers and documents I have read that they are doing useful work, and they are being continued and probably extended. We will hear about it from Sir David in due course as to how they are functioning and what lessons can be drawn from them.

It is, therefore, important to consider how far this committee system should be extended, for example, on matters of foreign affairs, defence, economic development, transport and so on. When small matters come up before a big House, they cannot be resolved. For example, our House consists of 525 members. You cannot discuss a matter of detail in a precise manner in the House; that can be done more effectively in the committee.

These are some of the matters which arise in connection with the committee system and I hope we will hear from colleagues their views on them.

MR. CARTER: I am not contributing anything at this stage. I was very much interested to hear about the committee system. All of us are very much interested in it. But I would like to know your views on the relevance of an elaborate committee system in a very small Parliament such as we have in most of the Caribbean countries where a House does not exceed 36 members.

MR. LITTLEJOHN: I would like to comment on the last point made before I speak on the usefulness of the committee system. My House has not 36, it has 87,

but we do a great deal of work through the committee system. We have a varying number of committees, about 20. Most of them are standing committees, and usually on days when the committees sit, Tuesday and Wednesday of each sitting week, there are from 6 to 10 committees sitting. So a small parliament can make constructive use of the committee system.

We have reduced the number of members on each Committee because of the increasing number of committees. We find that they work better with a small number of members. Most of them have 7 members. Some which are more important have 10, and I think one has still 12.

This brings me back to what my friend, Mr. Shakhder, said about the Estimates Committees and other Committees that look at the financial involvement of Government through committees.

The functions he described are carried out by one Committee in New Zealand which we have had since 1962, the Public Expenditure Committee. It absorbed the functions of the Public Accounts Committee and added to them investigational functions which were carried out in the House of Commons by whichever committee it was, I think it was Public Accounts Committee.

We used the terms of reference of the House of Commons, adapting them to our own needs, and have devised something which would empower our Committee not only to consider the Estimates in close de-

tail each year but also, acting separately and at a different time of the year, during the parliamentary recess, the Committee which has three sub-committees, investigates any matter that involves public expenditure, any corporations and any other organisations which receive contributions from the Consolidated Revenue Account.

In past years, that Committee has made a large number of investigations many of whom had been useful, and they have resulted in the improvement of our system. The Committee reports every year and includes in the printed report a report from Government on action taken by Cabinet as a result of previous recommendations. Through that system, there is a good check on the work of the Committee. In 1962, we also established the subordinate function of examining subordinate legislation, and have attached it to a Committee, called the Statute Revision Committee. That Committee deals with technical legal matters. In that year—1962—we had a good many complaints and criticisms from academic colleagues throughout the country that Subordinate Legislation was brought into force without proper scrutiny, and we set up a Committee to examine the problem. That Committee recommended that the House should provide itself with an opportunity to study the subordinate legislation and all regulations are now laid before Parliament.

We found that it was a simple procedure. A copy of each regulation is put in a box in the table office and from there it is recorded on the Order Paper.

The purpose of that is to enable Members to raise before the Statute Revision Committee or before the House any matters relating to that subordinate legislation.

From 1962 until now, nobody has found anything sufficiently worth criticising to bring before the Committee or to make use of that provision. It was mentioned towards the end of our recent session for the first time since 1962. I was interested because I was responsible for the preparation of its terms of reference in 1962, and I would have known if it had been used but it has not been used. So, I was interested to hear Shri Shakti speaking about all this. We have a Petitions Committee. The number of petitions has been reduced quite considerably following the appointment of an Ombudsman. But, still, we give quite a careful consideration to petitions from members of the public. We recently had an occasion in New Zealand where a Member of Parliament made critical remarks about the non-members. One Member had something to say about the medical profession. We have not had that system in New Zealand whereby such a person could bring in a petition for being considered by the Petitions Committee. We might, of course, devise some such system whereby the reports of the Petitions Committee might be made public in the House. In fact, the reports of the Petitions Committee are usually very brief, but there is no reason why it should not be long enough to set out the findings of the Committee.

There are two other things which we have devised. First is the advisory services which we provide. Just in the last couple of years or so, we have appointed a few highly qualified people in the middle level of grading, and we have attached them to the Committees. Their function is to provide a commentary on submissions from the witnesses and to investigate matters which the Committee is required to investigate and to help them in the drafting of the report. When I say they help, they give us a very substantial help and I think you all understand what I mean by that. The service has been very well accepted and has been commented on by the Speaker formally and in a written report from the Standing Orders committee. I recommend it for the consideration of anybody who uses the committee system.

The Committee have the power to travel and that has been there for many years. We have recently extended that to the committee of the caucuses of the two parties. Here we are getting out of the range of the ordinary functions of Parliament which are properly regarded as the functions of the State and Government to functions of politicians in their political capacity. We have done something more than that to assist the political parties. We have provided them with research units containing a staff of ten, some of them quite highly paid, to assist in party matters. They should be matters relating to the party's functioning in Parliament, but I am bound to say that as an election draws near, the scope of the interest of those groups seems to have

widened a little. But because the party caucus committee can travel and take our staff with them, we have as a consequence been involved in providing a little more service to the political parties for party purposes. It is a development which needs to be watched fairly carefully. I have had a slight difference with a colleague in Australia over something I wrote in *The Table*. These remarks are relevant, but I shall prepare a suitable reply for future publication. I think we agree that this is something to be watched carefully and this was acknowledged by the Australians when I was there. It is not my suggestion that there could be a great deal of partisan activity by public servants; that is not really what is happening at all. I think that in these few words I have covered the developments in recent times which are of interest to us here.

SHRI SHAKDHER: I was very much interested in hearing Mr. Littlejohn that his secretariat is moving into the political secretariat of the parties. Our members would very much wish to do that but we have been resisting that. I can tell him that we have a very big research department, library and research department here which is made use of by members, individually or collectively. Our instructions to the research staff are: be objective in your approach and do not write anything from the party point of view. For example, we give them factual data, documents and papers and things like that; we make studies and make them available to every Member. What we do for every Member is for every Member;

what an individual member wants from us is for the individual himself. As part of instructions, we have told them that they would not quote our Research or Library for anything that they say. They must take responsibility for what they say in the House or outside on the basis of information given by our Library. Our Library has been very useful. When you visit our Parliament House, we will take you round and show, what amount of work they are doing for Members collectively as well as for Members individually. It is a very extensive Department doing very useful work.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not going to expatiate myself on the Committee system that we have in the House of Commons. I will ask Mr. Bradshaw to do that, because in a previous position, he had a great deal to do with this. He has also a slightly more elastic memory than I have now.

I would only mention a few words on the relevance of a Committee system such as is found in the large Parliaments to the small ones, as was raised here. Even large Parliaments find it difficult in manning an elaborate Committee system. With us, Members are already complaining that there are so many. For very small Parliaments, that point must be reached very soon. On the other hand, most of the things that are done with the help of an elaborate Committee system, in a large Parliament, can also be achieved in a small Parliament. It may be able to control Government expenditure and the administration of each Department in the

Chamber itself. Of course, it may very well be helped by Committees if it has on Administration, or on Public Undertakings, or to look after public petitions and things like that. If you have a small Parliament, study the system of larger ones. There are things which you can usefully pick up. In that connection, before I left London, I had the pleasure of talking to an old Member of the Society, a former Clerk in the Legislative Council, of Hong Kong, who now has rather an interesting job. He is Secretary of the Association of unofficial members of the Legislative and Executive Councils. They seemed to have formed some strange body of their own. While talking to him I got the impression that the system of Government of Hong Kong is in certain ways unique in respect of parliamentary control. It would be interesting if at some stage in our talks, Mr. Wheeler could tell us something about their Committee system there etc.

Now, I would request Mr. Bradshaw to tell you about the committee system in the House of Commons.

MR. BRADSHAW: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think, the Committee system in the House of Commons is worth talking about, because there have been many changes of some importance in the last ten years. There was one curious change bearing in mind, what Mr. Shakhder was saying about the movement towards a more elaborate Committee system. The abolition of the Committee of Ways and Means and the Committee of Supply, which was referred to yesterday is, in fact, a move in the opposite direction. The House of

Commons now deals with this financial business on the floor of the House itself rather than in the Committee of the whole House. But if you look to the pure Committees, the Select and the Standing Committees of the House, they have developed to an extraordinary degree.

The standing committees, I think, now look after 95 per cent of the Bills at the committee stage. That is their main business. Most of you, I suppose, are familiar with the way they work. They are small committees now-a-days, usually consisting of about 20 members. They are committees of debate. They have no power to send for persons or papers. All that they have to do is to debate whatever is put in front of them. It is usually a Bill which they have to go through clause-by-clause and, when they report the Bill, they are dead and a new committee is appointed for the next Bill. That makes, of course, the word "standing" committee a well known misnomer as a description of their functioning.

Nevertheless, even these committees have been put to new purposes in recent times. The use of them for regional problems has been an interesting development. There have for long been Scottish standing committees of various kinds. Lately, this use has been extended to Wales and Northern Ireland. That there are, committees on both these regions reflects the anxiety of the House, what it feels about developments in both the regions and about the separatist feelings in the regions.

Then, statutory instruments are now considered in the standing committees. Here again, as mentioned by Mr. Shakhder, the motive is a desire to get more matter off the floor of the House. They have been crowded out of consideration by other business at the time when they would normally be taken.

Second-reading committees is another example. Again, in an effort to clear the floor of the House, the second reading of uncontentious Bills has been put to standing committees. If the 20 members object to the reference to the standing committee, the Speaker has to declare, "Noes have it." But it is usually proposed only after consultation through usual channels. The second reading stage of the Bill can then be taken up in a standing committee. These are the major developments. There are a few other less important ones.

It is with select committees, however, that the greatest interest has been aroused by new developments. We have, of course, the traditional committees that have always been appointed over many years, the financial committees, for instance, the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and the Nationalised Industries Committee. This is very much the traditional pattern found in India which Mr. Shakhder has been describing.

We have a Privileges Committee and also a Statutory Instruments Committee to consider the technicalities of statutory instruments. There are also ordinary committees used by the House for any *ad*

hoc purpose as for instance, two committees set up in the last five years to consider Members Interests and which have led to the establishment of the Registry of Interests.

But most attention has been focussed on the new so-called specialist committees. This was also raised by Mr. Shakhder. It is rather a confusing term because a specialist committee is merely a select committee which is given a particular subject. But it has a special significance because of the enthusiasts for specialist committees who seek the coverage by a system of parliamentary committees of each and every Government Department.

When the Government came to wrestle with the problems in the 1960s' they went about it much more cautiously. They decided that the way to begin was to set up two different sorts of Committees. One was the Subject Committee, and they chose the subject of Science and Technology; the other is the Departmental Committee and they chose only one Department just as an experiment and that was the Department of Agriculture. Now, these Committees had great teething troubles during the earlier days. The main problem was that the Ministers disliked the idea, basically, of having a Committee to look particularly into their Departments. I remember one Cabinet Minister at that time making a very interesting remark that he did not mind being scrutinised on the floor of the House during the Question Hour; he did not mind being subjected to an examination by the Select Committee; but

he did not want both. There is a great deal of validity in that view in the context of the British Executive's relations with Parliament and I think it was that which drove another nail into the coffin of the Departmental Committees.

Anyway, the Committees that had survived during the period were the Committees on Subjects. Their position was fairly stabilised by the end of the 1960s. When the Conservative Government was elected in 1970, they produced a white paper on Committee which was acceptable to the whole House. Under this policy, the Committees appointed regularly are the Committee on Science and Technology, the Committee on Race Relations set up to conciliate relations between the British Parliament and the immigrant populations, and a Committee on Overseas Aid. These three Committees have done good work and given satisfaction to the House, and they are now part of the permanent committee system.

I may mention the Estimates Committee as well. From 1970 onwards, the old committee was renamed the Expenditure Committee and given wider terms of reference. While the old Estimates Committee could look only at the administration, the new Expenditure Committee were invited to consider any Government white paper on expenditure. Once you invite a Committee to do that, you open up the whole field of policy. So, the re-vamping of the Expenditure Committee has enlarged the scope of its activities considerably. It has laid a big report on the automobile industry—British

Leyland—because that firm has lately been receiving public money and that gives an opportunity to the Expenditure Committee to tackle them.

May I conclude by making a mention of the style in which these Committees now operate? They are extremely confident. They call upon Ministers to give evidence which the old Committees were not used to doing. The Minister usually appears when the Committee is enquiring about policy. They travel both at home and abroad in pursuit of their enquiries, and I believe they spent £80,000 this year. They get expert assistance also, as mentioned by Mr. Littlejohn, they appoint experts to elucidate matters within the terms of reference. They make much more use of Sub-Committees, a trend on which Mr. Shakhder has commented. Finally, they are set-up of the whole of the Parliament, which enables them to continue their work session to session without too much interruption. The only point on which they failed to carry the House with them was when they wanted to televise themselves.

MR. STRACHAN: Mr. Chairman, I was particularly interested in the point raised by Mr. Carter regarding the relevance of the committee system of bigger Parliaments to the smaller ones. I think smaller Parliaments have distinct problems about committees. I know one Parliament where all the members of the House but one are either Ministers or Parliamentary Secretaries. How does it function so far as the Public Accounts Committee is concerned? I know of

another Parliament which overcame that difficulty—whether it was properly done or not is another matter—by having a joint committee, including members from the other House, to form the Public Accounts Committee. I should like to hear comments particularly from the smaller Parliaments as to whether that system of taking members from the Senate or the Upper House, which has limited rights in so far as financial matters are concerned, to form the Public Accounts Committee is being followed.

THE CHAIRMAN: If in a House, all members are members of the Government, it is difficult to understand how the Government can ever be adequately controlled by the legislature. From the Government point of view, it seems to be a very nice and convenient thing to do. Anyhow, let us now come to the question of small Parliaments.

MR. WHEELER: Before I explain the functions of UMELCO (office of the Un-official Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils), perhaps it would be useful if I first of all explained the set-up in Hong Kong as regards the administration of the territory. As you know, Hong Kong is a colony. We have the usual colonial administration comprising an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The Executive Council is the senior body comprising 15 members who advise the Governor on all important matters affecting the colony and included in that is the consideration of Bills that are to be introduced in the Legislative Council. Members of the Executive Council are all appointed; there are no elected Members. The Council is comprised

of official members and unofficial members. The official members are members of the Hong Kong Government and the unofficial members are leading figures in the community. The Governor is not a member of the Executive Council. He is there to receive Council's advice and make decisions on all matters which are put to the Council. Further, he is empowered to disregard that advice. He may make a unilateral decision on any matter, but he has to explain in writing afterwards to the Secretary of State the reasons for acting in this way. That very briefly sums up the works of the Executive Council.

The next body is the Legislative Council which is slightly larger, comprising 30 members including the Governor, who is the President. Once again, there are no elected members; they are all appointed by the Queen on the recommendation of the Governor of Hong Kong. Unlike the Executive Council, where the Governor is not a Member but purely receives advice from the Members, in the Legislative Council, he is a member. He is the President and a Member and he has two votes. He has a vote in the normal way plus a casting vote in the event of a 15-15 tie, should it ever come to a division. There has not been division in my experience, which spans just over two years.

The Legislative Council deals with legislation and financial matters. There are two sub-committees of the Legislative Council. One deals with establishment and the other deals with public works. I will not go into detail regarding those sub-committees.

The Bills which the Executive Council directs should be introduced in the Legislative Council are published in the Government Gazette and then at a meeting of the Legislative Council, which meets once a fortnight, the Bill is given its first reading. The official member introducing the Bill then speaks and explains the objects and reasons of the Bill and why the measures in the Bill are necessary. The debate is then adjourned until a subsequent meeting of the Council. During the interim, unofficial members of the Legislative Council who form the body referred to by Sir David—UMELCO, who have their own office—split up into small groups of three, four or five and study thoroughly the Bills which have had their first reading. While considering the Bills, assistance of any official member concerned or any head of department or any other senior Government servant may be enlisted. They also receive representations from the public, from professional bodies and other concerned. Incidentally, this consideration of Bills is done *in camera*. This procedure for dealing with Bills is really our Committee system in Hong Kong. As a result of the discussions on the Bills, officials and unofficials reach a compromise. Unofficials usually get their way as regards any required changes or modifications to Bills and between them, they draw up a list of committee stage amendments which are made sometimes by the officials and sometimes by the unofficials. Then, at the resumed debate, at a subsequent meeting of the Legislative Council, the unofficial members are given the opportunity to speak on the Bill and give their views. They may

include in their speeches mention of the fact that certain amendments will be made at the committee stage or they may just speak for or against the Bill. After all the unofficial members who wished to speak have spoken, the official member in charge of the Bill is given the opportunity to reply and he will usually at this stage give a resume of the committee stage amendments and the reasons for them rather than waiting until the committee stage itself. At the committee stage, he will simply say 'I move such and such an amendment'.

The committee stage is very short. After the official member winds up the debate on the second reading, the question is put on the second reading. The Bill is then given its second reading. Next we go on to the committee stage which is virtually a formality. The public seeing the working of the Council could form the impression that there has not been any debate. Speeches are read incidentally; there is very little impromptu speaking and speeches are prepared beforehand.

The public may feel that there is no debate, that unofficial members are only rubber stamps. However, they are not aware of what has been happening behind the scenes. So, our Committee stage merely consists of the calling of clauses either individually or in groups, and voting on them.

I might add that the Council resolves itself into a Committee after the second reading of the Bill for the Committee stage. Subsequently, the council resumes, and the Bill is thereafter read for the third time and

then passed by the Legislative Council. The usual procedure is that the Governor assents to the Bill, on the following day, and the day after that, it is published in the Gazette. The Bill is then law, subject to our receiving notification of Her Majesty's non-disallowance. This power of disallowance has been exercised only once this century.

This is a rather brief resume of the set up of the parliamentary system in the widest sense of the term as we have it in Hong Kong.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. That was every bit as interesting as I had anticipated. This unique committee system has relevance for a much larger Parliament. There is a good deal of criticism in the UK about the way we do the committee stage of Bills. I think better legislation would certainly come if we could devise something of that kind. But I do not see it happening. It would be under severe criticism from two sides. Many Members of Parliament themselves would say, "We have come here to do certain things which our party has said it will do; if it is done this way, our party programme will be emasculated." On the other side, the civil servants would say, "Once we get shut up with Members of Parliament, we will have to reveal all kinds of things which we do not normally reveal and so official secrets will leak out." So, I do not think it has any real future though it might be useful. But we have on occasions had something of this kind with our own Select Committee system. Some twenty years ago, we decided

that the Army Act, which imposes discipline in the army, needed a thorough review, and that subject was referred to a Select Committee of the House. A corresponding number of officials of the department concerned were nominated as a sort of departmental part of the Committee. Witnesses appeared before the Committee and after the meeting was over, the officials would go away and work out their conclusions, and the result of it was a new draft of the Army Act, which was extremely well done. We also used it when reconsidering the question of disqualification of Members which resulted in the House of Commons (Disqualification) Act, 1959. We have not used it as much as we might have done, however.

MR. VIJAY SINGH: I listened with great interest to the very entertaining reasons given by the various speakers previously. As far as the Hong Kong situation is concerned, it is very similar to the system that we used to have prior to attaining independence—which is understandable, to the extent that most of the senior officials who were with us, were transferred to Hong Kong after we became independent. But over the years, there have been some modifications, which again are understandable. The other matter that I will certainly take back home with great interest relates to the working of the Petitions Committee. We have very stringent measures in regard to powers and privileges of Members. But in our system, which is down to earth, we do not have anything to protect the average man-in-the-street against anything done to him

And I think the Petitions Committee, as outlined by Shri Shakhder, is very valuable to us. And coming to Mr. Carter's point, I support it, in that the committees would not be warranted in small parliaments, as they would be in bigger ones since they facilitate communication. And the size of the parliament would perhaps be determined by the size of the country, its resources and its economy and we in Fiji have a 52-member parliament in the House of Representatives. We have two Houses; the Upper House has only 22. But in the House of Representatives, the Government enjoys a majority of 33 against 18. And we have the usual committees of Supply and of Public Accounts but on the question of consideration of bills etc., I would say that the whole House does it. That brings us to the question raised by Sierra Leone about the membership of the Public Accounts Committee and of other committees. We read of problems faced because of the number of persons available to serve on a committee of that nature. But the problem that we experience is this: we have, on the Public Accounts Committee, representation of the Opposition members; and if it is headed by an Opposition member, it is understandable in the same way as it is done in other parliaments. But on occasions, the Opposition members serving on this committee consider that the Public Accounts Committee can go a lot more in detail into the affairs and operations of various departments, pursuing Government policy. And they have, in turn, taken undue advantage of the information so available to them, to bring them out in their attacks

against the policies in various avenues. This is a problem to which we have yet to find a solution; and if any colleagues here would be able to enlighten us, I would be grateful.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

MR. JACQUES LESSARD: Being probably the only French colleague here, I would like to bring in my little contribution to this debate, with information on the committee system that we have in our House in the Quebec City. You would understand that being French speaking—my mother-tongue is French—I am not so fluent in the English language; but nonetheless I will try to make it short. But I think you could be interested by the experience that we have had in Quebec. We are working in French, but our system is based on the English system. Our book of standing orders was very bulky, 879 different Articles. So, we decided to make a new set of rules and standing orders; we worked 4 years on that and finally in 1972, we produced our first new book of standing orders.

From 814 Articles, we brought it down to about 179. It is a tool with which we work now. It is more effective. As soon as the House adopted it, we started working with it, from the 1972 session. The House adopted in 1973, the new book of standing orders permanently and it is working very well.

We have 16 Standing Committees working now and, believe me, they do a lot of

work, they are every efficient. We are very satisfied with their work and the Members themselves are quite satisfied to see that they now play a real part in making legislation because before this, the back benchers were practically doing nothing except listening in the House, but now they take part in making legislation.

As soon as we have a Bill, for instance in the educational field, it is referred automatically to the Committee on Education for study. The estimates are also studied in Committees. This will be interesting to you, namely that after the first reading, that is before the principle of the Bill is accepted, the Bill may be referred to a Standing Committee. There are public hearings and witnesses appear with briefs from different public bodies. We believe this is more democratic. For instance, we have syndicate leaders appearing before the Committee. The evidence before the Committee may influence our Government to adopt laws that are more suitable to the needs of the people. We hear public bodies and they really do a lot of interesting work and our sessions are getting longer and longer every year and I believe the time is not very far off when the House in Quebec will be sitting practically for 10 months a year. So, we think that the Committee system is something wonderful.

There is also an advantage in that. For instance, when we take up the estimates, at least three Standing Committees are studying the estimates at the same time which gives a chance to our Minister in the House. We may adjourn the House.

The time limit is 45 days to study the estimates. This gives a chance to our Ministers to attend to other business because they have a lot of other work also and they cannot be always sitting in the House every day of the week. So we seldom sit on Mondays except for a special session to give a chance to our Members to receive people from their constituencies and see what problems they have to bring them.

I wanted to make this little contribution. That is about all that I have to say.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a very interesting system which has had its own protagonists in the U.K. for a long time.

MR. HANUMANTHAPPA: I wanted to know about the powers of the Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings.

The Public Accounts Committee scrutinises the report of the Auditor-General. Sometimes it so happens that the newspapers publish certain irregularities of Departments and Members would want the Committee to examine those irregularities. Then, they request the Auditor-General to go into the matter and give a special report. Suppose the Auditor-General takes his own time, can the Committee call for the officers and examine the irregularities?

Also, there are certain Departments where the Auditor-General has no powers to audit. Can the Committee examine those Departments? For example, take the co-

operative societies in India. The Auditor-General has no powers to audit those societies. The State Governments have got their own audit system; the Auditor-General does not have the power to audit. Can the Committee examine those irregularities found in those cooperative societies?

Secondly, certain irregularities might have been committed by the nationalised industries before they were nationalised. Can the Committee on Public Undertakings examine the irregularities committed before the industry was nationalised?

The Public Accounts Committee or the Public Undertakings Committee can get the files relating to these matters. In the files if they notice that the Minister has by-passed certain procedures, can the Committee call the Minister concerned to explain the position?

MR. BRADSHAW: On the point about the Public Accounts Committee, it is in most countries a powerful Committee and could take such steps as it thought necessary. For example, if there was any lag on the part of the Comptroller and Auditor-General—I think, this was one of the points raised by Mr. Hanumanthappa—this could be settled very quickly either personally by the Chairman or, if need be, by reporting to the House. If such a strange state of affairs were to arise where the Comptroller & Auditor-General has not given satisfaction, he is removable in most Parliaments by an Address or by a motion passed in the House. If the Public Accounts Committee makes a certain recommendation, the House would follow it.

About nationalised industries or public corporations, I think, the Committee would not have power to look back into the private enterprise days, but while making an inquiry into the existing state of affairs, it would be impossible not to make comparisons. I do not think they would have power to make specific inquiries into the state of affairs of industries before nationalisation since this was strictly outside their terms of reference. But I think they could inform the House if anything came to their knowledge in the course of their inquiry into the nationalised industry. I can recall an instance or two where such comparisons were struck and the amount of progress or regress, as the case may be, was fully stated.

Could I also refer to Mr. Carter's point? I come from a large legislature but I did have the honour of looking after the Saskatchewan legislature, which has only 60 Members. When I was there, the situation was that they do have a complete network of committees and I think this is fairly common in Canadian provincial assemblies. But the big difference from the position described by Mr. Lessard was—it came as a great relief to me—that these committees never met. The reason why they never met was that the Parliament sits only for three months a year. The Members are anxious to get back to their farms and make good use of the fine weather for agriculture. They were very reluctant to come in between sessions and their sessions are for three months a year because of that commitment. The answer to Mr. Carter's point may be that it does not seem to be necessary to have longer

sessions of Parliament if you could give your committees power to meet when the House is not meeting. But it may well be in Trinidad and other places that for equally good reasons they cannot sit when the House is not sitting. If that could be got over, then perhaps the experience of large legislatures is relevant because of the range of activities which their Committees inquire into.

SHRI V. P. BHATNAGAR: I am grateful to my colleague, Mr. Hanumanthappa, for having raised the point of the Public Accounts Committee and the scope within which it works. I entirely agree with Mr. Bradshaw that it was one of the most important committees but then what I find from my experience, the little experience that I had because I have been in the legislature only for the last six to seven months, is that there are two other committees which have sprung up which I would say have more important work than the Public Accounts Committee. They are the Estimates Committee and the Public Undertakings Committee. Now the Public Undertakings Committee have two functions to perform with respect to all the corporations in which the government have got the managing control. It includes the *post mortem* of certain irregularities which have been committed by these corporations or public bodies and to suggest methods and ways and means to improve their working. Now, that is what the Committee on Estimates also does. But the Public Accounts Committee is restricted to merely going through what the C. & A. G. has indicated in the audit paragraphs. My experience is that while conducting that very important *post-mortem*, they do come across

certain occasions when they can also usefully suggest certain economy measures and certain things which should be done in future and for that purpose, they want certain information. Now, as and when those two functions come into collision with each other, the government try to get out saying that it is not within the jurisdiction of the Public Accounts Committee and that it must restrict itself only to the work of the *post-mortem*. I would pose this question for the consideration of this committee: whether some of the functions which are given to the Estimates Committee should also not be given to the Public Accounts Committee just as it is done in the case of Public Undertakings Committee?

THANK YOU.

SHRI BANERJEE: Sir, I heard with interest what Mr. Hanumanthappa said and also what my friend, Mr. Bhatnagar, said. I must at the outset admit that I have no direct knowledge of the working of the Public Accounts Committee because in India, the Rajya Sabha, of which I happen to be the Clerk, is only associated with the PAC. The Secretariat for the PAC is provided by the Lok Sabha Secretariat. So, I do not have direct knowledge, but I should say that it is well known that the PAC begin their work with reference to the audit report submitted by the Comptroller and Auditor-General to both Houses of Parliament and that forms the subject-matter of their enquiry. Mr. Hanumanthappa said this. Suppose, while the Public Accounts Committee is having its sitting, it is brought to the notice of the

Committee that some irregularities relating to the use of Government money were committed by a particular department not included in the PAC's scrutiny and it is publicised in newspapers. He asked whether the PAC would look into the matter. I only heard Mr. Bradshaw saying that the PAC is a powerful committee and he did not specifically answer this question. After all, the terms of reference of the PAC are there. What are their functions? They see whether the money which is granted by Parliament has been properly spent. That is their main function. So, it is all right, but one has to look into the practical aspect of the matter. In India, the PAC works throughout the year. They find it difficult to complete their work. They break into sub-committees sometimes and also they have study groups. Even then they find it very difficult to finish all the enquiries relating to matters which are contained in the Auditor-General's report. Therefore, it is rather difficult for them even if it is permissible under their terms of reference, to look into the allegations made in newspapers regarding misuse of Government money. I am not suggesting that they cannot do that. I think it would be more appropriate, when such a matter is brought to the notice of the PAC and they think it fit, if they would ask the Comptroller and Auditor-General first to look into the matter and make a special report on that, instead of themselves launching an enquiry on the basis of a newspaper report. In my submission, that would be a more appropriate way of looking into the matter.

I am in complete agreement with Mr. Bradshaw in regard to what he said on the

Committee on Public Undertakings, the Committee on Nationalised Industries, as it is called in the U.K. They more or less perform the same functions. There *post mortem* into the activities or accounts of that particular undertaking prior to the date of nationalisation perhaps is not a subject-matter of enquiry before such a Committee. However, while dealing with current matter, for the purpose of comparison, if they wish to enquire into how this particular industry functioned in the pre-nationalised days, they are entitled to take into consideration the activities of the particular industry in the pre-nationalised days.

I would refer to one further point raised by Shri Bhatnagar. He asked: Why not expand the scope of activities and functions of the PAC and allow them also to make suggestions as to how there can be reduction or economy in the expenditure of a particular department in respect of any matter. I think, if you do that, the Estimates Committee will catch hold of you. That properly forms part of the work of the Estimates Committee. They certainly look into the estimates of a particular department. They do not go estimate by estimate; they broadly take up a particular department of a Ministry, and while examining the estimates, they no doubt make numerous recommendations as to how economy in expenditure can be effected. If that is done also by the Public Accounts Committee, they will come into cross purposes and possibly they will be treading on the jurisdiction of another, which does not properly belong to them. It is better that these two Committees func-

tion in their own spheres and do not come into clash with each other.

These are my submissions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

SHRI S. R. KHARABE: About the various Parliamentary Committees, Mr. Shakhder has enumerated five or six of them and these Committees have been working in almost all the States. As far as Maharashtra is concerned, two or three new Committees have been formed. One is called the Panchayat Raj Committee. It was formed a year ago in the context of decentralisation of power. Machinery was set up in each district called the Zila Parishads. They have been entrusted with the execution of the development schemes, having local self-Government powers. A Committee has been set up by Parliament consisting of Members of both the Houses. As soon as the reports of the Zila Parishads are laid on the Table of the Houses, the Parliamentary Committee investigates those reports and also pays visits to the various places. Their accounts are also audited by auditors and they are examined by this Committee.

Another important Committee which has been formed very recently—about a month ago—is called the Unemployment Guarantee Scheme Committee. Our Indian Constitution has provided for the right to work for every able-bodied person. Now, the new scheme provides guarantee of employment to every able-bodied person in the rural area, and works have been started in various rural areas, and lakhs of rupees

are being spent by the Government. So, it has been part of the work of the Unemployment Guarantee Scheme, and this Committee also visits various projects and areas where people are working and makes a report.

One more Committee which has also been set up in our State is the Committee on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This looks after the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. As soon as the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes makes a report and the report is laid on the Table of the House, this Committee goes into that report and then examines the department concerned and makes suggestions for improvement and welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to say something about our new Committees.

MR. LITTLEJOHN: Mr. Chairman, I wanted to make just brief comments on the discussion that was stimulated by the question asked by my friend Shri Bhatnagar because we in New Zealand have a very pragmatic approach indeed to the matters relating to the functions of the Public Expenditure Committee. The Order of Reference of the Committee requires two separate things to be done, though it is the same committee. One is to examine the estimates and the other is to examine the accounts of departments and public corporations and various other bodies that are in receipt of any moneys from the

public account. The Committee has many sources from which it is able to make its decision what to investigate. It has as one source the Comptroller and Auditor-General's report which is one of its principal sources referred to in the Order of Reference. It has also, as a source, anything that is brought up in the course of the examination of any department when the estimates are being considered. Also as a source it has the departments' reports that are presented. If anything is raised in any report or as a result of any report, the Committee decides for itself that it ought to carry out an investigation. It also has as a source, any information that comes to or from any member which may be brought to the Committee, through any member of the Committee. That is to say, it can use its own initiative to examine anything it feels it ought to examine. That is a very wide-ranging field from which it can receive inspiration and it is able to do that through its rather broad terms of reference. I will be able to make them available to any one after getting home if anybody wants to know anything more. I have not got any copy here. I will be glad to supply it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. I think we must now take stock of our proceedings. We are to adjourn at half past twelve. This subject of Committees has proved very interesting. Lot of Members have spoken. I think there are still contributions to be made. But I have to cut things short. I wonder whether it will be possible to have one more meeting beyond the present one.

Actually I had engaged myself to go out to the countryside tomorrow to visit some Indian friends on their farm, and I am afraid, I cannot disappoint them. But, we can sit on Tuesday morning if anybody is still going to be here. We could then deal with the subject of administration, after which we have certain formalities which I would not like to rush through. I know it means that probably all our colleagues from the Indian States would have left us because they are going to prepare to receive us in their States, and we very much appreciate their concern. But if enough remains, it will be interesting to talk briefly on the administrative problems in the House of Commons and discuss them generally. We could do that. An alternative would be that after our visit to the Parliament building this afternoon, we should return here and meet.

SHRI BANERJEE: I should suggest that this is a very interesting subject and it can be discussed for hours together. But having regard to the time available at our disposal, we have to close the discussion at some stage or the other. My respectful submission to the Chairman will be that I would request him to sum up this discussion now and close this subject to-day and we may meet again on Tuesday morning. It is true that some of our friends from the States will be away but not all of them. But there is no objection from our point of view to having a meeting on Tuesday, as proposed by the Chairman, at 10.30 for another two hours.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that agreeable?

SHRI BANERJEE: We can then discuss about 'Administration of Parliaments' which is very important from the point of view of the Clerks. We can hear from Sir David as to what has happened recently in the U.K. Similarly, we had also a parliamentary committee, a very high-powered committee, to deal with the administration and reorganisation of the Secretariats of the two Houses, whose recommendations we have implemented. That will be a very important matter for the Clerks to discuss. If we get into that discussion, I am pretty sure we will take a long time and it cannot be done in less than an hour and a half or two hours. So, if there is no objection, I would suggest that we close this subject to-day before lunch with a summing-up from the Chairman. He may say what is the conclusion which has emerged from the discussion and leave the other matter to be discussed on Tuesday. There is also some formal matter, as Sir David indicated, which is usually done at the end of the Conference, and that will also take a little time. So, we can meet on Tuesday at 10.30 a.m. as usual.

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't think there is any particular problem in that. Well, that suggestion seems to be agreeable. Before I proceed to sum up which is going to be very difficult, Mr. Partap Singh will be making his last appearance here and so I would like to give him an opportunity to intervene.

SHRI PARTAP SINGH: We in Punjab have 13 standing committees, of which four are elected by the House and nine nominated by the Speaker. Each of the committees

has the power to send for persons, papers and records. Where any question arises whether the evidence of a particular person or the production of a document is relevant for the purposes of the committee, the question is referred to the Speaker whose decision is final. Again where the Government feels that the production of a document cannot be done on the ground that its document would be prejudicial to the safety or the interest of the State, the Committee is stopped from asking for the production of the document. Sir, I want to seek your guidance on two points. If the Government gives a certificate under this rule that the disclosure of a particular document would be prejudicial to the safety or the interest of the State, and the Committee, notwithstanding the certificate, insists upon the production of that document, what should be done? Secondly, in one or two cases, the Committees have insisted that the Ministers concerned should be asked to appear before them. Usually we call the Secretaries to appear before the Committees and not the Ministers.

I would like to know what is the procedure in the House of Commons. Our Rules of Procedure provide that the Speaker can give directions from time to time to the Chairman of the Committee to regulate its procedure. But in such cases, my personal experience is, that if there is a difference of opinion between the Committee on the one hand and the Government on the other, it is embarrassing for the Speaker to take a decision one way or the other. So, I would like to have your guidance on these two points.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I will try. Regarding documents, if a witness says that for reasons of security he cannot produce a document, the Committee have no power to make him do so. All that they could do, if they wanted, would be to make a special report to the House saying that they are impeded in their investigation by the refusal of a certain Department to produce certain documents and ask the House to express its opinion that should be produced. That will apply some moral pressure on the Department. But it is, however, unlikely to be supported, because if there were any vote in the House whether to agree with the Report of the Committee, that would involve the Government putting their whips on and the majority would defeat it. But according to the nature of the case, it exercises a certain amount of moral pressure on the Department.

Regarding Ministers appearing before Committees, it would depend on probably the order of reference of the Committee. It is not so common in the House of Commons. But if the Committee had an order of reference which involves broad matters, it might be appropriate for the Minister to appear.

As regards relations with the Speaker, the Speaker has no relations at all with the Committees and he cannot give them instructions. The Chairman of Ways & Means cannot do so as such. But there is a body, one might call it a semi-official body—the Chairman's Liaison Committee, presided over by the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, which meets

from time to time and discuss matters of general interest, including the matter mentioned earlier by Mr. Bradshaw regarding overseas travel. The Speaker does not get embarrassed because he is not involved at all.

SHRI PARTAP SINGH: Our rules say that Speaker can give directions to the Committee. When we find that there is an impasse or controversy, we try to resolve it by referring the case to the Speaker and sometimes we feel that he may find it rather embarrassing if he were to take a decision either way.

There is one more point on which I want to seek your guidance.

Can any Committee ask for the production of character roll of a senior civil servant who is involved in an irregularity or in connection with a case which is under the examination of the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: Character roll?

MR. BRADSHAW: Confidential report.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think any Department would certainly refuse to produce it. They would regard it as a grave attempt to enter into the internal confidentiality of the Department.

SHRI BANERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to enlighten my friend on the practice in the Parliament. If the Depart-

ment or the Government tells the Committee that it cannot produce a particular document or record on the ground that the disclosure of that will be prejudicial to the interests of the State, that is the end of the matter. But, there has been an instance where, due to pressure, the Department concerned had refused to produce the document before the Committee. In some cases, they have shown the paper unofficially to the Chairman to show their *bona fides* in the matter, to show that they are not suppressing anything.

About the second point: There has been a very recent case in the Parliament of India where the Public Accounts Committee reported that their inquiry into a particular matter was prejudiced by the non-production by the Government of certain papers on the ground that it was not in the public interest to disclose them. This is a very recent case. So, our practice is more or less the same as in the House of Commons.

Coming to the point about the Ministers being called, I would say that the Ministers are not called. But I can recall one instance where there was some trouble in the Public Accounts Committee. One Minister, though he was not called by the Public Accounts Committee, volunteered to give evidence before the Committee to clarify the situation and clear his name in a particular matter and that is the only case in which a Minister, at his own request, was permitted to appear before a Committee. The Committee does not use its power of exercising its right to call a

Minister relying upon the rule that the Committee can call any person to appear before the Committee. That was the only Report, only two paragraphs of that report, relating to the dealing by that particular Minister in respect of the same subject matter, which came up for discussion, special discussion, before the House. I do not know of any other instance where the Report of the Public Accounts Committee was debated on the floor of the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. Yes, Mr. Yumba, you wanted to say something.

MR. YUMBA: Sir, I would like Mr. Bradshaw to explain how successful the abolition of the Committees of Supply and of Ways and Means has been in the House of Commons.

THE CHAIRMAN: Completely, I think, Yes, I think I should say that. But my view on this subject is likely to be somewhat prejudiced. I think somewhere I have mentioned a particular matter in which there was some criticism. The old Committee on Supply was a very good opportunity for the Chairman of the Ways and Means to try out the Members of the Chairman's Panel. This body is appointed by the Speaker in each session and from it he can appoint the Chairman of the Standing Committees who are also available to relieve the Chairman and the two Deputy Chairmen of Ways and Means in Committee of the Whole House itself.

Now, the Committee on Supply used to provide a number of occasions on which there was a fairly easy debate and the Members of this Panel could be tried out in the Committee of the Whole House itself. They gained experience in this way, so that when it came to the appointment of a Deputy Chairman on Ways and Means, you had a number of people who had a lot of experience in the House. Very soon after the Committee of Supply was abolished, it became apparent that this source of training no longer existed, and that probably is something to be regretted.

As regards the actual financial procedure, I do not think there have been any ill-effects. We have some kind of debates on the supply days as we had before, but without having to device fictional collection of votes and things like that. I had not myself suggested the abolition of the Committee of Ways and Means, though I think it has worked well; the Procedures Committee itself recommended it and the House adopted it and it has had no ill-effects. Rather it makes for a better form of Budget debate than we used to have. Instead of having, as we used to have before, a series of motions moved and acted upon at the beginning of the Budget debate, which took place on a final general motion, now we have simply one (general) motion moved in the beginning and do not vote on the other motions till the end—which is rather better. So, apart from its effects on the Chair, I do not think there has been any criticism of

the abolition of the Committee of Supply and Ways and Means.

I will just try to sum up as best as I can. It seems to me that although there is a great deal of variety between the starting points of those who have spoken, there is much similarity in their problems. There is clearly a division between what may be called large Assemblies—in which is included the United Kingdom and the Central Parliament of India; and I think New Zealand has certainly included itself as I judge it from Mr. Littlejohn's account of it, and I think that New Zealand would certainly fall on the large side of the line, and indeed, clearly, most of the Indian State Assemblies fall into this group—and small Assemblies.

I was interested to know, incidentally, that New Zealand is in many ways parallel to the United Kingdom, particularly in relation to the part played there by experts in advising committees, which is parallel to our system of having specialist advisers. Our committees are entitled to have such people who advise them on a number of things and contribute in a certain amount in very complicated cases such as taxation matters, and a great deal to the drafting of the reports.

In very small legislatures, obviously, you have to go about the question in a quite different way, and it is very difficult to deal with because of the shortage of members. But, as I said at the beginning, the same problems generally remain to be

covered. If you have a Lower House, of which most members belong to the Government, I do not see how you can have a proper legislative scrutiny of the Executive, unless you do it, as Trinidad does, by bringing in the Upper House. We have seen, very interestingly, two systems right on their own. That in Hong Kong, results from UMELCO (Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Council's Office). That seems to me very effective at the Committee stage of Bills, so that the debate stage becomes more or less a formality. For two reasons, which I gave earlier, namely that many Members would not like it, and that the public civil servants would not like it, I do not see such a system coming forward in my country.

A third reason is that as I understand it, this body meets in private. I do not think that that proposition will be found acceptable in the United Kingdom as a general rule.

We also had another system which, I do not think, is quite what Mr. Lessard had mentioned in Quebec. The difference between the systems in Quebec and that in Saskatchewan is this, namely, that while the Quebec system appears to be working, the Saskatchewan does not. Finally, we do not have any doubt as to the usefulness or the importance of a good system of select committees. Parliaments, greater and small alike, suffer from the limitation of their numbers. A Member cannot be in two places at one time. It has happened not infrequently in the House of Com-

mons when a Member has had to attend two committees at the same time, and has even had to run down the passage from one to the other, to take part in. I think a considerable number of unofficial Members of the House of Commons are Members of one or more Select Committees. This is reflected in the Chamber. However important the debate may be, even during the opening speeches now-a-days you will see the House thin out and that is partly because of the committees. People have complained that the committee system is doing a damage to the level of debate in the House itself. That is a problem we have to resolve. I think it is easier in small Assemblies. In a small territory, the House itself meets less often. Therefore, you can generally provide for meetings of the committees at some other time.

I think, in conclusion, it is clear that all the Parliaments have been finding a growing use of select-committee system. But it has not reached the ideal form. This is a major problem.

I am grateful to all those who had made such excellent contributions to today's discussions. Well, it is time to adjourn. We will meet again on Tuesday strong and fresh at 10.30, after the various festivities in between and discuss the Administration of Parliaments.

I close the meeting till Tuesday, 10.30 A.M.

*Adjourned till 10.30 A.M. on 4th
November, 1975*

TUESDAY, 4th November, 1975

The Sitting was opened at 10.30 A.M.

SIR DAVID LIDDERDALE *takes the Chair.*

ADMINISTRATION OF PARLIAMENT

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us come to our main business which is to discuss the subject: 'the Administration of Parliament.' I think it might be of interest to some of you to hear as an opening of the subject, a little bit about the investigations which we were having in the House of Commons.

SHRI SHAKDHER: Mr. Chairman, would you like this to be off the record?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think possibly it is best that it be reported, but I am speaking in confidence to you all. If necessary and if I say something which I do not want to go on record, I would cross it out.

Our experience is only partly relevant to anybody else. Nevertheless, we have in the end to deal with the same kind of problems. So, it may be of some interest to you. The first stage of the investigation is what is known as the Compton Report. It has been published and it has received a certain amount of publicity.

As some of you may know, we are not a unified service at the House of Commons. We are divided into five departments. Three of these have a statutory basis in

the House of Commons Offices Act, 1812—with one or two later amendments—namely, the Department of the Clerk; the Department of the Serjeant-at-Arms, who is responsible entirely for what is called house-keeping, order keeping and security.

There is then the Department of the Speaker which until three years ago contained not only his own office, but his secretary, as well as the trainbearer and others. It also contained the Library, Hansard and the Vote Office which deals with the distribution of papers and the Fees Office that deals with the financial side. Well, in 1964 when the Labour Party came back to power, the Government immediately got the House to set up a Select Committee on the Palace of Westminster. Following the report of this Committee, the House in 1965 set up a body called the Select Committee on House of Commons (Services). This Committee is advisory to the Speaker, although in some respects, it has come to enjoy certain executive powers. Just before dissolution in early 1966, this Committee advised the setting up of an inquiry, by the Organisation and Methods Division of the Treasury, into the administration of the House of Commons Departments. They did not give any reason for that, but it was done in 1966-1967. This investigation was very well done on the whole. Having started with the idea of proposing the unification of the three Departments, the Treasury Team found, at that time, that there were certain difficulties in doing

this, and they ended up by re-dividing the services into five Departments. They left the three already existing departments, Clerk, Serjeant-at-Arms and Speaker. They took the Library out of the Speaker's Department, and made it into a separate Department; and they set up a new Department called the Administration Department into which they put the Fees Office and also a small Establishment Section. The Speaker accepted this scheme; and it has been functioning ever since.

Well, from the fact that we are divided into five autonomous departments, it might appear that this was a very bad system and liable to lead to arguments and confusion. In fact, this has never happened partly because many people had always been, and remained, accustomed to take responsibility straight to some of the top authorities, either to the Speaker or to the Leader of the House or to the Chairman of Ways and Means. This works well. And in emergencies we can easily organise an *ad hoc* body representing all the Departments. We did have such an occasion last March when we had a tiresome printers' strike which involved various other people, and had considerable side effects on catering and on sanitary arrangements and others.

The Leader of the House formed an *ad hoc* body which covered all these things. We used to go through the various points that affected us each day and reported directly to him. If I was there, I would represent my own department and if I

could not be there, the Second Clerk Assistant or the Clerk of Public Bills would represent. And that worked very well.

However, in October 1973, when announcing my appointment to succeed Sir Barnett Cocks, the Speaker also announced an investigation into the services of the House of Commons. Its terms of reference were to consider and make recommendations, if necessary, involving the line of organisation of staffing of the House of Commons including:

(a) organisation and co-ordination of the Services now provided by the five departments; and

(b) recruitment, terms of reference, promotion and appointment of staff including those in the highest posts.

The Speaker went on to refer to certain features of the present arrangements which were causing concern as follows:

(a) the feeling which appears to be widespread among members is that there is lesser co-ordination between the five departments, largely independent, of the House;

(b) the system of making appointments not only at top level but down below has been defective with consequent problems of pay structure and personnel management. The division into five self-contained departments in the absence of regular retiring age from among the senior officers affected the staff in these matters.

The inquiry was to be conducted by a distinguished retired civil servant, Sir Edmund Compton. He had started his career in the Treasury, and later had been Comptroller and Auditor-General. He has also been the first Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration or "Ombudsman". He appeared to be a good choice, but he produced a very strange report, in which he described very well the general way in which the services of the House of Commons work and expressed his approval of it—but then proceeded to propose a totally different system, which would make our work almost impossible in certain circumstances. I got the impression that Sir Edmund Compton started off with the intention already fixed of proposing a highly centralised civil service type of system, and that he was determined to report on that basis irrespective of the evidence.

Well, the main features of Sir Edmund Compton's report, which came out last July, were that the five departments should be merged into one with common recruitment and cross posting in between. The Clerk's Department was to be significantly downgraded. He talked of bringing about a "significant shift from procedural services to administrative services." The Head of the Clerk's Department was not to be the head of the whole service. That role was to be performed by an overlord, entitled the "Chief Officer", and the Clerk was surely to be one of his Deputies ("Deputy A"). The Serjeant-at-Arms was left only with the responsibility of security, the house-keeping functions being taken away.

House-keeping responsibilities and establishment duties were to be thrown together into an enormous Administration Department under a character called Deputy B, the Library being left on their own. This report came out in July, just before I went into hospital in July for a fairly serious operation. I took the report with me, but when I woke up, I didn't feel like reading it very much. I put it aside until I returned to duty at the beginning of October. Then I read it again and again. One of the problems was that it was extremely badly written in a very turgid style and it was very difficult to disentangle Compton's own arguments. So it took me quite a long time. Eventually I sat down during the Christmas recess and found that somehow, with the help of God, everything had fallen into place, and I wrote my memorandum on the Report straight off the reel.

It had always been understood that the Compton Review, as it had come to be called, would be considered by a Committee set up by the Speaker—not a Select Committee, but an informal Committee—and that they would report to the Speaker. This Committee was set up towards the end of the last year and the Chairman was Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Treasurer of the CPA.

My Memorandum was submitted to this Committee, as also were memoranda from the other Heads of Departments, the Staff Board, the Staff Associations concerned, and one Member of Parliament. The Committee also took oral evidence. The written memoranda were all published

with the report, but the oral evidence was given on the understanding that it was not to be published unless the Committee had the permission of the witness concerned (and no oral evidence was in fact published).

I summarised my objections to Bottomley Committee in one paragraph and the Bottomley Committee was good enough to mention these objections as arguments against the report. In my Memorandum I said:

“My objections to the proposals of the Review may thus be summarised as follows:

(a) they fail effectively to recognise that the staff of the House exist to serve Members;

(b) they attempt to centralise authority in a way and to an extent entirely unsuitable to the service of the House of Commons;

(c) they seek to import an unjustified and unenforceable shift of activity from procedural to administrative and management services;

(d) they seek to put together an impracticable and unwieldy administrative sub-unit out of heterogeneous services; and

(e) they make far-reaching changes in the disposition of the functions at present performed by the Serjeant-at-Arms without having made any real investigation into the manner in which these functions are now carried out.”

The Serjeant-at-Arms dealt very effectively with the last point in his evidence and I supported him because, whether there was an argument or not, the fact was no evidence had been adduced to support it.

The matter on which I felt particularly keenly was this over-centralisation which went entirely against what Sir Edmund had said himself. He had made a correct diagnosis, but then went in the opposite direction. I quote from his own words in the Report:—

“...much of the work that has to be done for the House does not lend itself to a hierarchical staff structure with reporting lines and intermediate supervisory posts. ‘Reporting lines are informal’ is a familiar sentence in the job descriptions as recorded by me and my supporting team after our interviews with staff in every Department. Usually it meant that the job-holders habitually did their work without asking for instructions or expecting to receive them. And they were right in this, since characteristically the service of the House is carried out at operating points manned by a member or members of staff responding more or less directly to Members’ requirements.”

Having said these wise words, he went on to say that a unified service should be organised.

Anyway, I put up an alternative scheme of what I might call modified unification on a federal basis, which was to cover all the departments, the departments of the Clerk, the Sergeant, the Library and the Ad-

ministration, with an increased Established Section, because I visualised that there would be a need for cross-posting in between the various Departments although there are difficulties about that. The Clerk was to be the Head of his own Department and also as the Head of the whole service with power to give instructions if he thought it necessary to do so or if any other Head of the Department wanted it.

The scheme that the Committee put forward is not very different. They propose four new Departments, roughly on the same basis, to be run by a Board of Management which is to consist of the Clerk, the Serjeant, the Librarian and the Head of the Administration Department. But the Clerk is not to be in a position to issue general instructions.

The Bottomley Committee has proposed no change in the method of appointments to higher posts, and has recommended that the age of retirement remain in general at 65. I do not think anybody wants a change in that.

I think that the Bottomley Report is generally acceptable to most of the staff of the existing departments. There will probably be a debate on it, in December, and the House may be asked to agree to its recommendation, or it might be left to us to implement it on our own. In one respect, legislation would be necessary, that is, the proposal that the body known as the Commissioners for regulating the Offices of the House of Commons, set up in 1812, should be changed. At the moment, they consist of the Speaker and

the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other senior Ministers, which is not a very practical body. The opposition have no representation on it. The Committee proposed that its place should be taken by a re-constituted Commission, with the Speaker and the Leader of the House as principal members, but not the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and there will be opposition representation. This would need legislation.

I think probably next year we shall be asked to start building up this unified system under the Board of Management. There is already, in practice, close co-ordination between departments.

Nevertheless, however, much we might try to work in co-ordination, as long as we are separate, we are always vulnerable to criticism simply because there are separate departments. Anyway, I am confident that the Bottomley scheme will be recommended to the House. I would be personally happy to work it. All of this may have some lessons for others. On the other hand, your problems may be entirely different.

SHRI BANERJEE: Mr. Chairman, I have heard your speech and I utilised the whole of yesterday afternoon in going through the Bottomley Committee's report. I was surprised as to how somebody who was familiar with Members and later on was the Auditor General could produce such a report as was done by Sir Edmund Compton. It seems to me that he did not take into consideration the realities as to how the secretariat of a legislature functions. This report was more or less a

report which one would expect in relation to the functioning of a Government department. What was peculiar about the report was that he wanted to create an organisation very much on the lines of a Ministry of the Government of U.K. with someone called 'Chief Officer' very much like a permanent Secretary of a department with a Deputy A and a Deputy B under him and similarly other departments with a Deputy A and a Deputy B and things like that. I must, however, admit that I did not read all the memoranda annexed to the Bottomley Committee's report. But I read with great interest the two excellent memoranda submitted by Sir David Lidderdale, Clerk of the House of Commons, one relating to his comments on the report of Sir Edmund Compton and the other mainly relating to senior appointments in the House of Commons. Sir David Lidderdale has given you all the history about the report. My purpose is not so much to say much on Bottomley Committee's report because it does not very much concern us. I have taken this opportunity of intervening because we also had some parliamentary committee looking into the working of the secretariats of the two Houses very recently. It was not as a result of any resolution of the House. It arose in this way. What happened was that the Government appointed a Pay Commission for revising the pay scales, etc. of the Government officials working under the Government of India. That Pay Commission only dealt with officers and staff working under the Executive Government and they, very rightly, did not take into consideration the cases of persons working in the Legislature

Secretariats because by virtue of constitutional provisions, the two Secretariats of the Houses of Parliament are independent secretariats functioning under the Speaker and the Chairman and the Government have nothing to do with them. So, our employees did not submit any memorandum to the Pay Commission, nor did they appear before the Pay Commission.

When the Pay Commission's report was submitted to the Government and the Government was taking some decision on that, naturally there was a demand by the members of our staff that something should be done about the staff of the two secretariats of Parliament, particularly because the Pay Commission had not considered their cases.

Then, on the 16th of August, 1973, very much nearabout the time when the Speaker of the House of Commons requested Sir Edmund Compton to review the working of the House of Commons, the Speaker in the Lok Sabha and the Chairman in the Rajya Sabha, after consultation with each other, appointed a committee. It was not preceded by any investigation or enquiry by somebody outside Parliament. This was a parliamentary committee. The Chairman was the Chairman of the Estimates Committee. The other Members were: Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee; the Minister of Finance; the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs; and two Private Members of the House—one was the leader of the main opposition group in Lok Sabha, and another was an ex-minister and at one time the Leader of the House in Rajya Sabha. There were

four from Lok Sabha and two from Rajya Sabha. This Committee did extensive work. They called for memoranda from the staff; they took oral evidence from them, and they took written memoranda from them. They also requested the two Secretaries-General—both Mr. Shakti and myself—to be associated with the Committee. We took part in the deliberations of the Committee, and naturally we helped the Committee to the best of our ability. Immediately after the Committee met, they asked Mr. Shakti and myself to prepare a memorandum on the subject for the consideration of the Committee, and that formed more or less the working paper for the Committee to function. Thereafter, they had about 26 sittings and heard about 100 witnesses from all services in the two Houses, and then produced a report. I will tell you that this was not only a report revising the pay-scales of the staff, but it also went into the question of re-structuring the Secretariats of the two Houses. And they submitted a report to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. The report was accepted without any changes. I will tell you that unlike the House of Commons, here we have a unified service. By unified service, what I mean is this. There are two Secretariats, and the two Secretariats are independent, and you must be finding myself and Mr. Shakti all the time together but don't you think that there is any board which manages the two Secretariats. Mr. Shakti has his own independent Secretariat with a complement of officers and staff under him. That Secretariat has nothing to do with my Secretariat of which I hap-

pen to be the senior-most official. We are responsible for looking after the working of the two Secretariats of the two Houses, and under the overall supervision and control of the hon. Speaker and the Chairman. But I may tell you what this particular Committee recommended. The Committee agreed that the functioning of the two Houses could be better served if there was a unified service. They recommended re-structuring the organization into 11 distinct Services. And I will just mention one or two which would give you some idea of how it was done. The first one is the Legislative Service which deals with all the work relating to the Business of the House, Notice Office, Legislative Branch, Table Office, Questions, etc. Then the Financial Committees Service dealing with the Financial Committees like the Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee, Public Undertakings Committee, etc. Then there is the Executive and Administration Service which looks after the Administration, payment to the Members etc. Then there is the Library, Research and Information Service. And I must mention here that this particular Service is common to both the Secretariats. That means, we in the Rajya Sabha do not have a separate Library, Research and Information Service. But the Members of Rajya Sabha get all their help in respect of this matter from the Library, Research and Information Service of Parliament which functions under the administrative control of Mr. Shakti.

Then, we have got the Verbatim Reporting Service and the Stenographers Service. Another important Service which we have

got and you do not have is the Interpretation Service. This Service is necessary because we have speeches in different languages, particularly in Hindi, and there is, as you all know, a simultaneous interpretation going on all the time. Another Service which we have got is called the Printing Publications, Stationery, Distribution and Archives Service. Then, there is another important branch called the Editorial and Translation Service which deals with translation of Debates and Parliamentary papers. I may tell you for your information that each and every document that we issue is translated into Hindi from English and *vice versa*. So that means a good deal of work. Then, there is the Watch and Ward, Door-keeper and Sanitation Service very much like that of the Serjeant-at-Arms. Then, there is the Clerical Service which is common to all the Divisions and lastly the Messenger Service. What I mean to say is that though the Secretariat was functionally reorganised into these various Services, they did not take away the unified nature of the Services of the whole Secretariat. The whole Secretariat in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha is under the control of the Speaker and the Chairman, respectively. That is the statutory position. But, in fact, all these Services are functioning under the control of the Secretaries-General. They are responsible for anything that happens in their Secretariats, be it a procedural matter or a matter which is dealt with by the Serjeant-at-Arms or things like that. That happens to be the position here. But, this should not give you an impression that the two Secretariats function in a very highly centralised

manner. That is not so. Each of the eleven Divisions or Services that I mentioned is under the charge of a person, whom we call the Chief of the Service or Division and he is, by virtue of the delegation of powers, entitled to take decision on most of the matters himself. Of course, if he requires any assistance or guidance, he consults us. Therefore, the Secretary-General being at the top of each of the two Secretariats does not mean that the work cannot proceed unless and until somebody at the top gives the clearance. It is a fact that all these Services and Divisions function under our supervision and control but the Chiefs of the Service/Division have enough authority or delegation of powers so as to enable them to carry on the day-to-day work relating to their Services.

I may also mention another very important recommendation contained in this Report. Previously, the Lok Sabha Secretariat was making its own recruitment. They were holding their own examinations for selecting staff at different levels by interviews, if necessary, and we in the Rajya Sabha were also separately doing the same thing.

I may tell my friends here that under the Constitution, the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha Secretariats, being two independent Secretariats, function outside the control of the executive Government and we do not have to go to the civil services commission, which is in our case the Union Public Service Commission, for anything. They have nothing to do with appointments or discipline or any other matter in relation to

the staff of the two Secretariats. That means that we make our own appointments. Even the appointments of the Secretaries-General of the two Secretariats are made by their Presiding Officers. Theoretically, this power is with the Presiding Officers but in actual practice, the Presiding Officer consults the Prime Minister before making the appointment. That means that nobody could appoint me as Secretary-General unless the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha mentioned it to the Prime Minister. I know it because it so happened when I was appointed as Secretary-General. I presume that the same must be the position in the case of the Secretary-General of Lok Sabha also. Of course, the consultation is informal because they are not required to consult anybody.

In respect of other appointments, the Lok Sabha were making their own recruitment and we, in the Rajya Sabha, were making our own recruitment. But as a result of this Committee's Report, we have formed, what we call a Central Recruitment and Training Cell, which is manned by the staff from both the Secretariats and is functioning under the control of a senior officer.

And whenever each of the two Secretariats requires staff at different levels, we hold a common competitive examination and out of the list, Lok Sabha takes some of them and Rajya Sabha takes the others. But in any case, when the Lok Sabha Secretariat or the Rajya Sabha Secretariat has no vacancy in a particular cadre, the recruitment may be done separately by the Secretariat which requires such men. This has helped us in one way in the sense that here

is no duplication of work. That is one thing. Secondly, the standard of recruitment of the staff for the two Secretariats would hereafter be the same. Since 1974, when the Report was accepted and when this Training and Recruitment Cell was started, we had made all the recruitment in the two Secretariats as a result of this common Recruitment Board set up by Mr. Shakti Chandra and myself. The two Additional Secretaries who are equivalent to Clerk Assistants in the House of Commons look after this common recruitment under our overall control. I myself find this of great use in cutting down unnecessary expenditure, delay and in standardising the quality of recruitment in both the Secretariats.

I should mention also another point which may be of interest to my colleagues here. This Report reiterated the position which is taken all along by the Parliament Secretariat and I do not better than quote a very important note recorded by Speaker Mavalankar who, as you know, was the person responsible to a great extent in placing the Secretariat of Lok Sabha on a very independent footing. Very often a question is asked, "Well, after all what control has the Treasury on you?" Now, Treasury has only this control that our estimate has to be included in some vote and, therefore, there is a vote in Lok Sabha and a separate vote in Rajya Sabha. We prepare our budget and send it to the Ministry of Finance so that it can be included in the General Estimates and it comes before the Lok Sabha. But the convention is that this vote is never discussed and the House simply grants the vote. Here you may ask, "Mr. Banerjee,

if you want to incur some expenditure, are you completely independent of the Treasury?" I should say that within the limits of the vote we are and this independence has been maintained in a manner like this: This is what Speaker Mavalankar recorded a long time back, I think it is round about 1950. There was a suggestion that important appointments, etc. should be made with the concurrence of the Ministry. He said: "I am unable to accept the principle of compulsory consultation with the Ministry. If the Ministry, the Finance Ministry, is particular to insist on their concurrence on the supposition that the Speaker will be unreasonable and they alone are the guardians of the financial interests of the Government, the Speaker may also equally be allowed to consider that the Finance Ministry will merely have the point of rupees, annas and pies and will not be able to appreciate and understand the requirements and necessities of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. In my view, therefore, I cannot agree to any provision where the consent of the Ministry is necessary for giving effect to what the Speaker thinks is essential for the Lok Sabha Secretariat and the Lok Sabha." This represents the correct position as it happens here.

The convention that has developed here is this. In matter relating to appointments, we have nothing to do with the Government whatsoever. In the matter of the creation of new posts, we do not go to the Government except when the posts have to be made permanent, but that follows on the basis of a common formula that a post which has temporarily remained in existence for a particular period, auto-

matically becomes permanent. But in respect of other expenditure, as I told you, Mr. Shakhder and myself have, under the recommendations of this Committee, full powers in respect of our own Secretariat, as are exercised by the Finance Secretary in respect of the Government of India. So, in that respect, we are also quite independent. If at any point of time any of our proposals from the financial point of view does not seem to be acceptable to the Ministry of Finance, they do not turn down the proposal but the practice is, they try to discuss with us and we invariably come to some agreement. If there is any disagreement between us, the Finance Minister takes up the matter with the Speaker or the Chairman and they discuss at that level. And I am very glad to report that no occasion has so far arisen whereby the Government or the two Secretariats had come into conflict with each other.

I told my friends here of what we have done in this respect. These things may not have much bearing on the working of your own Secretariats in your own legislature but this information certainly will be useful to you in the matter of impressing upon the authorities in your place that this is how the two big Secretariats of the two Houses of Parliament in India function and they function more or less on the same lines as in the House of Commons, except that here there is no Speaker's Department, there is no Serjeant-at-Arms Department. There is one Department and that is the Lok Sabha Secretariat which functions under one man, that is, the Secretary-General and we have felt no difficulty in working both in relation to

our service to the Members or to the House or in relation to our staff.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. That was a very interesting description of your system which is, as you said, more centralised than ours although in some respects, it works very much in the same way.

MR. WIJESINHA: I was listening with interest to what Sir David had to say about the House of Commons and it struck me that the problems he has are the problems of a large organisation with so many employees. I wonder how many you have in the House of Commons in all these branches.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have around 500.

MR. WIJESINHA: Now, that is not the problem that most of us other than India, probably, may have to face. The problem really that we have would be of a small scale and the necessity to divide the staff of the House into so many branches should not arise in our case.

In fact, my second suggestion to the smaller Legislatures would be that we consolidate administration in one hand and have one or two Divisions which are manageable, resulting in the Clerk being both the Accounting Officer and the Head of the whole Secretariat. If, for instance, as we have in Sri Lanka, the Clerk is at the apex with one or two Assistants and Divisions—for instance, a Section of the Serjeant-at-Arms, a Section of the Editors and a Section of an Administrative Assistant—that would be fairly manageable for

a small Legislature. The main thing is to see that there is authority exercisable without the staff having to run to various fountains; particularly in a Legislature where the staff come in contact constantly with the Legislators, if you permit any other outside influence to have effect, you will find you are running a disorganised administration. So my suggestion is to have a Clerk as the Head.

In England, the Serjeant-at-Arms is some body who is a retired General or Admiral—a man of different stature. We have imported this term to our Legislature but not the stature of the appointee.

But let it be clearly understood that the Serjeant-at-Arms, the Editor and the Administrative Assistant know their Head. If they do not know who their Head is and they are made independent heads on the British pattern, there will be disorder. You cannot run an organisation unless there is a Chief. In a country like ours where there is Emergency, unless authority is duly exercised, the institution would not run properly. For instance, as I said last year, if you have to organise a Conference of this nature, there must be somebody in overall charge, who can apportion duties, see that the whole organisation is properly run. The problems of the larger institutions like the House of Commons should not be imported by us.

For instance, Catering Services in London may be different. In most countries with small Legislatures, if there is a Catering Service, it will be a subsidised Service. MPs do not like to pay the price of meals

that they would do in a hotel, but they will demand a better meal than they would get in a hotel. In Colombo, we have a restaurant for the MPs where meals are subsidised. The price of the meal has remained the same for long. This must remain stagnant. And if you allow the Catering Service to be from outside, you bring outside problems. Run it yourself. Appoint somebody of your staff and see that it runs under your authority. Otherwise, you are creating situations which become unmanageable later on.

Then take the Printing Service. Unlike in the House of Commons, in most of our Parliaments, the printing is at the Government Printer's Office. What we have done is to ask them for a separate section in the Government Printer's Office which does parliamentary work when there is any parliamentary work to be done. It may well be that they have other jobs at other times, but when Parliament is sitting, all other work has to be set aside. For instance, last year complete record of the proceedings of our Conference, we did in that Section—and that is a good job.

Then in regard to administration, we have somebody like an administrative Secretary in a Ministry. The staff of most of our Legislatures would not exceed 200 persons. In Colombo, we manage a Parliament of 157 MPs with a staff of about 160, which includes, amongst others the clerical staff, the interpreters—we have simultaneous interpretation—the translators, the shorthand writers, the sub-editors—and we manage with that because on the one hand, we do not sit every day, and on the other,

unlike in England, we do not have the summer recess. We meet in the first week and third week of the month—almost for 90 days in a year. The rest of the time they have little work, in fact, no work on some days. When there is work and when Parliament sits from 10 in the morning to 11 in the night or even midnight, they work, and work hard. As against that, they have free hours on the days that they do not work. The normal public service regulations do not apply to our staff in the sense that normally they have to come at 8.15 and sign off at 4 or 5. I just do not bother about what time they come on non-sitting days. But on sitting days, they come at 7 in the morning.

The only way to see that they work in that way is to relax the rules at the time they do not work, and it is our duty, as I mentioned last year, to see that our staff get the salary scales they deserve but salary scales in proportion to what the rest of the public service gets. For instance, in any country, I think the Central Bank staff is about the best paid; they get the best of both worlds, the commercial sector and the government sector. We do not subject ourselves to any Salaries Commission or anything like that. We stay out. We do not go and make any demand from a Salary Commission mainly because we want to preserve our independence. But what we do is that the moment there is a Salary Commission, we wait for the report and see what others of parallel status are getting, see what the Central Bank staff gets, then, after everybody else has got his demands, we go in with ours and get the best possible, always being reasonable.

Of course, there is a Staff Advisory Committee to Parliaments. The Treasury will never object to the salaries asked for being given to us so long as they are reasonable demands. At the same time, we have got to see that somebody like the Clerk, who is at the head, who may have the same position as the Permanent Secretary in a Ministry, has the right both to appoint members of his staff and appoint at a particular point in the salary scale. Get the scales approved by the Treasury, but at what point you fix a subordinate in the salary scale is your business. That is not a matter that should be subject to review by anybody else. If you have those working conditions where there is a definite Head in authority whose authority is recognised and also a relationship with the Treasury or the Public Service Commission or any other appointing body and see that your staff is kept efficient, things will run well. After all, if it is a closed service, they cannot go for any appointments elsewhere which may be promotions. If it is a closed service, you have got to see that the people you have on your staff have adequate promotional opportunities. If you do not, they get stagnant *vis-a-vis* others who joined the public service at the same time getting promotions, getting bigger salaries and bigger positions. We have got to keep our staff adequately provided for to enable them to feel that they are also in a good service, because unlike others, they should not be transferable.

These are little matters which arise in small legislatures and which have to be attended to by the man at the head. As Shri Banerjee said, we have the same

position where the Clerk is appointed by the head of the State, obviously like the highest Judges, on a recommendation from the Prime Minister. We have security of tenure in that the Constitution provides that the Clerk cannot be removed unless on a vote in the House as in the case of the Judges of the Highest Court.

Then, although in a public service normally, they are to retire, may be at 50 in the police, at 55 in some other service and certainly at 58 in most branches of service, the Clerk and his staff go on till 60.

We have a provision that at 50, a subordinate can opt to retire, if he wants.

At 50, he must ask either for continuance or for retirement. And also, as persons in charge of the Legislature Secretariats, it might be always useful if we have trade unions to deal with. I find personally that if there are trade unions, it is easier because if they have any difficult problems, they discuss among themselves. If the Stenographers want to have a trade union or if the Interpreters want to have a trade union, let them have it. If they have any difficult problems, they can, across the table, have a discussion in a friendly way. I find it more easy to solve the problems than to pontificate and impose things on them.

After all they know what a reasonable request is and what is not just as everybody knows that if you want hundred thousand rupees from the Treasury and if you ask for 200 thousand, ultimately you end up with getting what you want.

Similarly, if the demands are more, there is always a compromise to see what is possible is realised and what is impossible is not realised. These are some of the random thoughts that struck me when I was listening to the speeches made by Sir David and Shri Banerjee. And it also struck me that the bigger problems of their Legislatures do not exist in most of our places. As Sir David said, it is not that everything that I say I would like to see in print.

THANK YOU.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Now, Mr. Littlejohn.

MR. LITTLEJOHN: This thing I would like to add, as a word of regret. That is Mr. Blake is not here. In the Federal House, the Australians might have in the past got some chances in starting the arrangements and they have been helpful to this meeting. Although, at this meeting, we do not have to go into details, somehow they have managed to do that in Canberra. We just followed them a little tiny bit along the road. We have still a long way to go. We have small staff. And I find it hard to encourage the expansion. In most parts they are able to manage that thing. In Australia, they have managed it. But, there is a difference in the way that we run our staffing that is worth mentioning here.

We do have a Committee of Members primarily concerned with Member's matters but also concerned, to some extent, with

the staffing so that I have to do more than most Clerks do towards satisfying the Members of the House in regard to the staff that I am appointing. Quite a few months back, we went on the recommendations of the Members of the House because there are people who are dealing specifically with Member's problems. As far as the top staff are concerned, they are appointed by the Government on the recommendations of the Speaker. Incidentally, there is an advertisement current. You may all know that for the top position, there is an advertisement in the October *Parliamentarians*. And those who wish to apply need the support of the Speaker and also their Prime Minister. I am not saying that with a view to encouraging the whole lot of you to apply. Our Legislature is too small and, for our staffing, we have to work in much the same way. I do not think that I can add anything else except to express my thanks for the advice that has given.

THANK YOU.

THE CHAIRMAN: I now call upon Mr. Partap Singh of Punjab.

SHRI PARTAP SINGH: At present, in Punjab, we have a unicameral Legislature, that is, the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Article 187 of the Constitution of India guarantees an independent status to the Assembly Secretariats of all States. The Secretary of the Punjab State Assembly enjoys the status of a head of the Department.

In certain matters he has been given the powers of the Secretary to Government. The Secretary of the Assembly is assisted by two deputy secretaries, three under-secretaries, one research officer, a section officer, ten superintendents, and other supporting staff. We have in all 14 branches. All the officers and staff of the Legislative Assembly Secretariat enjoy the same scales of pay as are given to those who are holding corresponding posts in the government departments. There are no autonomous units in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha Secretariat as in the House of Commons. We in Punjab have one unified, composite and compact Secretariat of the Legislature and all the officers work under the control and supervision of the Speaker. The Secretary is appointed by Government in consultation with the Speaker and the other staff in the Punjab Legislative Assembly is appointed by the Speaker. There is a well-established convention that the demand for grant relating to the Punjab Legislative Assembly secretariat is not discussed on the floor of the House, nor are questions on matters relating to the Assembly Secretariat admitted or allowed to be discussed there. Members wanting information in regard to Assembly Secretariat can give notice of a private question to the hon. Speaker and if he considers it necessary and proper, he may cause the requisite information to be supplied to the member by means of a letter.

MR. DEANS: I should like to thank Mr. Wijesinha for his very informative talk. Our Secretariat is a very small one. There are roughly about fifteen persons. There is no doubt where the real power resides

We have a very unique situation where we have a part time clerk and a deputy clerk; it is really the deputy clerk who is responsible for the day to day running of the office. A limited amount of delegated authority is given to the assistant and the fourth clerk. I wanted to get a clarification from Mr. Banerjee; unfortunately he has left. What machinery was there in his legislature in India for review and reclassification of posts from the secretary downwards, terms and conditions of appointment in the Lok Sabha. I do not know whether he had explained it earlier in my absence.

MR. WIJESINHA: Mr. Banerjee is not here, but I might mention that that obviously is a question which will arise periodically as it arises for the rest of the public service. The necessity to review is a necessity that will not arise independently of anything else. It will obviously be the result of a demand by the public service. In fact, any time the necessity to review as put forward by the rest of the public service is accepted, and they set up any machinery for that, that is the time that you get your things also reviewed.

MR. DEANS: By whom?

MR. WIJESINHA: I will tell you what we do and what is our experience in this matter. If there is any review being done by a Commission with reference to the scale or cadre of the public service, we would wait till that is over. And then we summon our Staff Advisory Committee and tell them what has happened and

they would go into the matter and see what adjustments would be necessary in respect of our staff considering what has happened outside. This Staff Advisory Committee is one of the Committees appointed at the beginning of each session. It is that Committee that is empowered or given the duty of looking into matters like review etc. I think, each House must have a Committee for this purpose like the House Committee or the Public Accounts Committee or any other Standing Committee. We always appoint the Staff Advisory Committee to advise whenever a question regarding the staff arises. That is the Committee that deals with it.

MR. DEANS: In Jamaica, it is clearly stated in our Constitution that there shall be a Committee consisting of the Speaker, the Chairman, the President and the Minister of Finance or his nominee and we have had situations, where they make recommendations and these recommendations get tossed about from one Ministry to another and we have nothing about it or invariably a negative reply. This is, of course, of some personal concern to myself.

SHRI ARTHUR: About the independence of the State Legislature secretariat, in some of the States, the Secretary is drawn from the Civil Service and goes back. Now, when we talk about independence, unless the Secretary is fearless, he has no allegiance to the Chief Minister or the Chief Secretary, he cannot act independently. When he has to look up for his further promotions to the Chief Minister or the Chief Secretary, he cannot be fear-

less. For instance, in the Public Accounts Committee or the Estimates Committee, the Secretary is responsible for framing the questionnaire and some of the questions are, more or less, embarrassing to the Government Secretaries. These people will say, let the man come back to our fold, we will see. What independence can one claim in these circumstances? The Legislature secretariat service is a closed one, water-tight compartment where there is no scope for promotions. If you have to have a person from the Civil Service and he has to go back to the Civil Service for promotions, he will not be able to exercise his independence. Therefore, I think we should rather decide whether we would like to have the benefit from both the sides or the independence and select the Secretary of the Legislature once and for all.

MR. DEANS: I must sympathise with my friend. He is in a very embarrassing position if he has to frame questions for the Public Accounts Committee. I think the Public Accounts Chairman in most of our Legislatures is usually the Opposition member. It is unfortunate that he has to get involved in that. That is an awkward position.

MR. ARTHUR: In some States, the Secretaries to the Legislatures are drawn from the Civil Service, say, for two years and they have to go back to the Civil Service. In such cases, they will not be able to render independent service to the Members. They will definitely be scared of framing embarrassing question for the

Chief Secretary when he is called before the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. WIJESINHA: I think my hon. friend was not here when we discussed this question. The consensus of opinion here was that the post of Clerk should be a permanent one in a closed avenue. Once you get in there, you should always be there and not make it a stepping stone to any other position.

Secondly, I do not quite know why, particularly with regard to the Public Accounts Committee, you have to draft questions, because it is the Auditor-General's Report that is under discussion and the Auditor-General pin-points certain matters to be investigated. The Auditor-General is passing on the buck to you.

MR. ARTHUR: My learned and hon. friend from Punjab said that the appointment of Clerks is done by the Government in consultation with the Speaker—in which case allegiance to the appointing authority will always be there.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is really a matter which came up in our earlier discussions on the status of Clerks which we have every year, and we have put our views on record very clearly in the resolution which was passed two years ago at our meeting in London. I think Mr. Bradshaw has some copies of the minutes of that meeting and perhaps he could supply our colleague from Nagaland with one of those. I understand it has been brought to the notice of the Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers of various terri-

tories and it might be helpful for you to see it and perhaps bring it to the attention of the authorities in your own State.

MR. DEANS: I can only end by saying that a Clerk who is going to get involved in PAC surely cannot last for more than two years—and I say this in all seriousness.

MR. ARTHUR: But our Members are helpless; it is the office that does it for the Members.

The second question is about small Legislatures. In small Legislatures, we have only three or four officers or Clerks as we call them, and the Members of the Departmental Promotion Committee are the same—viz. the Under Secretary, Deputy Secretary and the Secretary. The staff, therefore, say that there should be some other members in Departmental Promotion Committee in the Assembly Secretariat for the staff serving in the Legislature Secretariat instead of its being confined to these three. So, in what way should we form the Department Promotion Committee has been the question because, even if we form a Departments Promotion Committee with these three officers, the persons giving the orders and those forming the Board will be the same. So the staff say there should be some other form of Departmental Promotion Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps I might sum up the discussion. I think that there is a big difference between the problems of large and small Legislatures and the smal-

let the Legislature, probably the more difficult its problems.

I think Mr. Wijesinha gave admirable advice to the Clerks of smaller Legislatures. If you have a very small staff, you must have complete unity in it.

There are two incidental matters which he raised—I am sorry he is not here just now—and I agree with him that Trade Unions are to be encouraged.

As regards printing, as a matter of fact, the system in the House of Commons is not very different from what Mr. Wijesinha suggested. We do have our own enclave in the Government printing organisation with a small number of our own staff at the executive level to oversee them. The working printers are all employees of the Government, which has an advantage, because when there is an industrial dispute, the confrontation is not with us but with the Government and we keep out of it.

Turning to the problems of the larger legislatures, although, as I have described, we are at present divided into five departments in the House of Commons, we think centralisation is desirable. There is a difference, as I indicated earlier, between our way of working and that of the two Indian Houses of Parliament. It is clear from what Mr. Banerjee said that there is a great deal of direct responsibility taken by the people in the two Indian Houses below the Secretary General. If you are starting from scratch to set up the Secretariat, there is no doubt that you will

set up a unified service. Our differences are part of the many oddities of British Government, which are due to reasons of history, and there is no reason for anyone to seek to copy all those things. In particular, I agree with what Mr. Wijesinha said that the position of the Serjeant-at-Arms in London may often be very different from that of the Serjeant-at-Arms in the small legislatures and you should not necessarily allow the Serjeant-at-Arms to presume to do every thing which he hears that the Serjeant-at-Arms in London does.

Finally, there is the question touched upon by Mr. Banerjee—the relationship between the two separate staffs of the two Houses in a bicameral legislature. It is clearly a very important thing. But I would only say that we have a definitive example of what they should be in the relations between the two Secretaries-General of the Indian Parliament, who head quite separate services as we do in London, but who work in visible partnership and comity.

The time is coming to bring our meeting to a final close. Before we get to the final stage, Mr. Bradshaw has a bit of administration to deal with.

MR. BRADSHAW: It was just the question of how we correct the proceedings of this meeting. Our admirable shorthand writers have produced the texts with great speed, but I doubt whether on this occasion they can produce it fast enough for us to read it before we go away or even if they were able to do that, I very much doubt whe-

ther the speeches could be read and corrected before we go away. I wonder if I could ask Mr. Banerjee whether it would be possible to have the copies of the transcript sent to every one who has taken part in the deliberations today and if you would all be so kind—I am sure you will—as to return the corrected transcripts to him as soon as possible for incorporating in the text.

SHRI BANERJEE: We will post it to the respective participants.

MR. BRADSHAW: Thank you.

ANY OTHER BUSINESS

THE CHAIRMAN: We now come to the final stage of our meeting.

MR. TLELASE: Mr. Chairman, I would like to raise a small matter on the tours.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think this is a matter of administration. I doubt if it is relevant to our meetings. Is that not a matter of administration for the Indian Branch?

MR. TLELASE: I think it comes under any other business. The Branch that hosts the Conference takes very great pains to organise tours, either at the beginning of the Conference or at the end, as in this case. Sometimes, it happens that some Branches do not attend the pre or post-Conference tours for reasons I do not know and then you find that this disrupts the arrangements made by the host Branch. In this present case, the tours are at the end. Now, you find peo-

ple anxious to get back home and they do not take part in these tours. This, I think, disorganises and disrupts the people who have organised these tours.

I would appeal to the delegates and the Secretaries, particularly the Secretaries, to impress on their delegations that it is necessary for them to attend these tours. The Secretaries must arrange things well in advance so that the delegates should not have the excuse to say 'We are going back because of pressing matters of States.' Surely, the Indian Branch had advised us well in advance about these because of pressing matters of State should have been made less pressing. I would say, whether the tours are at the beginning or at the end of the Conference, it is an important matter for the delegates to address themselves to. But, I would like to say that it is best when the tours are at the beginning of the Conference because we get to know each other during the tours more intimately so that when you come to debating, we know with what people we are debating.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Tlelase. This is a point worth remembering. But, I do not think, we can really begin a discussion on this now because they really are not matters for the Society at all. They are matters for those who organise the meetings.

SHRI SHAKDHER: May I thank the hon. speaker for the good suggestion that he has made? In fact, he has done our work; we should have said that. But, anyhow, I am grateful to him that he has

brought to our notice this important matter. It is true that we have gone to a great length to organise these tours. The whole country is involved in it, the State Governments and State Branches, and if at the last minute, people fall out and they do not come, it really causes dislocation and results in unnecessary expenditure on travel, accommodation, arrangements and so on. It is not nice and as has been pointed out, we have told the members in advance, much in advance, several months in advance, about these tours and if anybody was not willing to come or had no time to come, he should have let us know and that would have made our task quite easy.

In fact, coming here and then saying "we want to leave in the middle" or "we want to leave on the 7th or 8th" or "we have this pressing business" does add greatly to the difficulties of the organisers and it does add to our difficulties in some cases. Anyhow, we cannot help it. It is in the nature of a conference and we take it along as one of the necessary concomitants and we do not grudge that. If in future this could be avoided, well and good.

Regarding whether there should be pre-conference or post-conference tours, it is not in our hands. It was decided by the Executive Committee of the CPA. They have allotted some days after the Conference. We would have been willing to take them on tour either before or after or both before and after. It is not difficult. But it is not entirely in our hands. Whatever they told us, we did.

We are grateful to you for bringing this matter up.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any other matters?
No?

CLOSE OF SESSION

THE CHAIRMAN: Now I would ask Mr. Wijesinha to move the Motion of Thanks.

MR. WIJESINHA: It is with great pleasure that I move: "*The Society of Clerks-at-the-Table in the Commonwealth Parliaments at its meeting held on 4th November, 1975 desires through its Chairman, David Lidderdale, to convey to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and to the Parliament and Government of India the Society's deep appreciation of the facilities so generously provide for the Society's session in New Delhi*".

When I move this motion, I must recall that most of us arrived in New Delhi at the airport on the 25th or 26th, and from the time we came right up to now, the warmth of the reception we had and the kindness that was shown to us has been remarkable. At every point of time we have been made to feel that we were the most welcome guests to this country. I have attended the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conferences from 1965, and while it is certainly not meant as a reflection on any hosts we have had, this Conference has been extremely well-organised and the Secretariat has executed the management very well.

We were all put up in one hotel and the transportation from the hotel up to the Conference Hall has been done very well. At the same time, efficiency has not yielded to waste. I have seen conferences at which one bus plied for one person. Here the staff see to it that the bus is full or near full before it is sent and another bus is called in only thereafter.

Then, when we come here, the Conference Hall is such that nobody wants to go out for anything. The result was something which I mentioned at the very beginning, namely, that the attendance at the conference, whether it be the Plenary Session or Committee, or even at the Clerks' meeting, has been much better than ever before. I noticed almost 45 Clerks were present at this meeting. At the Plenary and Committees, the attendance was excellent something which had no parallel before.

Then, the meals supplied here made it quite unnecessary for us to go anywhere else. They were quite substantial and considerably cheap with the result that most of us did not have to spend money unnecessarily. The host Branch has seen to all those details.

Then, we witnessed the Diwali festival and we also enjoyed the tours round the city and also to see the Taj Mahal and Agra. The ladies enjoyed the programmes arranged for them. Most of you have come with ladies—in my case, I am here with more than one—with the whole family. I am most thankful to the host country and the organisations for what they have arranged. The ladies have been delighted with the

programmes set up for them. The programmes were such that there was no diversion of the gentlemen, who were perfectly free to attend the meetings here.

Coming to the Conference itself, I am sure everything has not been absolutely perfect. Because, I do not want to praise my friends to the extent of saying everything was perfect. Everything is never perfect. Having run conferences, I know that however complimentary the visitors could be, there are certain lapses which the organisers alone notice. So far as I am concerned, I have not noticed any lapses. But Mr. Shakhder and Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Patnaik will notice those lapses when they have a post-conference conference amongst themselves. But to us, guests, we did not feel any lapse which we could think of.

So, really it has been a most excellent conference, for which we are truly grateful. Also, we must say how much we appreciate Mr. Shakhder proposing Sir David to the Chair, which was a very nice gesture. Then, we have had several meetings, unlike at the other places where we finished in a day or two. Here the Clerks met for four or five days. And if I am to say something personal, it has been really pleasant for me, because the two host-Secretaries General have been my friends for years and we, I think, are getting on and getting old. We have not only been friends, but our families—wives and children—have got on very nicely. And I believe this is Mr. Banerjee's last conference. I do hope that we see him at other gatherings in future in some form or the other. Really, when I propose this motion, it is something that

comes from the bottom of my heart and I am sure all of us here will join me in saying that it has been one of the very best, for which we are most grateful.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Edley Deans.

MR. DEANS: Had it been my own House, I would have raised a point of order, Sir, for having permitted the motion without a seconder. However, I certainly have much pleasure in validating this act and seconding the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. The motion is proposed and seconded.

MR. VIJAY SINGH: I simply wanted the unique privilege, perhaps, of being the second Vijay Singh to second the motion moved by the original Wijesinha; and I want this to be placed on record.

THE CHAIRMAN: The thing is that this motion does not mention anybody by name. Now, the motion is: "*That the Society of Clerks-at-the-Table in Commonwealth Parliaments in its final meeting held on 4th of November, 1975 desires through its Chairman, Sir David Lidderdale, to convey to the Speaker of Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and to the Parliament and the Government of India the Society's deep appreciation of the Society's session in New Delhi*".

Those in favour may kindly raise their hands. I think I may say that this is carried unanimously.

Now, Mr. Banerjee.

SHRI BANERJEE: Now that the motion is carried, so more or less, the formal business is over. I must express my own and Mr. Shakti's deep gratefulness for the very kind words spoken by Mr. Wijesinha, Mr. Edley Deans and Mr. Vijay Singh No. 2. Mr. Wijesinha is a particular friend of both Mr. Shakti and myself; so, there are some exaggerations in his statement. I do not know whether we deserve all the complimentary words he said. I can assure him on one point, that there must have been some deficiencies here and there; but there was no deficiency on the part of the host-Secretaries General and persons working with them. They had no lack of warmth in the matter. We had tried our best—and will continue to try our best—for some of the days you were with us, to make your stay here happy and comfortable; and if there have been deficiencies here and there. I am pretty sure that you all, in your generosity, will forgive us; and I must say that I will be failing in my duty if I do not thank Sir David Lidderdale for the efficient way in which he has carried on the deliberations of this conference; and his presiding over the meeting of the Society has relieved Mr. Shakti to a great extent, so that he could attend to many other matters for which his immediate attention was necessary. I must once again thank all of you for coming and I hope you will carry good memories of our country.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is the Chairman's privilege to have the last word. I would like to thank Shri Shakti for proposing me to the Chair. I have tremendously en-

joyed it. As has been pointed out, we have had a very large number of Members here, and it has been a great pleasure to have so many of the Clerks of the Indian States in particular. We have had longer meetings than anyone remembers having, and to my mind, the discussions have been the most interesting in my experience. This has partly been due, I am sure, to the general good organisation and efficiency of the Conference. Perhaps the fact that we were discussing Parliamentary procedure in India, which is a country which practises it so keenly and so well in the Centre and the States, has stimulated us all to think and to speak more than otherwise we might have done.

Finally, once again I personally express my deep thanks to Shri Kaul and Shri Banerjee—that is an interesting slip that I should say “Shri Kaul”, who was the founder and constructor of Indian procedure, and many of us have been delighted to meet him at various entertainments. I meant, of course, to express my deep thanks to Shri Shakhder and Shri Banerjee, both for the admirable organisation of our meetings and for the great many kindnesses and acts of friendship shown to me and to so many of us. Through them I pass on my thanks again to Mr. Patnaik who did so much work in the background and to all the members of the Houses, many of whom we have met in various places. It is a tremendous labour to organise a Conference of this kind. I think they can lay down their burden feeling thoroughly satisfied that a most admirable job has been done.

MR. DEANS: I would like to place on record, on behalf of all the Clerks, our keen sense of appreciation of the work done behind the scenes by Mr. Bradshaw.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did in our first meeting express our thanks to him. Our thanks are also due to Mr. Cubie and Mr. Davies, who run the affairs of this Society, and I must certainly thank them too.

The Society stands adjourned till September, 1976.

Adjourned sine die at 12.40 P.M.

APPENDIX A

SOCIETY OF CLERKS-AT-THE TABLE

Draft Agenda for the Twelfth General Meeting

1. The current affairs of the Society.
2. The status, powers and duties of Clerks (a compulsory item pursuant to the resolution of the Seventh General Meeting).
3. Problems of current concern to Members of the Society.
4. Any other business.

APPENDIX B

SOCIETY OF CLERKS-AT-THE TABLE

Agenda for the Twelfth General Meeting adopted on Wednesday, 29th October, 1975

1. The current affairs of the Society.
2. The status, powers and duties of Clerks.

3. C.P.A. Questionnaire on Clerks of Parliament
4. Privilege
5. The attachment of Clerks to the Westminster Parliament
6. The Committee System
7. The Administration of Parliament
8. Any other business.

In arrears for 1972 onwards:
Andhra Pradesh, Grenada.

In arrears for 1973 onwards

Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh: Legislative Council,

In arrears for 1974

Cook Islands, Haryana, Jamaica, Kenya, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh: Legislative Assembly.

The following Houses (in addition to those mentioned above) have not yet paid their subscriptions for the current year (1975):

British Columbia, Botswana, Bihar Bahamas, Barbados, Canada: Senate, Canada: Commons, Jersey, Lesotho, Maharashtra, Malawi, North West Territories, Orissa, Prince Edward Island, Papua New Guinea, Punjab, Sarawak, Saskatchewan, Sierra Leone, South Australia: House of Assembly, Tanzania.

APPENDIX C

SOCIETY OF CLERKS-AT-THE TABLE

List of Houses of Parliament in arrears with subscriptions

The following list shows those Houses of Parliament which were in arrears with their subscriptions on 21st October, 1975. The list is circulated pursuant to the resolution of the Seventh General Meeting (Trinidad and Tobago, 1969).

6. Functions held in Honour of Delegates

(i) *Programmes for Delegates*: The delegates to the Conference had a number of engagements and were entertained to a number of receptions and entertainment programmes during their stay in New Delhi.

On the morning of October 27 the Delegates visited the Raj Ghat and paid their homage to Mahatma Gandhi by placing a wreath on his *Samadhi*.

Later three documentary films were screened before the Delegates in the Parliament House Annexe Auditorium. These films were:

(i) *Our India*: A film in colour depicting the progress made by India in various fields since Independent.

(ii) *Destination Agriculture*: A colour film on the Progress made by the country since Independence in the field of Agriculture.

(iii) *Delightful Nature*: A film on the flora of North-Eastern Region of India.

The President and Begum Abida Ahmed hosted a Reception in honour of all the Delegates and their spouses at Rashtrapati Bhavan at 16.30 hrs. on October 28, 1975.

Shri B. D. Jatti, Vice-President of India and Chairman of Rajya Sabha, gave a Dinner in honour of all Delegates and their spouses at the Vice President's House at 20.00 hrs. on October 31, 1975.

On November 4, 1975 at 20.00 hrs., Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, hosted a Dinner to meet all Delegates and their spouses at the Ashoka Hotel Convention Hall.

Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker of Lok Sabha and President of the C.P.A. hosted a Dinner at the Ashoka Hotel in honour of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, H. E. Mr. S. S. Ramphal, and the Members of the Executive Committee of the CPA and their ladies on October 28, 1975 at 20.00 hrs.

Dr. Dhillon hosted another Lunch in honour of the Executive Committee Members and their wives/daughters at the Banquet Hall of the Parliament House Annexe on October 26, 1975 at 13.15 hrs.

Dr. Dhillon hosted another Lunch in honour of the Presiding Officers of the Legislatures attending the Conference and their ladies at the Members' Lunch Room

at Parliament House on October 30, 1975. He hosted yet another Dinner at the Hyderabad House at 20.00 hrs. on October 29, 1975 in honour of all the Delegates and their spouses.

The Main Branch and the State Branches of the CPA in India jointly hosted a get-together Reception to the Delegates and their spouses at the Banquet Hall of the Parliament House Annexe on October 27, 1975 at 12.05 hrs.

The Commonwealth High Commissioners hosted a joint Reception at 18.30 hrs. on October 30, 1975 at the Oberoi Intercontinental Hotel, in honour of all Delegates and their spouses.

Shri K. Raghuramaiah, Minister of Works and Housing and Parliamentary Affairs and Leader of the Indian Delegation hosted a Lunch in honour of Leaders of all Delegations and their ladies at the Members' Lunch Room in the Parliament House at 13.15 hrs. on October 31, 1975.

On November 2, 1975 at 20.00 hrs. Shri S. L. Shakhder, Secretary-General of Lok Sabha and Shri B. N. Banerjee, Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha, hosted a Dinner in honour of the Members of the Society of the Clerk-at-the Table and Secretaries of all Delegations and their ladies at the Hotel Imperial.

Separate Dinners for groups of other Delegates and their spouses were hosted the same evening by the following:—

(i) *Shri Om Mehta, Minister of State for Home and Parliamentary Affairs at 30,*

Prithvi Raj Road, New Delhi, (ii) Shri Sohan Lal, President, Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, at 16. Golf Links, New Delhi; (iii) Sardar Daljit Singh at 1, Janpath, New Delhi, and (iv) The Indian Handicrafts Emporium at 5, Mehrauli Road, New Delhi.

The citizens of Delhi welcomed the Delegates and their spouses at the historic Red Fort at 19.00 hrs. on November 1, 1975.

After the Reception, the Delegates witnessed a *son-et-lumiere* (Sound and Light Spectacle) at the Red Fort. The show, lasting 50 minutes, traces down the history of the Red Fort from the times it was built by the Mughals to our Independence.

Later Shri Kishan Chand, Lt. Governor of Delhi, hosted a Dinner in honour of all Delegates and their spouses at Raj Niwas (Lt. Governor's residence) at 21.00 hrs.

A lively cultural programme—An Evening of Indian Dances—was presented in honour of the Delegates and their spouses at the Mavalankar Auditorium on the evening of October 30, 1975. The classical dances—Bharatnatyam, Odissi and Kathak—were presented by Yamini Krishnamurthi, Sonal Man Singh and Uma Sharma, all internationally known artistes. The Delegates had also a glimpse of the Indian folk dances—Bhangra and Gidda from Punjab and Ghoomer and Tereh Tali from Rajasthan. A Choral Group presented songs of Rabindra Nath Tagore and Hindi rendering of Paul Robson's famous song: "We shall Overcome".

The Delegates and their spouses visited Agra in two batches on November 2 and 3, 1975.

A sight-seeing tour of the places of interest in Delhi and New Delhi was arranged for the visitors on November 3, 1975, the date when Diwali, the joyous "Festival of Lights", was celebrated. The Delegates and their spouses shared the gaiety, excitement and enthusiasm of the people who were celebrating the festival with illuminations, crackers and fireworks.

After the Conference was formally concluded, the Main Branch and the State Branches of the CPA in India arranged extensive post-Conference tours to provide the guests with a glimpse of India—past and present, of her rich and variegated heritage, her scenic treasures and the progress made by her in agriculture, industry, science and technology and other fields. These tours took the Delegates and their spouses in four groups to the headquarters of as many as 15 out of the 19 States CPA Branches in India, besides several other places covering a major part of this vast country.

(ii) *Special Programmes for Ladies:*

Mrs. Dhillon hosted a Lunch in honour of ladies of Delegates and Lady Delegates at the Speaker's House at 13.15 hrs. on November 4, 1975.

On October 28, 1975 the All India Women Conference played host to the lady dele-

gates and other ladies at 6, Bhagwan Dass Road, New Delhi from 10.30 hrs. to 14.30 hrs. Apart from informal discussions with the members of the All India Women Conference (A.I.W.C.) the guests were treated to an interesting programme of music and dance with classical music played in the background. They were also taken round an exhibition of handi-craft articles. The A.I.W.C. also hosted a Lunch in their honour. The Lunch was prepared by a leading Home Science College founded by the A.I.W.C. and served at the College premises nearby.

Lady Irwin Women's College, New Delhi, invited the lady delegates and guests to visit their College on October 30, 1975. They were taken round various Departments of the College.

On the morning of October 31, 1975, the ladies were taken on a round of the Swatantra Bharat Mills, a unit of the Delhi Cloth and General Mills where they were shown round the Silk Mills, the Spinning and Winding Departments and the DCM Towel Shed. Later, in the afternoon, the ladies were taken to the Central Cottage Industries Emporium at Janpath and the State Government Emporia.

On the morning of November 1, 1975, they visited the Modern School, New Delhi to see the functioning of a Public School in India.

On November 4, 1975, the ladies had another sight-seeing tour of the Capital.

I. AT THE DINNER GIVEN BY DR. G. S. DHILLON, SPEAKER OF LOK SABHA AND PRESIDENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION IN HONOUR OF THE DELEGATES (HYDERABAD HOUSE, NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 29, 1975—9.30 P.M.).

Dr. G. S. Dhillon: Our Rt. Hon. Lord Shepherd, Lady Shepherd. Mr. Chairman of the Executive Committee, Hon. G. A. Regan, Excellencies, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am so very happy to have this opportunity of meeting the distinguished Delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and their spouses. It has been our endeavour to make your stay here comfortable and I hope you find the arrangements satisfactory.

At this dinner we provided you a very light Shehnai music because I believe that after the day long conference too noisy music is sometimes very much tiring and taxing for the nerves. This Shehnai is a traditional instrument played mostly in Northern India on auspicious occasions. One of the well-known instruments of our country, it omits sound whose whole rendering is full of feeling and expression.

Shehnai is a symbol of welcome and celebrations in India.

When you go to the Taj that will also revive your old spirits. I have already advised my distinguished delegates that if they are couple, they must go to the Taj in midnight moonlight. For others who are single, it does not matter whether it is midnight or day. We are trying to keep you in good spirits.

The Commonwealth, as you all know, is a unique association of nations—family, if I may say so, cutting across barriers of geography, race, religion, culture or economic development. It has grown to its present size and is closely knit together not through any legal or contractual bond or formal constitution but through mutual understanding, consultation and assistance. I am sure that this spirit of friendship, fellow-feeling and cooperation will continue to grow through annual conferences such as ours.

Fortunately, Delhi's weather now happens to be at its best. It is the ideal time for going round the town and seeing places. You will be happy to know that while you are here, we would be taking you to some of the places of historical interest in which

Delhi abounds. We have also made arrangements for visits by the ladies to shopping centres and some educational and other institutions in the town. I hope they will keep themselves within limits and will not harass their husbands. But Delhi is only a small part of India. And so we have planned extensive tours of the country covering many of the State capitals and places of historical and cultural importance and others famous for their natural beauty. I hope these will enable you to have a good glimpse of our vast country, of its rich and variegated cultural heritage, its scenic treasures and the progress we have been able to achieve in various developmental spheres.

Ever since our Independence, we are engaged in the mighty task of nation-building and social change. We have made a break-through in agriculture and are expanding and diversifying our industrial base. Over the years, we have achieved substantial progress all round.

Friends, it is a happy coincidence that you are here while we celebrate Deepavali, the festival of lights which symbolises the victory of good over evil. This year, this important festival has a special significance, for after a period of economic difficulties the country has been able to achieve a measure of success in overcoming the evils of inflation, galloping prices and scarcities. This has revived in our people a new sense of well-being and confidence in future.

May I once again tell my distinguished friends from the Commonwealth countries

how glad we are at their coming and express the hope that they will find their stay here pleasant and carry home with them happy memories?

May I now request you, ladies and gentlemen, to raise your glasses in drinking to the health of our distinguished guests, to the health of the queen and the Heads of the Commonwealth Countries.

RT. HON'BLE LORD SHEPERD: Excellency, Mr. Dhillon, Distinguished Guests and last of all, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is indeed a great honour to reply on behalf of the Delegations to the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference for the generous hospitality that is being shown tonight by Mr. Speaker. But I think, what is of greater significance is the warm affection that we have received right through the short period of our stay in Delhi.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know why I was selected to make a speech on this occasion. I am not even a successful leader. A successful leader is one who keeps the delegation together. But in yesterdays and today's experience is that we are a happy-divided delegation. I do not know whether I am the real choice on this occasion. Most of you have had to go through the process of elections. You have had to be examined by the public. I am the only person who is attending this Conference by the right of my rank.

There are times when there is a great deal of noise and disturbance which could often arise on an occasion like this. I

think, one of the greatest benefits on such occasions is that we are able to communicate with each other openly and frankly though we may disagree in some cases.

Among the United Kingdom and our new friends within the Commonwealth there is a genuine hope that we should open our hearts among ourselves. And you know, opening of heart is greater than anything else when you are really true friends. In true friendship, you may fall out as incidents but you do not fall out as friends. Therefore, when there are certain problems among the Commonwealth countries, we should seek to understand them and seek to remedy them.

We, in Britain, have an appreciation for India and we have unquestioned confidence in the democratic procedure and expression that is being followed here. I would only say to my friends in India, if you have any difficulty with us, speak out and do not involve anybody else and we will find the answers together.

We, in Britain, as far as my Party is concerned, certainly are in favour of bringing about a great change and we are in favour of giving independence not only to colonial territories but other territories also.

Mr. Speaker, since you have already proposed a toast to the Queen, may I myself propose a toast to the President the Government, the Parliament and the people of India for their everlasting success.

Thanking you.

II. AT THE LUNCH HOSTED BY DR. G. S. DHILLON, SPEAKER OF LOK SABHA AND PRESIDENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION TO PRESIDING OFFICERS OF LEGISLATURES AND THEIR SPOUSES (PARLIAMENT HOUSE, NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 30, 1975).

DR. G. S. DHILLON: Friends and distinguished delegates:

I am so very happy to have this opportunity of meeting the Presiding Officers and the distinguished delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and their spouses. We are meeting here in a get-together so that a feeling of fraternity is aroused amongst us. Of course, in the Presiding Officers' Conference sometimes we feel greatly satisfied and sometimes we feel somewhat dissatisfied. But it is a very difficult job to convince all the delegates at all times. I hope the delegates will have a nice time during their brief stay in this country. I think at about 2.30 P.M. you have a programme to go round the city for sight-seeing. Of course, our own Presiding Officers have got their own programmes because they have already seen the places a number of times.

I hope that the delegates will enjoy their stay in this country. It has been our endeavour to make your stay here comfortable and I hope you find the arrangements satisfactory. I once again thank you for having participated in this Conference.

MR. R. C. P. MOORE: (*Speaker of the House of Representatives (Grenada West Indies)*). Mr. Speaker: On behalf of myself and on behalf of other delegates.

I must first thank you for the invitation you have extended to us to attend this Conference. By attending this Conference, we have also got the opportunity of visiting Shri Lanka. I carry back to my country a rich memory of that country. Now, here after seeing a good lot of changes and achievements made in different fields, I have come to the conclusion that I should carry memories of a lot of things to tell our people. The people of India are so very courteous that once you come to this country you feel that you are one among them. Now we are given the opportunity of knowing all about the people of India. We must all be very happy for the warm welcome extended to us and I express on behalf of myself and on behalf of other delegates present here our sincere gratitude to you and the people of your country. Thank you very much.

III. AT THE LUNCH HOSTED BY SHRI K. RAGHURAMAIAH, MINISTER OF WORKS, HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS—LEADER OF THE DELEGATION—TO THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE AND THEIR SPOUSES (PARLIAMENT HOUSE, NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 31, 1975).

SHRI K. RAGHURAMAIAH: Friends, Leaders of the Delegations, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been a great pleasure for me and my wife to meet all of you here. I enquired this morning to know whether it would be convenient for you to attend this lunch-gathering. Now, I am glad that you have been kind enough to join this gathering. Here I would like to mention a word about

the menu in the lunch. As you go from one State to another in this country, you will find that the type of food also changes from one State to another. If you go to northern part of India, especially the Punjab State, you will find there people taking sweet dishes and if you go to the southern part of India, there you will find the people taking more spices. In certain other parts of the country, you will find them taking mild type of food. But here in the capital city, you will find that in restaurants and hotels, international food is served, as you can get it in Rome, London and so on.

I do not want to take much of your time now. I hope you will all enjoy your stay here. I would like to take this opportunity of showing you both the Houses of Parliament—the Lok Sabha, that is the Lower House and the Rajya Sabha, that is the Upper House. On the inaugural day of this Conference you have already seen the Central Hall where the Joint Session of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha is held. We have also got a Library in this building. The main Library building has not yet come up. So, this is the arrangement now.

I once again thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your kind presence on this occasion.

MR. EDWARD E. ISSEY, M. P. (*Leader of the Delegation, New Zealand*): Hon. Minister Raghuramaiah, Leaders of the Delegation, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I, on behalf of myself and on behalf of other Leaders of Delegations, thank you

very much for the invitation extended to us for this memorable lunch. I think after visiting your great country, we have to change our food style. The curries served in the lunch are very tasty and during our short stay in this country we will be tasting different varieties of curries and we will become curry-connoisseurs. But in my country if I ask for curry they would give me good blows. It is the word used for that purpose in our country.

Coming to the hospitality that we received in this country, I am so very pleased to tell you that wherever we went we were given a warm welcome. I am glad to say that we are well looked after by the Indian Government and by the people of India.

This is the first time that I am attending this Conference and I was tremendously impressed by the remarkable concepts that pervaded the whole of the CPA. Despite the fact that there were differences of opinion expressed in the debates, there has been underlying deep respect and affection for each other. I hope and wish that the fraternity among the people of the Commonwealth countries will gain from strength to strength. Thank you very much.

IV. AT THE DINNER HOSTED BY HON'BLE SHRI B. D. JATTI, CHAIRMAN OF RAJYA SABHA AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA IN HONOUR OF THE DELEGATES TO THE 21ST COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CON-

ERENCE (VICE-PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 31, 1975— 9.30 P.M.).

HON'BLE SHRI B. D. JATTI: Hon'ble Chief Guest, Mr. Dupras, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am exceedingly happy to have this opportunity of meeting the Distinguished Delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and their spouses.

It has been our ardent endeavour to make your stay comfortable and enjoyable. I hope you must have by now seen something of Delhi which combines the grace and refinement of an ancient culture with the tempo of the new.

India is a rich tapestry of many hues. Diversity, far from being a handicap, has actually been a source of strength to us. This has been so because of India's genius for synthesis, for harmonization of the apparently irreconcilables. In fact, this explains our commitment to the principle of peaceful co-existence, the basic tenet of our policy in international relations.

The Indian mind knows no compartmentalization. We are not accustomed to thinking in terms of labels. Ours has always been an approach addressed to the needs of the context, in consonance with our own solutions to our problems and made for accretion to our national self-confidence.

You will see something of the dynamic developments taking place in our country during your tours being arranged by us after the Conference. We have tried in our own way and with the assistance and co-

operation afforded by Commonwealth and other countries to improve the standard of life of our people by rapid industrialisation and modern methods of agriculture. You will also get a glimpse of the cultural treasures and the variegated aspects of life of our people during these tours.

Friends, you are now, more or less, midway in your discussions and have had fruitful exchange of ideas on a number of political and economic problems vitally affecting all of us. Very soon, the Conference will be coming to a close, and I am sure with the true Commonwealth spirit guiding your deliberations, this year's meeting would also be as successful as any before.

May I tell my distinguished friends how happy we are having you with us here and express the hope that you will carry back sweet memories of your sojourn in this country.

With these words, let me raise my glass to the everlasting bonds of friendship between Commonwealth countries—"to the Commonwealth".

HON. MR. MAURICE DUPRAS, M.P.: *President of the Canadian Branch of CPA (Chief Guest):* Excellencies, Colleagues, Foreign Delegates, Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is for me a double honour and great privilege tonight—double in the sense that I have the honour of speaking on behalf of my own colleagues, the delegates of CPA Conference and also the privilege to

have had the occasion of sharing your table at this dinner. I can assure you that this short stay of ours has been more than pleasant and I wish to express on behalf of my colleagues, our gratitude for the great hospitality that you have shown to us—the warm and generous hospitality, I would say.

The way you have organised this Conference is so wonderful that we have to think in these lines right now about our future Conference in 1977.

We have little time to tour India or New Delhi but we are hoping that in the next few days we will have the occasion of visiting some parts of the country. I personally would be visiting Kashmir, Punjab and Jaipur. I am hopeful to visit your part of the country some time within the next couple of years.

Once again, Mr. Vice-President, I thank you very much on behalf of my delegates and on my own for this kind hospitality.

Now, allow me to raise my glass to the honour of the people of India.

V. At the Dinner hosted by Shri Krishan Chand, Lt. Governor, Delhi, in honour of the Delegates to the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference (Raj Niwas, Delhi, November 1, 1975 at 21.30 hrs.)

SHRI KRISHNA CHAND: Mr. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha, Mr. Adams, Chief Guest, Mr. Om Mehta, Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Raghu Ramaiah,

Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Distinguished Delegates, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, distinguished delegates to the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, here this evening.

Your presence is an excellent reminder of the achievements of the Commonwealth during nearly three decades of its existence and the useful role it still has to play in the development, political and economic, of its member-nations.

The Commonwealth has come to stand for certain ideals which bind its member-nations together. These nations, which are fully sovereign in all the amplitude of their functioning, are wedded to certain basic ideals and cherish values which are at the very root of a free and open society. The golden thread which runs through the web of different cultures and religions is the democratic principle. The enlargement of the concept of the Commonwealth from European origin to Asian and African countries is something without parallel in the history of mankind. Many illustrious Commonwealth leaders have contributed towards the evolution of the Commonwealth concept.

We recall with pride the contribution made by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru who emphasised the relevance of peaceful methods of settling disputes among nations. Jawaharlal Nehru crusaded for political and economic equality for peoples

everywhere and his ideas swept the international scene and raised hopes for those who were under the colonial systems. As part of the concept of equality amongst nations, Panditji insisted on providing solid national foundations. He gave support to the idea of universal adult franchise in India despite disparity in formal education and wealth. This was a revolutionary concept and showed his faith in the good sense of the people who in the last analysis, were masters of what was good for them.

It is true that political equality has been achieved to a large extent but this can have little meaning without the necessary concomitant of economic equality. The task before the Commonwealth is now to come to grips with the economic consolidation of what has been won by science and technology and fight the new danger of economic disparity which, if not solved, will lead to tensions which political imperialism used to generate.

At the moment, there is more to go round than at any time in recorded history. What is required is political will in the Commonwealth nations for banishing hunger, sickness and poverty everywhere. The ideal has to be spread for cooperative advancement for the only alternative to it would be collective catastrophe.

There are challenges in the world to the democratic way. Some people and nations resort to violence and extra-constitutional means to solve their problems. History has shown that such methods are fraught with dangerous possibilities. The

problems can best be solved in a spirit of cooperation, discipline, restraint and responsibility. Democratic principles and international forums for negotiations and consensus based on these principles have to be strengthened and peace ensured so that the advances made in science and technology can be harnessed for the prosperity of mankind. Our own Prime Minister has always been raising her voice against the cult of violence in the national as well as the international field because it is incompatible with the democratic principles and the cooperative spirit which are essential for the advancement of the individual nations as well as of the international community, of which the Commonwealth of nations is an outstanding example.

It is our fervent hope that the Commonwealth with its multi-racial and multi-religious composition and its vast experience in so many fields of human endeavour will give thought to these question so that the lot of the common man everywhere is improved and that the Commonwealth has a brighter future than it had at any time in the past.

Delhi has a very chequered history. It has witnessed the rise and fall of great dynasties and empires. It has had its periods of suffering and destruction as well as of creation and advancement. You might like to drink deep from the well of its rich and varied panorama. It has a synthesised culture and its beauties of art and architecture testify eloquently to the contributions of many races and peoples.

Delhi leaves an indelible impression that the arts of peace are better conquerors than any mighty sword. In the pursuit of peace, I hope your quest will be richly rewarded.

Our best wishes will always remain with you and we hope you will convey them to the citizens of your countries.

May I in the end say how grateful we are to the Commonwealth leaders who are with us and wish them all happiness and prosperity and mutual cooperation?

May I wish you all success in your deliberations and in the success of the Conference.

HONBLE J. M. G. ADAMS, M.P.: (*Barbados*)—*Leader of the Opposition*—(*Chief Guest*); Your Excellency, the Lt. Governor of Delhi, Mr. Speaker, Distinguished fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It goes without saying that it is the greatest honour I have ever had in this kind of gathering, given by the city of Delhi and the Lt. Governor.

I would like to quote one or two sentences from the speech of the Lt. Governor which he read out just now. He said, if I remember correctly: "It is true that political equality has been achieved to a large extent but this can have little meaning without the necessary concomitant of economic equality." Your Prime Minister had also pointed out on the opening day of the Conference: "Unless we fight this struggle for economic equality, the Com-

monwealth may itself find that it has no meaning." On behalf of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I would like to assure you that we are striving to achieve that goal and many of our deliberations have been devoted towards the same.

But this evening, if I may say so, we have had one of the great experiences of our life to be present in this historic city which is the great capital city of India. Modern Delhi has a modern democracy. Here multi-party democracy is an example to all of us. But that is not all that Delhi represents. It reminds all of us of the ancient land of India where one of the ancient civilisations known by the mankind, existed. To me, it was a very touching impression seeing the history at Red Fort. It is the symbol of imperial India and finally it is the symbol of India we know today.

We have heard so many speeches but if I select the speeches which I find most inspiring are the recorded words of Mahatma Gandhi and the recorded words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which we heard at Red Fort. Surely, those words give inspiration to every citizen of this great Commonwealth country.

With these words, Your Excellency, I thank you very much.

VI. AT THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA IN HONOUR OF THE DELEGATES TO THE 21ST COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE (CONVEN-

TION HALL, ASHOKA HOTEL, NOVEMBER 4, 1975 AT 20.00 HRS.).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Distinguished guests,

I want to tell you all how glad I am that you were able to come this evening and that you accepted our invitation to hold this conference here and were able to see just a very tiny piece of our vast land. I do not want to make a speech. I am going to leave it to my neighbour. I have taken a lot of your time today. We all know that to concentrate too much or for too long after dinner, is not a good thing. But I do thank you and wish to say a few words. The Commonwealth is a very special organisation, as all of us here know. You have been here and spent about a week in discussion and debate which provided you an opportunity for the exchange of views and experiences. And I am sure this has led to a better appreciation of the different types of problems which confront us. Some are global, some are regional and some pertain to the study of development while others are peculiar to each country. And when the delegations return home, each must concern itself with the ways in which the decisions can be translated into results. This is perhaps the most difficult problem that conferences face.

I have been to quite a number of conferences myself. I know that you do not have resolutions in this conference. But in other conferences, resolutions are passed and we do not really know how far they go to make a difference to the world.

They do make a difference, because people start thinking about those problems. Each conference is trying to do it and each is a small step.

The Commonwealth is known as an association aimed at friendship between equals, with no other consideration except an interest in development—national, human or scientific. And talking of science, I at once recollect one of the sayings of an ancient Chinese philosopher. I share it with you:

A wise man looks into the space and does not regard the small as too small, nor the great as too big. For, he knows that there are really no limits to the dimensions.

I am on quite another plane and will come down to our own times. I refer to an incident which took place in London in 1963. I have spoken about it earlier once here in Delhi and once somewhere in Australia: I do not quite remember when. But it is so typical an illustration of the friendship of the Commonwealth variety, that I should like to share it with you.

After a reception in the Marlborough House in London, when all other guests had left, Sir Winston, Lady Churchill, my father and I were sitting in the ground floor, waiting for the cars to come. Somehow, the two cars had lost their way somewhere. I turned to Sir Winston and he said, "Is it not strange that we should be together here now, when a few years ago we hated each other? My response was: "I did not hate you, Sir Winston, because our whole struggle was against a

system. It was not against a people, and certainly not against any individual." Sir Winston's response was characteristic. "But I did; I did." However, he broke into a smile and said. "I do not, now." I certainly hope that the Commonwealth and India, and all countries will cultivate a similar attitude and try to rise above quarrels and dissensions.

No conference has solved or can solve difficulties; but deeper understanding is the basis of friendship and cooperation. This aspect is valuable in a world abounding with friction and tension and in need of a more coordinated effort.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: may I invite you to join me in a toast to the Commonwealth?

HON. G. A. REGAN: Prime Minister, Speaker Dr. Dhillon, the Secretaries-General, distinguished Ministers, distinguished guests, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

Prime Minister, I have the singular honour of thanking you for your inspiring message this evening, on behalf of representatives of perhaps all the Commonwealth nations. Your message was indeed inspiring. I have the further pleasant task of expressing gratitude to you, your Government, your people and your magnificent country for the unparalleled warmth and consideration that has been accorded us during this conference.

For all the delegates, the opportunity of visiting India under such auspices creates

a treasured memory for a long time. The splendour of the inauguration of the Conference in the circular House of Parliament, and the splendid facilities provided for the conference in the new Annexe of Parliament in which we had the honour to hold the first conference, combined with the hospitality so freely given, had succeeded in serving to reinforce and confirm our belief in the nobility and warmth of friendship of India and her people.

I say with all sincerity, that surely no other country can more accurately be described as learned. Countless centuries of accumulated wisdom, knowledge and free institutions were retained and expanded here, in the presence of seemingly immense economic problems, overshadowing the basic contention so sadly emphasized in Western circles, which combined the quantum of material possessions and true wisdom. I have elsewhere described India as the essence of Commonwealth. Your late father of beloved memory, had possibly made the most appropriate remarks about the Commonwealth as the voluntary association of proud and equal people, diverse in so many ways but united in almost a spiritual belief in the value of parliamentary institutions. Had he not taken the courageous and historic decision that India as a free country will stay within the Commonwealth, it is scarcely credible that the succession of peoples throughout the world who moved to independence in succeeding years would have been as willing to stay in our Commonwealth. Visiting your great country, one's thoughts go back to the epic non-violent struggle your people had waged

against the British, which was characterised by sacrifices and sufferings to hundreds and hundreds of persons, but culminating in India's emerging as one of the greatest freedom-loving countries of the world. I think that many of those who had participated in that struggle could not live to see its successful culmination. Your grandfather, Madam Prime Minister, had died when you were just in your teens; and he had expressed his profound satisfaction at the prospect of death while struggling for independence, when he said—and I quote from memory—that his greatest ambition was to be buried in free India and then sink into obscurity. He had said that people like him would think of no more, but would drop down dead in the supreme satisfaction that the nobler elements which had brought about the freedom of India would, in fulness of time, rise further and come to the surface. However, Motilal Nehru was honestly wrong if he had really expected that he would be thought of no more, because the people of India will always treasure the memories of Mahatma Gandhi, of your father, your grandfather and countless other leaders who had duly served the cause of India's liberation.

Joseph Hall had said about 1½ centuries ago—when there was hardly enough scope for him to expect that we were going to read him—thus: "A wise nation preserves its monuments, maintains its distinguished public buildings, gathers up its record and honours its illustrious dead, as a perpetual reminder of the sacrifices of the past." India has followed and will follow that

advice, because India is a wise nation. May I thank you for your expression of confidence in the future of Commonwealth? I fervently believe that this association of nations will endure and grow in influence and mutual affection.

It is so often described that this Commonwealth is an organization based on friendship, but in considering our friendship and the excellence of the arrangements made for this conference, the name of one of the most distinguished parliamentarians of our age comes quickly to my mind. I refer, of course, to Dr. Dhillon, our President and your Speaker.

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Dr. Dhillon is a Commonwealth man in all seasons, who has probably contributed as much to this organization in time and wisdom as any other person of our generation. And the willingness of Prime Ministers and Parliaments to make available to the CPA men of such an integrity contributes greatly to the success of our association. But while speaking of Dr. Dhillon, may I also refer, in relation to this conference, particularly to the splendid work of Mr. S. L. Shakhder, of Mr. Baneries and of all the Indian parliamentarians and staff who have been unfailingly friendly both in conversations and official matters throughout the conference?

What, to us I think, is perhaps a little surprising and tremendously pleasant, Madam Prime Minister, is the fact that Ministers and Members of Parliament and Chief Ministers, Speakers and members of State branches have been unbelievably

generous with their time during our visit. We are also involved in public life. We realize in no small way the sacrifice in time that they have made. But I would like to believe that that sacrifice has been made, with some result, because it has enabled us to learn more about India than we could have learnt in the formal sessions of this, or any conference. In consequence, there was exchange of views, discussions and outlining of problems and opportunities, and of progress made in India. This country is served by extremely able determined and dedicated people and government, who work under your leadership and as such, it will overcome all obstacles to the creation of a prosperous and equitable community. And I think that they have helped us to overcome some of the misconceptions that an unfair Press has created in the world: and that many of us, when we go back to our own countries, will be actively trying to counteract those wrong impressions.

As one who has observed the work of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association over some years, may I say just a word about the future of the Commonwealth? I believe with you that this unique organisation has a distinct future. I believe that it has served its purpose so far, especially when we see that countries which had to struggle for independence to-day remain in free association with Britain, after having achieved that independence from British rule. This, I believe, you touched on, this evening; but it was only possible because their desire for independence did not dilute their basic admiration for British institutions and British people, nor the

desire to be associated with other countries of the Commonwealth. I have attended a number of these annual conferences by now; and I can say that year by year, references to past disagreements become less and less. As former conflicts recede further into history, speaking as a citizen of a former colony myself, I believe that today there is an affection for Britain in its former colonies at least as great as we have for each other. In fact, it has been said, "Imitation is the finest form of flattery." By adopting so many British customs and procedures, we in the Commonwealth have shown our admiration a bit; and I hope that increasingly, in the years ahead, we will show our admiration for each other by learning from each other; and I know all of us will do it. I believe that mutual friendship between countries of the Commonwealth will continue to show in the years that lie ahead. Many here will be aware of the principle of the extended family, as practised in some African countries. It involves a responsibility and care for relatives beyond

your immediate family; and it is with confidence in the accuracy of the observations that I have made regarding the growing affection between Commonwealth members that I look forward to the application of the principle of extended family in this Commonwealth and that it would, one day, cover in one family, every citizen of the Commonwealth.

I leave you only with the thought that if this most desirable goal is to be achieved, we must be tireless in our efforts to obtain freedom and justice, not only within the Commonwealth, but also for our brothers and sisters still denied basic human dignity by governments in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Madam Prime Minister, we had come to India with great anticipation. We are leaving with an ever-lasting feeling of friendship for your country, your government and the people of your great country.

8. Conference : As they viewed it

(DELEGATES' ASSESSMENT)

I. FROM ABROAD

Australia, Commonwealth of NEW SOUTH WALES,

J. H. Taylor, M.L.A.:

It was a memorable experience to have the privilege to attend the conference as both delegate for the New South Wales Branch and also as Leader of the Australian State Branches.

From the Inaugural Address delivered by His Excellency The President of India, supported by an inspiring address by the distinguished Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the Great Hall of the Indian Parliament, where so much history has been enacted, to the final meeting held in the magnificent conference chamber of the Parliamentary Annexe, so recently finished, the Indian Main Branch and State Branches provided every facility for a successful conference.

Plenary Sessions of the conference provided forthright discussion on a number of the problem areas of World affairs as they affect Commonwealth Nations. These speeches were delivered with great elo-

quence and sincerity by many distinguished delegates.

All those taking part in these Sessions could not help but have a greater understanding of other Nations' points of view and the problems confronting them which must contribute to better understanding.

Committee and Panel discussions also were forthright and served to deepen further the understanding between delegates on many of the subjects under discussion.

This conference gave the opportunity for many delegates to renew friendships and to establish new ones, which in turn further the opportunity of greater understanding of each other's attitudes and problems within the Commonwealth. This surely must be one of the great reasons for our Association and to this end the Twenty-first Conference must be rated as being very successful.

Problems of the Parliamentary Association were freely discussed, such as a new Constitution. This is healthy as our Association expands to embrace new branches.

Whilst I have no way of judging, because this was my first conference, but it would

be hard to imagine any branch exceeding the magnificent hospitality and friendship extended to delegates and their spouses by our hosts, the Indian and State branches of the CPA. They were truly magnificent.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

M. B. Dawkins, M.I.C.:

In late October and early November 1975 I was afforded the honour and privilege of representing the South Australian Parliament at the 21st Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at New Delhi, India.

Firstly let me express to my own Parliament my sincere appreciation of the honour conferred upon me and also to the Parliament of India very sincere gratitude for the way in which my Australian colleagues and I, together with our wives, were received and cared for in India.

The Conference was inaugurated on 28th October, 1975, by the President of India together with a supporting speech from the Prime Minister.

During Plenary Sessions and also Committee and Panel Sessions the Australian States delegates had to endeavour to represent the Australian Main Branch viewpoints, as well as their own, thus "filling in" for the unavoidable absence of Australian Federal Delegates—particularly as their viewpoints were reported in the Indian Press as being those of Australia as a whole.

A new Constitution for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association was discussed at length and proposed changes as advocated by the Australian Commonwealth Branch were made available to the General Council.

During the Conference itself delegates discussed in detail a number of subjects including, "The Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace", "The World Energy Crisis", "World Population Growth"—"Social Problems", "Challenges to Parliament", "The Commonwealth as an Instrument of Social, Political and Economic Transformation" and a number of closely aligned matters. Although, in conformity with Commonwealth Parliamentary Association practise no decisions were reached and no votes taken, there was, in some cases, considerable variation in opinion as to how these goals should be achieved or alternatively approached, and the discussions contributed much to an understanding between Commonwealth countries as to the desirability or otherwise of solutions to the problems raised and even how, in the last resort, we should agree to differ on some of them. The Conference contributed very much to further understanding between the nations involved in it.

As is usual at these Conferences delegates received much help from their own Legation and were given much generous hospitality by the Indian Federal Government and people, which was greatly appreciated.

Following the Conference delegates were divided into four groups and were taken on visits to some of the various States,

where they were generously received and entertained and also informed in considerable detail as to methods of Government of the States visited and of the Industries and Environment in the particular areas.

I believe that India, by its kindness and consideration to delegates contributed very much to understanding and goodwill between itself and other Member Nations.

Delegates will, I am sure, remember the Conference with pleasure and with gratitude to all concerned in the splendid organization of it.

VICTORIA

Eric Kent, MLC:

(a) *Personal Impression:* The Conference was, in my view, very successful.

The Conference was characterised by frank discussion conducted in good spirit on a variety of subjects on which there were at times inevitably differences of opinion.

From it all comes a better understanding of the reasons for a particular point of view. Something which is more easily acquired by personal contact.

The Conference provided a valuable opportunity for an exchange of views and for sowing the seeds of new ideas without the construction of compelling delegates to commit themselves to a particular course of action.

The ultimate benefit of the influence of such a forum should come from the decisions which responsible authorities in the Commonwealth will be better equipped to make.

I regarded it as particularly fortunate that the Conference should be held in India. India's decision to remain in the Commonwealth after Independence would undoubtedly be the reason why the Commonwealth has survived. Her historical background and numerical significance are of tremendous importance in furthering an appreciation of the potential for Commonwealth based initiatives.

The Central and State Governments of India are to be commended for their magnificent contributions to the furtherance of the aims of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Great benefits accrue from the formal and informal discussions which take place at such a conference between representatives of widely varying environments, cultures, and economic situations.

(b) *Report to the Victorian Branch of CPA.*

As the delegate of the Victorian Branch of the C.P.A. I found the twenty-first Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association a most interesting experience.

The Indian Branch spared no effort to ensure the smooth and efficient functioning of the Conference and to provide warm

and generous hospitality. The opportunity for formal and informal discussion with M.P.s from various parts of the World must be beneficial in the development of understanding.

Diversity of race, colour, culture and geography are not barriers to good relationships.

Some characteristics of M.P.s appear to be universal. However it appears that in the countries which have more recently achieved independence, wealth and professional status are almost essential qualifications for membership of Parliament.

The various sessions of Conference produced frank expressions of views.

Indian and African delegates strongly presented their countries attitudes to big power involvement in their regions.

On issues such as World Population control and food production, and Economic co-operation and commodity agreements, I felt delegates tended to frequently adopt rather parochial attitudes rather than a view of global responsibility.

Some delegates represented very small populations, fifty thousand people or less, in contrast to India's five hundred and sixty million. In these circumstances it is appreciated that the conference is not a policy making body. Some delegates were obviously acting as representatives of the policy of their Government.

I believe that the function of the Conference is to provide dialogue between

Commonwealth Parliamentarians; not Government representatives.

Nevertheless there are some disadvantages where there is no continuity of delegates, as in our practice.

The Conference was opened with pomp and splendour. The President of India performed the official opening, and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, also spoke.

Many official receptions were given for visiting delegates who saw much wealth and splendour.

Mrs. Gandhi tendered a dinner to delegates at the Ashoka Hotel, New Delhi, a Government owned hotel at which all delegates were comfortably accommodated.

The Central Government of India and State Governments spared no effort in emphasising their belief in the Westminster system of Parliament.

The post-conference tour in which I took part embraced the States of Uttar Pradesh, of which Lucknow is the capital, West Bengal, (Calcutta), Assam and Meghalaya.

The capital of Meghalaya is Shillong, in hill country not far from Cherapunjee, which has the highest rainfall in the world, one thousand to twelve hundred inches per year. From there not far from Tibet, we were able to look over the plains of Bangladesh.

Tremendous hospitality was the feature of the whole tour. We were able to gain some

understanding of the great diversity and cultural heritage of part of that great country.

Unfortunately we had no real opportunity of getting to know and share the experiences of the great mass of people. I was impressed by the great productivity of much of the land we saw. India has considerable resources and great technological knowledge. It has five nuclear power stations and much industrial capacity.

It seems to me that continuance of schemes to assist in the improvement of cattle breeding is one of the positive ways in which we can give useful aid.

It would be presumptuous for us to claim to have our own solutions for India and other developing countries. Obviously we have much to learn from them in regard to our false material values.

One becomes very conscious of the irresponsibility of resource use in this lucky country. The immorality of our fool's paradise of consumer production is strikingly evident. One feels very conscious of the coarseness and crudity of Western capitalist values when becoming more aware of the culture and gentility of other peoples.

Knowing how tenuous the adherence to the Westminster system has become in Australia I appreciate having had the opportunity to participate in this conference.

I wish to thank the Honourable the Premier, the members of the Victorian Branch

of the C.P.A. and members of my Party for making it possible for me to represent this branch at a memorable Conference.

Canada

Senator M. Lorne Bonnell

Senator Allister Grosart

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was discussed in the Canadian Senate on December 3 and 4, 1975. Hon'ble M. Lorne Bonnell and Hon'ble Allister Grosart (both Senators) took part in the debate. Excerpts from the debates are given below:

HON. M. LORNE BONNELL: In rising to call the attention of the Senate to the Twenty-first General Conference held in New Delhi, India from Tuesday, October 28, 1975 until Tuesday, November 4, 1975. I wish to say that I was honoured to have been chosen as a representative of the Senate of Canada. Also present from the Senate was my colleague, Senator Grosart, who is a member of the executive of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Canada was also ably represented by a team representing not only the Senate but also the other place. Also on the delegation was Mr. Ian Imrie, Secretary of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Canadian Branch, and his assistant, Mr. Bruno Lecci.

In addition to the delegates representing the Government of Canada and both Houses of Parliament, the provincial branches also had delegates.

On the morning of Tuesday, October 28, we had the honour of being the first people to use the new annexe of the Parliament of India, which was constructed this summer, being completed just in time for the conference in October of this year.

The Conference was officially opened by the President of India, Ali Ahmed, who welcomed us to India and gave us the assurance that the people of India welcomed the delegates from the 35 participating member-countries, and would do all in their power to make the Conference a success and our stay in India a pleasure.

We also had the privilege of being addressed by the Prime Minister, Madam Indira Gandhi, who welcomed us to India on behalf of the Government of India and the people of India. She told us of the struggle of the people of India for independence, and how British colonialism had come to an end in 1947 when the actual documents were signed in the city of Delhi.

She further suggested that it was in Delhi that the new concept of the Commonwealth was born, when India decided to carry on as a participatory democracy and chose to become part of the Commonwealth. The idea of being, and remaining, a part of the Commonwealth, was fostered by Nehru who wanted this new relationship with the United Kingdom and the other Commonwealth countries to be based not on animosity and bitter memories but on forgiveness and friendship.

The special feature of the association is the voluntary coming together of countries

from widely differing continents and cultures, diverse in economics and in social lifestyles. It is not bound by any stated or unstated political obligations. It is neither confined to any particular system nor dominated by any one individual or nation. It has proven a useful forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences.

India is a nation made up of 22 states and nine union territories, most of which are larger than the bigger nation states of the world. By the way, the total population of all of the other countries presented in the Commonwealth is only about one-third of that of India alone. India contains almost every religious faith in the world. It has more than a dozen major languages with their own scripts, their own ancient literatures and with widely differing levels of economic development.

Through their federal constitution the states have a great deal of power, but the constitution also endows the central government with authority to deal effectively with any external danger or internal disturbances.

The Prime Minister, during her address, discussed the Constitution of India. She suggested that Mr. Nehru had asserted that constitutions are made for people, not the other way round, and that democracy is not a rigid and immutable concept. She suggested that sometimes a nation tends to think that its type of democracy can be made to apply universally. She suggested that nations tend to forget that their democracies evolved over time, and that what was good for the founders of a nation

might not be good for the present generation. She further suggested that future generations might re-examine democratic systems in the light of new historic conditions, and would likely make necessary changes as desired.

It is interesting to note that when the Prime Minister was addressing the parliamentarians of the Commonwealth in the new annexe of the Parliament Buildings of India, the validity of her election was being judged in the Supreme Court of that land. On November 7, while we were still in India, the Supreme Court validated the poll law changes, and clause 4 of article 329A of the Indian Constitution was struck down. The highest court of the land unanimously upheld Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's election to Lok Sabha in 1971, nullifying the Allahabad High Court's Judgment against her. A five-judge constitutional bench of the Supreme Court, presided over by Chief Justice A. N. Ray, handed down the verdict in five separate but concurring judgments which endorsed the 1974 and 1975 amendments to the election laws. The court's verdict of allowing Mrs. Gandhi's appeal automatically removed the six-year bar on her contesting elections which had been entailed in the high court judgment. This court decision seemed to be well received by most of the people of India.

Immediately after the official opening, the Conference got under way with the first plenary session discussing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and developments in Southeast Asia. This plenary session was chaired by the Honourable Dr. G. S.

Dhillon, Speaker of Lok Sabha, President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and also President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Association.

The Honourable Gerald Regan, Premier of Nova Scotia, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, formally inaugurated the Conference. During the discussion on the subject of *The Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace*, there was much concern expressed by the delegates from India and Mauritius because the United States of America, apparently, was building an airfield in Diego Garcia, which was purchased by the British government from the Mauritius government for £3 million, and that the British government was now allowing the Americans to build an air base which was big enough to enable B-52 bombers to operate from Diego Garcia.

The delegate from Kenya supported the idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, and suggested that the Kenyans had a common problem with all other countries which had coasts bordering on the Indian Ocean. He suggested that his government had always expressed the desire that the Indian Ocean should be left without any interference by outside powers. It was difficult to agree that what the United States, the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R., or any other power, was trying to do in that area, was for the benefit of the area. He suggested that what the developing countries in that area needed most was money for development, and that if the big powers wanted to assist them, they could provide assistance in a

number of ways other than building up military strength in the Indian Ocean.

The delegate from the Seychelles Islands suggested that too much movement of ships in those seas by the big powers, possibly involving atomic power, could well destroy the fisheries on which most of those small islands in the Indian Ocean depended so heavily for a living.

The delegate from the United Kingdom suggested that the United Kingdom shared the sense of the Conference in discussing the Indian Ocean and seeking to create within it a freedom not only from nuclear weapons, but all other forms of military equipment. He suggested that the United Kingdom wanted disarmament, not just in the Indian Ocean, but throughout the world. The United Kingdom wanted a cessation of massive weapons build-up year after year by all countries—not only European countries, but countries of Asia also. He felt that such a reduction in weapons build-up should be an objective of the Commonwealth. He further suggested that the heart of the matter lay in continuing talks between the two big powers, balanced force reductions and activities in the United Nations.

If we really want response, let us not point our finger only at the United States or the U.S.S.R. It will be in the interest of all of us to see if we can bring these two super powers together to discuss disarmament, not only in the Indian Ocean, but throughout the world.

The second item discussed in the plenary session was the development of Southeast

Asia, at which time the Malaysian delegate suggested that the fundamental transformation of the political scenario of Southeast Asia offered the opportunity for all Southeast Asian countries to embark on a new beginning in their relationships with each other. It will require a constant attempt to discard old attitudes and dispositions, and to substitute in their place perceptions that are more in tune with realities.

The spectre of the aftermath of the Vietnam War is now enabling Southeast Asian countries to readjust their strategies. The struggle to eliminate wants of basic needs, such as food and shelter, must supersede ideological struggles.

The fear which is foremost in the minds of the Southeast Asians, arising from the United States involvement in Vietnam, is the possibility of their being another domino in international relations. That is why the countries of Southeast Asia are asserting that they are not prepared to trade any more territorial or strategic assets for any super-power guarantees.

In order to create a stabilizing force in Southeast Asia, the countries in that area are banding together in a non-military, non-ideological and non-antagonistic union which, they hope, will meet the common requirements of the different countries in Southeast Asia for their own development, their own growth, and their own protection, thereby making Southeast Asia a Zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

On Wednesday, October 29, the morning plenary session was held with discussions

concerning Africa south of the Sahara and its relationships with Rhodesia and South Africa. The delegate from Zambia suggested that the threat to international security in Africa south of the Sahara was mainly due to the minority racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and the abominable apartheid policy of South Africa. He said that it was the duty of the Commonwealth, and all other bodies, to see that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia comes to an end. Unless independence based on majority rule in Rhodesia is achieved, and the policy of apartheid renounced by South Africa, Southern Africa will always remain a threat to peace.

On Wednesday afternoon, October 29, the plenary session discussed the world energy crisis. During this discussion, the United Kingdom delegate, the Right Honourable Lord Shepherd, said that the recent energy crisis had effected the developing countries most, and would cost those nations some \$10,000 million a year—a very sizable amount. Great Britain would have to pay nearly £1 million a day to meet the latest hikes in the price of oil.

The larger industrialized countries would be able to overcome this crisis, but it would be beyond the powers of the developing countries to face this crisis unless the industrialized countries took certain steps and also provided massive aid to the developing countries. It must be recognized that the poorer countries were more heavily affected by the energy crisis than were the developing countries, which had already reached a fairly advanced stage

of development. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the underdeveloped countries.

It will indeed be difficult for us to overcome the present difficulties in a unilateral and national way. The industrialized countries must cooperate and coordinate their policies in such a way as to help the poorer countries in tiding themselves over this present crisis.

More care should be taken in the use of energy, and oil should be used only for essential purposes. It was suggested that greater attention should be paid to the activities of the World Bank to enable it to provide credit to the affected countries on the best possible terms.

Apart from conservation of present energy resources, our strategy should be to devise ways of increasing our cooperation with regard to sharing all the resources that are left in the world. It must be recognized that we are still in the cheap fuel period, and that within a few years, as supplies run out, we shall be moving into a more expensive fuel era.

It was suggested that big developments are likely to take place in the field of nuclear power in the future. This would also increase the possibilities of designing and building nuclear weapons. Control should therefore be exercised by the United Nations to ensure that the by-products of atomic energy are not used for other than peaceful purposes.

Mr. Alan Martin, M.P., a Canadian delegate, suggested that while Canada

was trying to understand and concern itself with the problems besetting the underdeveloped countries as a result of the trauma brought about by world oil price increases, she must, at the same time, become more fully aware as a nation of the dramatic turn of events relating to the energy picture as it was currently affecting this country. He said that in 1972 it was estimated that our oil resources would suffice not only to meet our own requirements as far ahead as 1990, but also to enable us to export one million barrels per day in 1974, we were told that, rather than having exportable supplies in 1990, we would be faced with potential net import requirements of up to 2 million barrels per day as early as 1985. He further suggested that somewhat the same situation existed in Canada in regard to the supply position of natural gas. He said that the Government of Canada had already taken various steps to meet these challenges as far as this nation was concerned and, at the same time, had taken into consideration the supplying, by the world, of the underdeveloped countries.

The Australian delegate told the conference that the nuclear, solar, tidal and hydroelectric types of energy were all being studied by his country, but that up to the present time no great progress had been made.

The delegate from India suggested that there might be a breakthrough in respect of the "fusion process." The "fusion process" would make use of the radioisotopes in sea water, which were cheap and limitless. If the scientists succeeded in

finding some kind of a device by which this tremendous energy could be tamed and released for the use of industries, it would be a limitless source of energy for the world. He also said that we must look upon oil not as a source of energy but as a raw material, and that if this were done the world would be on the right track.

The delegate from Kenya said it was misleading to talk about an energy crisis as this would suggest a physical shortage of energy, which was not the situation for everybody, because those who could afford to pay the price could get the energy they needed. It was, therefore, essentially an economic crisis.

The delegate from Bermuda suggested that there had to be some special consideration for the underdeveloped countries, particularly during the interim period. He proposed that while the larger countries were trying to solve the problem by speeding up the research they had left lagging for many years, they should provide special consideration, by means of special rates, for peoples and countries with special problems. This had to happen because they could not afford to pay the increased cost.

On Thursday, October 30, discussions took place concerning *The Building of a New International Economic Order* with the following special subtitles: (i) *World Population Growth and Food Resources*; (ii) *Commodity Prices, Terms of Trade and Indexation*; (iii) *Producer or Consumer Country Cartels and Regional Economic Groupings*; and (iv) *Multinational Corporations*.

Incidentally, the group dealing with controls and regional economic groupings was chaired by Senator Grosart.

Concerning World Population Growth and Food Resources, the delegate from Bermuda, the Honourable W.H.C. Masters, said that Bermuda was one of the two countries in the Commonwealth which started population control, the other being India. He said that Bermuda had realized the importance of limiting the population as the alternative to being overpowered by poverty and that the programme was successful. He further suggested that their objective could not be achieved by population control alone, and that other things that were needed were industrial development, development of natural resources, control of pollution, more food production and road development.

The delegate from the Bahamas said that the population question really had its roots in developing countries, where the income level was low. A good deal of skill had to be mustered to deal with the problem. The Commonwealth was made up both of rich and developing countries, and if the rich provided the latter with the necessary skills and resources, the problem could be solved.

Mr. Alan Martin, M.P., a delegate from Canada, suggested that the population explosion was not likely to be halted in the near future, and whether or not it was the cause or effect of underdevelopment in individual countries was arguable. He expressed the view that population programmes in various countries must be

inter-related with rural health programmes, and that it was mainly the responsibility of the individual nations as to how they should control their population growth.

Mr. Martin further suggested that, as far as food resources were concerned, nations which had a surplus of food should assist those who were in deficit, and that the recipient nations should make every effort to become self-sufficient in their requirements as speedily as possible.

On the afternoon of Thursday, October 30, during the discussion on *Multinational Corporations* Mr. Max Saltsman, M.P., from Canada, said that most of the multinational corporations operating in Canada were of United States origin, and in some respects were to Canada's advantage. He suggested that workers in the United States felt that the multinational corporations should withdraw their investment in other countries because the funds that would thus be made available would create more employment opportunities inside the United States itself. He thought that, in spite of bitter criticism against these corporations, the problem facing developing countries was one of how to attract such corporations so that they could get what they could not produce themselves. Multinational expansion had been referred to as neo-colonialism, and had much the same characteristics as the imperialist political colonialism which could be called a kind of economic colonialism. When governments get involved in business and industry, what happens is the same as happened in the case of colonialism and multinational corporations—that is, in return for

certain benefits, certain know-how, certain technology, the recipients are asked to give up a margin of their sovereignty.

On Friday, October 31, social problems were discussed with particular emphasis on the social effects of unemployment, the growth of violence, unrest among youth, and drug problems. The delegate from Jamaica said that these problems are of deep concern to most of the countries of the Commonwealth. He pointed out that many nations of the Commonwealth became independent during the last century, and that their attention was therefore focused on winning economic independence. He suggested that unemployment was the root cause of the social problems of violence, unrest among youth and the use of drugs. He further suggested that idleness was the cause of the break-down of family life. The breadwinner abandoned his wife and children, the children developed wayward ways, and this placed a heavier load on the child welfare services of the state. Men migrated to the cities in search of jobs, which were few, and this in turn created housing problems in the cities.

I took part in the discussion on the social effects of unemployment, and suggested that some countries of the Commonwealth seemed to think that the cause of violence, unrest among youth and drug problems was unemployment. Others seemed to think that it was because of overemployment and lack of time for recreation and play, and still others expressed the view that the cause of unrest among youth, drug abuse and violence was under-

education and lack of a proper educational system. Delegates from some Commonwealth countries were of the opinion that these problems were caused by over-education, and that most of them started in the universities, while others thought that their cause was poverty. I got the impression that some thought the cause was too much affluence in the state and in the home. In some cases it seemed that the cause was lack of guidance and parental care in the home, lack of love in the home, and in others it was due to the fact that so many wives are working in this modern day that there is little or no guidance in the home from the mother. There seemed to me to be all kinds of reasons, and every country seemed to feel that youth unrest, drug problems and growth of violence were caused by a completely different set of circumstances.

In view of the fact that there is such a diversity of opinion as to the cause of unemployment, the cause of youth unrest, the cause of violence, and the cause of the use of drugs among our youth, then in order to bring these problems—which seem to be affecting all nations of the world, even those outside the Commonwealth—into perspective, I recommended that the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association should set up a committee to consider a new international social order. Such a committee could bring together all the information and all the research that can be obtained from the member states, and bring back a report to the annual meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association which will be held at Mauritius next year. In that way

we can see if any united approach or common remedy could be found for these major problems which seem to be worsening as the years go on.

This recommendation of mine was highly supported by member states, and the Chairman, the Honourable M. C. Cham, M. P. from Gambia, was to report to the executive the feeling of the panel that a committee of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association be set up to report back at the Mauritius meeting on its suggestions and recommendations for a new international social order with special emphasis on unrest among youth and drug problems among youth and the growth of violence in the Commonwealth.

On Friday afternoon, October 31, a panel discussion took place on the preservation of the environment, the control of pollution and the protection of wild life. Most members of the Commonwealth seem to have problems concerning pollution, and are setting up departments of the environment and are trying to control these problems within their own states.

The delegate from Canada, Mr. Robert Wenman, M. P., told the panel that Canada shared the concern for environment protection and had enacted important federal legislation including the Canada Water Act, the Clean Air Act and the Arctic Waters Pollution and Preservation Act.

Mr. Wenman suggested that nuclear energy, which had become a major component in meeting the energy crisis, might

become a major source of pollution in the world. The developing countries should also be aware of the consequences and potential danger of such energy. Any country selling, buying or using a nuclear reactor should be obligated to introduce all technologically possible safeguards, to comply with all international safeguards, to develop inspection systems, and to pledge technological research funds to the solution of the waste disposal problem. Any country that proceeded in its technology to the production of nuclear explosions should be strongly condemned by all the developing countries which so desperately require both nuclear energy and the guarantee of safety for our global environment.

Much discussion took place concerning the protection of wildlife, and most countries in the world are doing their utmost to preserve the different species of animals and plants that are becoming scarce. Many international orders are doing what they can to preserve many of the rare species of the animal and bird life, such as the whooping crane and the whale. It was felt by many that this is a problem for the United Nations to deal with, insofar as it relates to the preservation of wildlife in the different countries of the world. It has to be realized by all nations that some of our cherished animals, birds and plants are headed for extinction if we are not careful about our natural resources.

On Saturday, November 1, a plenary session was held to discuss *Internal and External Threats to the Authority and*

Prestige of Parliament. The Right Honourable William Whitelaw of the United Kingdom pointed out that there are various threats to parliamentary authority all over the world—threats which have their roots in violence and intimidation. There are campaigns to undermine the authority of parliaments through systematic attacks on their member's competence and honesty of purpose.

So far as violence was concerned, if it gets started in any country it creates a sort of society in which authority passes from the elected representatives to the bully-boys and criminals on the streets. Surely, the need is to prevent violence from ever breaking out, because once violence starts it is far more difficult to stop it. Preventing violence from breaking out requires, first, an early appreciation of genuine grievances and, secondly, a democratic effort by the government, backed up by all its powers, to meet it. It also demands very firm action and, in certain instances, coordinated action among the nations of the world against those who seek to support violence in any country for any reason.

As to campaigns against parliaments their members, if they are not to be repeated we must see to it that we promote among our people a faith and a belief in parliament itself. It is impossible to generalize about this problem because it differs from country to country.

Mr. Whitelaw did not accept the old saying that the only duty of the opposition is to oppose. He said we must not indulge

in senseless party bickerings and recriminations in our parliaments. Fierce criticism and constant exposure of the failings of government are essential and must be rigorously pursued, but a country would think less of its politicians if such attempts degenerate into a universal condemnation of everything that a government does. This, in turn, would all too easily lead to a general denigration of the whole national effort.

The opposition can help parliament if it is honest enough to stand with the government where it believes the government is right. The opposition should give the government at least some support when it believes the government is only half right. It might criticize some parts of the government's program, but at the same time say that it believes it is generally right.

If this can be done then the people would feel that parliament is a constructive forum, genuinely seeking solutions to national problems, and not some kind of a battleground in the struggle for personal power. Nothing is more damaging to a parliament than to be taken as a battleground for some people seeking their own personal advancement and power. Parliament should be recognized as a living part of our national life, reflecting its changes and its adaptations. This is tremendously important if we are going to be in tune with the feelings of the people.

At the afternoon meeting on Saturday, November 1, we discussed Ministers, Members and Conflicts of Interest. It was felt

that it is impossible to draw up a code of conduct for members of parliament. The problem of definition in this matter could really lead to defeating the very purpose. One remedy is to maintain a register of interests of parliamentarians, but the question remains as to who should maintain this register, and to whom this disclosure should be made.

If this declaration was made to the Speaker, it might not satisfy public opinion, and the public would like to scrutinize it. If it is scrutinized by the public, many objections might be raised by the legislators themselves, who would not like to have their assets and liabilities investigated by the public. Declarations could be utilized for harassing members. Widest publicity to one's assets and liabilities would probably satisfy most of the public. In some countries a wide range of entertainments is provided to members of parliament in order to influence their conduct in certain cases.

A select committee appointed in the United Kingdom was of the view that parliamentarians should be better paid in order to remove them from the field of temptation.

Basically most member countries felt that we have to fall back on the good sense and integrity of the individual members of parliament, and on the capacity of the electorate and its good sense to choose the proper persons for parliament. If a person is known to have done something wrong, the public must reject him at the next election. This is an area in which we have nothing to rely upon ex-

cept the good sense of the electorate, the good sense of the members and their own integrity and sense of honour, and above all, the capacity of humanity to set itself right.

On the final day, the subject of *the Commonwealth as an Instrument of Social, Political and Economic Transformation* was discussed. I am happy to say that the leader of our delegation, Mr. Maurice Dupras, initiated the discussion. It was his view that the Commonwealth has undergone, a change and must now be looked upon as an informal and largely de-institutionalized association of countries of various races and continents. The Commonwealth is neither an empire nor a power bloc. Its members have some vital things in common. They share certain constitutional and legal attitudes, governmental and business practices and habits of working together. The justification of the Commonwealth lies in the sharing of viewpoints and the search for understanding. In spite of regional attachments, the Commonwealth is counter-regional; its role is not to rival regional blocs, but to link them.

Cooperation among Commonwealth countries is not limited to governments. It takes place among parliamentarians, industrial and commercial enterprises and voluntary societies and organizations. The countries work together through 300-odd organizations that promote Commonwealth interests in a variety of areas about which few people know.

One of the most important areas of Commonwealth cooperation is in the field

of education, where the Commonwealth Education Conference and the Commonwealth Secretariat play important roles in stimulating activity. Under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, by 1973-74, the total number of scholarships had reached 1,008, with 442 new awards in twelve countries.

Health is another field where there has been close Commonwealth cooperation. Similarly, member governments are increasingly taking advantage of the opportunities for legal cooperation within the Commonwealth.

In the field of communications, there have been mutual postal concessions between Commonwealth countries for many years. The Commonwealth Air Transport Council is an important institution, which advises on the civil aviation matters referred to it by governments, and is a medium for the exchange of views and information.

Mr. Dupras said that Canada's Commonwealth trade had expanded substantially and it was his feeling that the Commonwealth has great possibilities.

During the business meeting that followed, the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons of Canada, the Honourable James A. Jerome, was elected vice-president for the year 1976, when the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference will be held in Mauritius. Mr. Speaker Jerome likely will be elected president next year, and as a result will be president when the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference is held in Canada in 1977.

Before closing, I would like to take this opportunity to tell honourable senators that the Canadian delegation, which was ably led by Mr. Maurice Dupras, participated in the discussion of all topics on the agenda and contributed substantially to debates. The viewpoint of Canadians was heard from all the representatives on the federal team, as well as from the provincial representatives.

As a representative of the Senate, I was proud to be a Canadian speaking on such worldwide topics and participating in such debates, and in being able to join with my fellow Canadians in the forming of world opinion on such major subjects as were discussed at the conference.

I would also add that we were jointly proud of our leader, Mr. Maurice Dupras. Our Secretary, Mr. Ian Imrie, and his assistant, Mr. Bruno Lecci, did an excellent job in organizing the Canadian team so that they were able to participate fully in the debates at Delhi. Without the support of Mr. Imrie and Mr. Lecci, the Canadian delegates would not have been able to participate as fully as they did.

Again, honourable senators, I thank you for the opportunity of representing you at this conference. While in India I had the opportunity on two occasions of appearing on national television in India to speak on behalf of Canada—once to give the views of Canada on the conference, and then to speak on youth problems and drug abuse. Mr. Dupras, also had the opportunity of speaking to India on television concerning

the feelings of Canada toward the Commonwealth.

When the conference was over, I believe that Canada was much better informed about the problems of the Commonwealth and the world, and the world and the Commonwealth were much better informed about how Canada feels concerning many of these problems.....

* * *

Hon. Allister Grosart:

Honourable Senators, I am speaking now to the inquiry calling the attention of the Senate to the twentyfirst General Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association which was held recently in New Delhi.

Senator Bonnell—I am sorry he is not here—gave an excellent explanation of what went on at the conference, and made some very searching comments of his own on the proceedings. I want to compliment him on that. If he were here I would tell him that I had a message from New Delhi only today saying that they regarded his report to the Senate to be of such excellence that they want to publish it.

Senator Bonnell made an outstanding contribution. I believe this was his first attendance at a CPA general conference. He was active in the plenary sessions, the committees and the seminars, and I might add, because his wife was with him in New Delhi, that he was also very active in the shopping bazaars. He was the only senator who was a member of the

Canadian delegation; I attended in another capacity.

I should perhaps say on this occasion that the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is unique among the many inter-parliamentary associations. First it is the only association which includes delegates from all the provinces and states comprising the four federal countries which are members of the CPA—that is to say, India, Australia, Malaysia and Canada. It is also the only association which holds regular conferences, meetings and seminars in Canada, to which there are delegates from all the provinces.

At the present time it is the only inter-parliamentary association which has as chairman of its executive committee a distinguished provincial premier, the Honourable Gerald Regan of Nova Scotia. It has some 95 branches, and Senator Bonnell referred to the 35 countries represented.

The CPA differs from other such associations in that it has delegates from all the legislatures in those countries, and in our case this includes representatives of 14 legislatures. It is not always remembered that we have 14 legislatures in Canada—the two legislatures in the Parliament of Canada, the 10 provinces, and the councils of the North-west Territories and the Yukon Territory, which are now officially regarded as legislatures because their members are elected.

This conference was held in India at a very unusual time in the history of that

country. It took place during what is called there "The Emergency." Honourable senators are aware of the situation that has arisen, and of the criticism around the world of the steps which have been taken by the Indian government to meet that emergency.

I think all of us came away with at least the reaction that when in India the situation looked very different from the way it looked when outside India. I will say no more about that, except to add that the Indian Government makes what appears on the surface to be a good case, namely, that India was faced with anarchy. Whether that was a fair assessment, or whether the reaction was too great, I will not discuss at this time. I will merely say that, in my view, we should all be extremely careful in applying the standards of democracy as we see them in our country to emerging countries.

I, for one, have had a good deal to do with looking at the one-party systems in certain African countries and in one other, and I must say that in some respects the one-party state is not very much less democratic than our own. In one state, of which I know, five cabinet ministers were defeated in an election recently, which indicates some degree of democracy still existing even in a one-party state. Much the same applies to India. Their problems are unbelievable. For example, with respect to communications, I was told that one of their indicators of social progress is the fact that now one in five villages has a communal radio receiver. One can understand the problems there are of com-

municating with a population of almost 600 million people, the vast majority of whom are in those villages.....

There was an interesting reference to the fact that an Indian city is "twinned" with Calgary, namely the City of Jaipur, one of the ancient, historic cities of India. Some of us were there one evening when there was a celebration of that fact, and there was more than one suggestion that Indians would welcome similar "twinning" with Canadian cities.

One of the results of the General Council meeting was the election of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable James Jerome, as Vice-President of the Association, looking forward to 1977, when Mr. Speaker Jerome will be the president at the Conference in Canada.

At this time I have no further comment to make on the situation, except to say, if any honourable senator is particularly interested in examining the facts upon which the very drastic...decisions of the Indian Government were taken, that there is information available and it will almost certainly change the viewpoint of anybody who has tended to condemn out of hand the steps the Indian Government has taken.

Falkland Island (South Atlantic)

L. G. Blake, MLC:

My wife and I left the Falkland Islands on the 20th October and by the time we got back on the 17th November we had

travelled over 20,000 miles. We left Port Stanley in the early spring with a temperature of 8 degrees centigrade, passing through London in mid Autumn, we arrived in New Delhi in the cool season at 23 degree centigrade. This journey was for the 21st Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. This was the first conference attended by a Falkland Islands delegate and I was asked on my return: "Was it worth it?", and my answer is "*In all ways*".

Personally, my wife and I met with many people of many lands and so widened greatly the circle of our friends. Had we been tourists the journey would have been well worth-while, having seen so much splendid scenery, from the beauty of the man-made Taj Mahal and the new Parliament House Annexe to the natural splendour of the Cherrapunjee Hills. But it was most worthwhile as a member of the Falkland Islands Legislature.

Although the delegates were of many different nations, we all had one thing in common, the progress of our countries. I learned much of the difficulties of a number of countries and I hope now I have a better understanding of the problems facing their governments.

Gibraltar

Issac Abecasis, MHA:

It was a privilege and a great honour for me to have represented Gibraltar at the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference.

On arriving at Delhi's Airport I was, together with other delegates coming from all parts of the Commonwealth, welcomed to India by Dr. The Hon. G. S. Dhillon, MP, Speaker of Lok Sabha, Parliament of India, and President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Sir Robin Vanderfelt, Secretary-General and Members of the India Branch of the CPA.

The Inaugural Ceremony was held at the magnificent Central Hall, Parliament House, the Conference being declared officially open by the President of India. The Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi addressed the 255 delegates present representing some 50 Commonwealth Parliaments and Legislatures. Amongst the delegates there were Premiers, Leaders of Opposition, Speakers and Ministers. It was a most impressive ceremony full of splendour.

The Plenary Conference was held at the Parliament House Annexe, a most modern building of contemporary style with Restaurants, Bars, a Post Office and Information Centres. The Indian Postal Services released a special Stamp depicting this building to commemorate the event.

The Coffee and Tea Boards of India made special arrangements to serve coffee and tea to all delegates free of charge throughout the Plenary sessions and Panel meetings which lasted for 6 days. The Agenda was very comprehensive and proved to be most interesting dealing with very important matters affecting the Commonwealth and the world in general.

Press and television coverage of the proceedings was excellent. My own personal intervention in the Commonwealth and World Security "Europe and the Countries around the Mediterranean" was reported in 3 leading newspapers. All the delegates were accommodated at the Ashoka Hotel in New Delhi, a very comfortable and luxurious hotel with gardens, golf course, swimming pool, Banks and shopping arcades. A very extensive and interesting social programme was organised to entertain the delegates, this included receptions by the President and Vice President of India as well as the High Commissioners accredited to Delhi, Dinners and Luncheons by the Prime Minister, the Speaker, and the Lt. Governor of Delhi. On the cultural side we saw dances of India, Son-et-Lumiere at Red Fort and visited Museums and places of interest, such as the Taj Mahal in Agra—without doubt one of the wonders of the world.

We were very lucky that our visit to India coincided with the Diwali holidays and were able to share with the Indian Community the Festival of Lights. After the Conference delegates were divided into 4 groups to visit different parts of India. I was included in the group assigned to visit the Northern Region, this trip included Srinagar, Chandigarh and Jaipur. In Srinagar, the Capital of Jammu and Kashmir State, we stayed in House Boats in the Nagin Lake in the most beautiful Happy Valley; we also visited Gulmarg which has the highest golf course in the world. In Chandigarh, in the Punjab and Haryana States we were accommodated in State Guest Houses, visited the Pinjore Gardens and toured some of the area's factories.

Finally, we visited the Pink City of Rajasthan, Jaipur, with its beautiful Gardens and Palaces. At the farewell reception held at the Vidhan Sabha Bhawan (Legislative Assembly) I was given the honour to say goodbye on behalf of the visiting delegates. I felt very proud as a Gibraltarian coming from the smallest territory in the Commonwealth to have been singled out to address the Host Branch, one of the largest in the Commonwealth, with a population of 600 million. It was an occasion I shall never forget for it was great to say thank you to such a wonderful and hospitable people. When replying to my address the President of the Indian Parliament presented me with a Turban which I shall treasure for as long as I live, as a memento of a truly memorable occasion.

Guyana

Mrs Elinor Da Silva, M.P.:

I wish to say how impressed we all were, not only with the quiet and efficient manner in which not only was our stay in Delhi handled, but the smooth, effortless manner in which arrangements were made for the various meetings, transportation and well-being and comfort of each and everyone of the delegates and their spouses. We all fully appreciate the enormous amount of planning, organisation and co-ordination that was necessary to bring this about, and we trust that our appreciation will in some small way compensate you for all the work entailed and that you will be justly proud of your achievements.

At the conclusion of the business side of the Conference, our hosts very graciously and generously arranged a series of tours in order that we might have the opportunity of seeing something of the beauties of their country, the people and their way of life both at work and at play. We were divided up into four groups which took in a part of each of the Northern, Southern, Western and Eastern areas.

I was in Group B—the Eastern Region, and on the early bright morning of the 5th November, 1975, we set off by plane from Delhi for Lucknow, the first stop of our journey. There, as everywhere else, we were received with great warmth and genuine friendliness by beautiful young ladies clad in colourful saris who presented us with lovely bouquets of fresh red roses. The gentlemen on the reception Committee were no less lacking in the warmth of their reception and soon we were whisked away to the luxury Clarks Hotel.

For me Lucknow will always be specially remembered as I was unfortunate to slip and sustain a simple hairline fracture of my right hand. I therefore had a special item not included in the tour—a visit to the City Hospital. With great kindness and efficiency my hand was tended, X-rayed and plastered and I returned to the Hotel to rest. I therefore did not have the opportunity of touring Lucknow with my colleagues but however was well enough to continue on the tour with them the next day.

This was to Calcutta—the Capital of West Bengal State, the largest and most popul-

ous city in India. Here as well as being driven through part of the city we were taken to Bata Nagar and after an enjoyable boat trip on the Hoogly River where we embarked at Budge Budge Jetty we were taken to see the Garden Reach Workshop—one of the largest ship building yards in India and shown some of the work being undertaken. The delicious lunch and tea on board added further to our delights.

In Calcutta, as everywhere we went, we were treated to a cultural show and thus we were able to get glimpse and some insight into the way of life and culture of the people from the various regions of India. To us from Guyana with our close ties of heritage with India it was indeed revealing for all we know of the culture and life style of India is gleaned from cinema, and this was completely new, different and revealing to us.

It is often said the best is left for the last, and how true this was of Shillong—our final stop.

We arrived up in the pinewoods of Shillong via Gauhati Airport and a never-to-be-forgotten three hours' drive round and up into the hills of this Capital city of Meghalaya State. The scenery was beautiful and breath-taking and the day sunny in parts though clouded in certain areas. Our rooms at the Pinewood Hotel included an open fire place with pine cones and twigs. The bearer soon got the fire going as by then it was evening and cold, and the room soon warmed up with the lovely smell of pine.

Here we spent two nights and once again every consideration was given to our comfort. Shall we ever forget the smiling faces of the women and children everywhere especially the next morning at Cheerapun-gee which, we are told, has the highest rainfall in the world. In our honour there was no rain but only the sun peeping through the clouds on a rather cold morning. We were all well wrapped up and the warmth of our reception dispersed the cold. We'll never forget that welcome and the profusion of beautiful orchids showered on us. We learnt one word—KUBLEA (I hope I have spelt it correctly). We were told it means welcome, thank you and with my good wishes I say also KUBLEA.

The evenings were spent attending cultural shows and receptions and dancing in the spacious ballroom of the Pinewood Hotel. Little did I think when I left home that I would be dancing calapysos (plaster cast and all) way up in the hills of India and with no less a person than the Speaker of the Meghalaya Legislative Assembly. Then back to Calcutta and home.

I could go on writing forever of the beauty of India, of the charm, hospitality and genuine warmth of its people but I must end. I hope in this little narrative I have been able to get across our feelings and to say in all sincerity "Thank you". I hope we will meet again some day, and most of all hope you will be able to visit my country Guyana, where we will do our best to show you in our way how much we appreciated all that was done for us by every single person with whom we

came in contact to make this a-never-to-be forgotten CPA Conference.

Hong Kong

Hilton Cheong-Leen:

Journeying to Delhi at the end of October 1975 to attend on behalf of Hong Kong the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was for me much more than the opportunity to participate in the discussions of the wide range of subjects listed in the agenda.

Equally, it was an opportunity to meet on a personal basis the many parliamentarians of different races and of both sexes; young and old; of radical, moderate and conservative views, who had come to Delhi to speak for their respective countries and areas, and to renew the voluntarily shared bonds of commonwealth unity and identity.

It was furthermore an even greater opportunity to converse with the many distinguished personalities in Indian politics, and to become cognizant of, at first hand, of the complexities, difficulties and future portents of the Indian sub-continent with its population of nearly 600 million people.

The lingua franca was of course English, which was understood and spoken by virtually all the delegates as well as by the staff attending the Conference in one capacity or another. Agreeably and conveniently too, almost everyone I came into contact with in New Delhi, in the restaurants, shops, places of culture, etc. spoke English fluently.

Delhi, with its multiplicity of wide tree-lined boulevards, bestowed upon the delegates fine cool weather, apart from symbolizing to us as the capital of India the cultural and historic greatness of that vast country.

The speakers who addressed the plenary sessions, panel discussions and committee sessions, were knowledgeable, enthusiastic and often forthright in their views. A few of the speeches tended to revive memories of the colonial period in Commonwealth history, but at the end of the day such fleeting references were over stamped by the stronger ties of personal friendship made meaningful by common beliefs in parliamentary institutions.

It gave me great pleasure to chair the second committee on Social Problems: Preservation of the environment, the control of pollution and protection of wild life. This was because I was interested in and had even though a limited amount of knowledge of the subject. More importantly, it was because I was given the rare opportunity to learn from the more than twenty speakers who spoke on the problem as they saw it within their respective countries.

Discussions such as these usually take place in an atmosphere of minimum heat of emotion. They are often analytical, factual and pragmatic, and it is to be hoped that the relevant policy and administrative agencies in the respective countries in the Commonwealth will give attention to the Report of the Conference with a view to relating some of the ideas and suggestions mentioned to their own local experience.

On an individual note, it was richly rewarding to be able to share experiences and exchange points of view with the delegates from such a diversity of nations as represented within the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

On a global scale, most of the delegates assuredly were impressed with the common need to act in concert to arrive at solutions in regard to the world energy crisis, world population growth and food resources, the growth of violence, unrest among youth and drug problems, preservation of the environment and the control of pollution.

Our Indian hosts were unstinting of their time, resources and efforts to make our stay in India a memorable one. Though time did not allow me to join in any of the post-Conference tours, I found the week I stayed in Delhi even more enriching and pleasurable than one could have anticipated.

I discovered an abiding faith in parliamentary institutions among Indian M.P.s., making allowances for different attitudes and approaches as befitting parliamentarians of mature experience and the younger, more impatient and more radical ones.

This faith in the dignity and permanence of parliamentary institutions was also quite apparent in the women M.P.s. with whom I spoke. I am convinced that the women of India will play an even more dynamic role in adapting Parliament to the grass-roots needs of the Indian people in the coming years. The Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, is to many of these

women M.Ps. a shining light and political beacon in whom they have placed their trust.

What is probably the most urgent problem that India faces today is that of population, which at the present rate of growth could be one billion by the end of the century. Many Indian M.Ps. are becoming more aware of the social and political dangers of such a population growth. India's destiny and the struggle of her masses for survival and progress will in no small measure be influenced by the attitudes of Indian M.Ps., and in particular women M.Ps., towards controlling the rate of population growth.

Finally, one cannot leave Delhi without having felt the mystical impact of India's mature cultural heritage, in the realm of religious experience, philosophy, music, dance and visual art. My all too fleeting visits to the National Museum and National Gallery of Modern Art in Delhi were deeply enlightening.

I returned from Delhi to Hong Kong not just with a more extensive knowledge of Commonwealth parliamentary affairs and the friendship of many leaders in the Commonwealth family of nations, but also with a certain appreciation of the future potential and the many challenges that daunt the path of the parliamentarians of India.

Lesotho

S: A. Thakalekoala, M.P.:

From the very outset I must point out that this was the first time for me to attend

the C.P.A. Conference and in fact to go abroad. It will therefore be realised that to me at least, this was the greatest experience of my life.

I was very much impressed by the high standard of the deliberations in the General Council. The Panel Meetings were also well conducted and the contributors had prepared their subjects well.

The Annual General Meeting on Tuesday the 4th November, was also well conducted and one could just see the closing stages of a Conference that will remain indelible in one's mind for a very long time to come.

The Programme generally was simply filled with items which were not only exciting but were also educative. To quote a few let me mention a visit to the Red Fort, these wonderful Indian Dances which we attended, and the festival of the Lights in the City on the Night of Diwali, and a visit to the Taj Mahal and the Fort at Agra.

The Tours to the South of India were very well arranged. They took me to Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mysore and Madras, with excursions to places of interest at each point.

From the air one could see cultivated lands and a beautiful country with its green foliage below.

Some of the big factories which we visited included the HMT Watch Factory in Bangalore, the Silk Factory where Silk is extracted from silk-worms and beautiful

sarees are manufactured, the Soap Factory with its different kinds of toilet soaps and the Rail Coach factory where rail coaches are made and exported to African countries like Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia. Last but not the least, a visit to a College where Young Sculptors are trained to carve out stones into images of gods. Here only boys whose ancestors were renowned in this art are admitted, and the quality of the products these boys have made, will make this Indian Art to survive for ages to come. Their temples in India are lavishly decorated with these images of deities carved out of stone.

In conclusion, I wish to state that India is a great and beautiful country. I wish to congratulate the C.P.A. General Council, the Secretary-General and his staff, the Indian Branch for a Conference that will be remembered for a long time to come, and one could only hope that the one in Mauritius in 1976, will be a success as well.

Mauritius

Radhamohum Gujadhur, MLA:

I was elected Vice-President of the C.P.A. in 1974, and the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was my first experience of a plenary session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association:— Although my activities were restricted to move a vote of thanks to the President of India, the Prime Minister and the President of the C.P.A. at the opening of the Conference, to attend the sittings of the Executive Committee and to take the

chair at some of the plenary sessions in the absence of the President, yet I was forcibly struck first by the high quality of the facilities which had been afforded by the Government of India and by the main C.P.A. branch in hosting the Conference, then by the high calibre of the delegations which had been sent by all the participating nations. It was indeed a very fruitful experience for me.

There is, of course, nothing to add to the comprehensive, exhaustive and remarkable addresses of the President of India, the Prime Minister and the President of the C.P.A. as regards the various aspects of the Association, in particular its historical background, aims, development and achievements over the years since its inception.

It was obvious that the ideals of the Association namely, *inter alia*, to promote respect for parliamentary institutions and regular consultation on subjects of common interest were constantly in the minds of the delegates.

I was very much impressed by the high level of debate and the moderate tone used during the sessions especially when such thorny subjects were being treated like: Diego Garcia, Relationships with Rhodesia and South Africa, the sharing of food resources, the growth of violence and unrest among youth with due regard to drug problems, terms of trade and indexation. It seems to me that the persuasive and moderate attitude of the delegates in their discussions of very controversial matters was mainly due to the fact

that at the C.P.A. Conference no decision is made and only a consensus is obtained. Every delegate speaks in his capacity as a parliamentarian.

It was a matter of the utmost importance that we were meeting at New Delhi when India was under a state of emergency. It was soon apparent to the delegates that the state of emergency in no way interfered with the democratic running of the country.

In fact Mrs. Gandhi, with her political acumen and keen sense of the realities of the situation in India so far as the guests of her country were concerned, very lucidly, in her speech, set out her conception of democracy, which in the view of late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, had never been a rigid and immutable concept. The Prime Minister laid stress on the fact that it was wrong to think that conventional types of democracy were of universal applicability. Mrs. Gandhi emphasized the need for vigilance and the necessity of sometimes causing frustration to opposing minorities, where the welfare of the majority was at stake.

Another highlight of the Conference was the address made to the delegates by Mr. S. S. Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat—who delivered a very lucid and inspiring speech. I was thus provided with another opportunity of thanking him on behalf of all the delegates.

One cannot forget the post-Conference tour of India so minutely and effectively arranged by the main Branch in collabora-

tion with the different State branches in India. This obviously gave the delegates ample opportunity to see in batches North, South, East and West of the great sub-continent. The State Branches were just as hospitable and kind as the main branch.

I should like, before concluding, once more to say how much I appreciated—like all other delegates I am sure—the impeccable organization, which was flexible enough to ensure that all delegates lived in the same hotel and could meet one another officially or unofficially without any hitch.

Sarawak (Malaysia)

Dr. Wong Soon Kai, MCN:

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was opened officially by the President of India, His Excellency Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, with the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi addressing the opening ceremony.

The Conference covered very wide and topical subjects and many of the participants were Parliamentarians of very high calibre who hold very high and responsible positions in their respective Governments. While the emphasis was, more often than not, on national rather than regional or international issues, matters of global interest had also received much attention.

Many of the Commonwealth nations were strongly against the recent military build-up by the U.S.A. in Diego Garcia while

the U.K. delegation defended her Government's stand in allowing the U.S.A. to do so. Although U.K. delegation had reassured the conference that no nuclear weapon will be allowed in Diego Garcia many nations such as India, Sri Lanka and Mauritius were very sceptical about this reassurance. However there was a general accord that all should try to bring about the world's opinion to bear on the two super-powers, namely Russia and U.S.A., so that real detente instead of continual arms race between them will result.

Also on the subject of World Security, Datuk Musa Hitam was given the honour to open the debate on the subject of Developments in South East Asia. The recent development in Indo-China, the triumph of the communist forces there and the influence of such developments on neighbouring countries such as Thailand and Malaysia focussed the need for the world to face up to the realities that no matter how modern and sophisticated the weaponry may be, it cannot ultimately defeat the united will of a people. Malaysia's stand in regional co-operation, a regional zone of neutrality and the importance of socio-economic and political developments nationally and internationally with much emphasis on the establishment of a new international economic order was aptly expressed. Most participants supported his views.

There was universal condemnation of the Rhodesian and South African apartheid policy which is still operating in these

countries giving oppression to black people there. It was agreed that further strengthening of sanction among the Commonwealth nations against Rhodesia and South Africa must be made.

In the discussion on European and Mediterranean countries the need for the countries in the region to adopt a stand to avoid power struggle between super powers was stressed. The recent chaotic stage of affairs in the Iberian peninsula also focussed many delegates' attention. U.K.'s entry into EEC was no longer regarded as being against the interest of the Commonwealth. Instead she was being urged to play her role in the EEC so as to facilitate the Commonwealth nations concerned to receive a fairer deal with the European nations and to further the cause of establishing a new international economic order.

World energy crisis—as this had been a very important and hotly debated topic for the past many months or even years nothing really new had been formulated at this conference in trying to solve this world-wide problem. The developing countries reminded that they had been exploited left and right throughout the ages, and in the present energy crisis they were the ones which had suffered most and therefore deserved greater assistance from the developed countries. Datuk Musa Hitam spoke that the so-called energy crisis had been in a way a blessing in disguise in that for once in our long history did the developed countries begin to think and feel the legitimate rights of

the developing countries. In the past there was only one way traffic, that is, cheap raw materials from the developing nations flowing to the rich industrialised countries which in return sold expensive finished products to the developing countries in great profit. It was now time to think of a fairer flow of trade both ways. Building a new international economic order—This arose out of the perception that in order to bring about meaningful progress in world security, there must be established a new international economic order in which international poverty and disparity of wealth between nations could be gradually eliminated. One way this could be established, as agreed, was for the international trading system to give more equitable prices to commodities from the developing countries, that is, in fairer terms. This of course has great bearing on Malaysian economy, and several of our delegates including me had taken part in the various fora to discuss this subject, which included world population growth and food resources, commodity prices, terms of trade and indexation, cartels, multinational corporations, debt repayment for developing countries etc.

A committee discussion on social problems also was on the agenda. Social effects of unemployment, the growth of violence, unrest among youths and drug problems were all discussed, and so was the preservation of the environment, the control of pollution and protection of wild life.

A plenary session on the threats to Parliament was high-lighted by lively debates. Some spoke on their respective problems concerning elections, members of the Parliament, and Ministers in their respective countries, and others spoke more generally. It was generally agreed that using violence, as against Parliamentary democracy, in solving a nation's problems can only beget more violence ultimately. The need for Parliamentarian in his public and private life to set a good example to the nation was emphasised by many, and several speakers suggested that stern safe-guarding measures to prevent corruption must be made. It was agreed that while Parliamentary democracy was generally desirable it must sometimes be modified to suit particular situations in certain countries.

Finally Commonwealth as an instrument for social, political and economic transformation was debated in the closing plenary session. It was opined that the Commonwealth as an institution had not been as dynamic and effective as was envisaged or wished by the member countries. The Prime Minister of India in her farewell address said that the Commonwealth had in fact taken a step forward in the correct direction of trying to solve international problems, by group action. No matter how small that step might have been, it was nevertheless highly desirable that such a step had been made. There were others who felt that more financial and technical aids without any string attached must be made available from the developed countries to the less developed

and needy countries in the Commonwealth. All agreed that to be more effective the member countries must try to strengthen their parliaments by conferring more efficiency and dignity to that institution, and internationally we should increase our mutual friendship, understanding and cooperation. It was also hoped that world opinions could be greatly influenced by the unity and fraternity which existed in the Commonwealth. The conference was closed after the annual general meeting on 4th November, 1975.

Being the first time I attended a C.P.A. conference, I found it very stimulating, interesting and in many ways highly educational. Besides meeting with so many Parliamentarians from all over the world and hearing many eloquent speeches, one was also transported from the narrower field of politics within one's national confine to that of the much wider international field. There was always goodwill and friendliness in all these debates and discussions, although very sharp remarks, accusations and counter-accusations were not lacking on many occasions. I found it exhilarating to listen to so many eloquent expositions of topics by experts as well as by enthusiasts who were not so much of an expert. Whatever it was, one found it heartening that as much as one fourth of world's population did enjoy the Parliamentary form of Government which allowed free discussions of the pros and cons of Governmental systems.

My impression of India—India is such a

vast country that my limited opportunity to see only some parts of Delhi and Kashmir during my 15 days stay could not possibly give me a comprehensive picture. From what I have seen and learnt I do hold great esteem for the Government of that country. The vastness of India, her mammoth population, the immense poverty and the myriads of social economic problems are being tackled very systematically and realistically, and in many areas the Government had been highly successful. One cannot appreciate the supreme difficulties to manage that huge sub-continent until one has personally seen some part of the country. Then one could not fail to wonder at the very successful way with which the highly esteemed leader of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her Government had managed to unite and bring the country on the road to greater progress through Parliamentary democracy. Although the country is now still under emergency, and yet in many ways one did not experience the same degree of tense atmosphere as one might in an area under curfew in our own country. I was told that since the emergency, much better discipline had been restored in the Government machinery and the civil service, and that corruption, blackmarket, hoarding of essential goods, foreign exchange leakages and so many other evils in the country had been curtailed and in many areas rapidly eradicated. Whatever it is, India is still a country with rampant poverty. There is of course still a tremendous task ahead for the Government and the people of India to bring about a general raising

of the living standard of her people. India with its rich historical heritage, its architectural wonder of Taj Mahal, its scenic beauties in the Himalayan plateau of Kashmir, its friendly and kind people and its great hospitality had given me a wonderful experience and my short stay of 15 days in that great country had been most memorable indeed.

Sri Lanka

K. Jeyakody, M.P.:

It was my first opportunity to participate in a C.P.A. Conference. To me the C.P.A. is a living, vigorous and co-operative association of several countries, one big Parliament, representing different peoples but as equals. It was a great honour and privilege for me to have been a guest of the Indian Branch of the C.P.A. It was indeed an elevating experience for me to be hosted by a great country consisting of multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi religious people.

The people of India and Sri Lanka, have the same origin, culture custom and tradition. They are alike not only in colour, complexion, behaviour and manners but in the attitude to life itself. We, especially the Tamils of Sri Lanka, share with the great people of India, the ideals preached by Mahatma Gandhi.

The very success of this Conference has been in large measure due to the hospitality and kindness shown to us. From the time we arrived at Delhi till we finally left

the shores of India we were made very comfortable, wherever we went whether it be to the Hotels, Parliament Annexe or the various parties. The Hon. Speaker and the staff of the Secretariat were going round to individual members of the delegations and attending to their individual requirements. The programmes were well organised and the minutest details were meticulously arranged. Wherever we went we were given friendly and nice greetings with smiling faces, often ending up with a gift.

We had "abundant opportunities of seeing how a vibrant culture dating from pre-historic times has been able to preserve its basic identity while absorbing the numerous invasions and cultural confrontations or cultural interactions over the centuries." We could not overlook the fact that the leaders are trying to improve the economic and social life, with the benefits of modern science and technology. The great country had been poor as a result of foreign domination. The dedicated leaders are indeed tackling the problems of poverty and other maladies.

The people of India had seen wars, had seen peace, had seen famine, had seen plenty, they are now only beginning to see after 25 years what independence is all about.

Finally I should say how much more our spirits have been heightened by our experience in India and I returned to my country with a feeling of closer unity with the

people of India who have enough in common to keep us coming together.

United Kingdom

Kenneth Clarke, M.P.:

This Conference quite altered and deepened my understanding of the nature of the modern Commonwealth. I travelled to Delhi believing that I had a clear and settled opinion about the Commonwealth. I have always followed foreign policy and international affairs quite closely and have some experience of international political gatherings. As so often happens however, first hand experience and personal contact with a new range of people made a big change in any armchair academic views that I had had towards those people and their countries. Certain features of the Commonwealth became obvious to me whereas I had overlooked them before.

The first new feature to strike me was the leading, almost dominant position of India in the modern Commonwealth. The fact that India was the host country obviously gave prominence to the Indian position, but it was much more than that.

India is the giant member of the institution whose population greatly exceeds the population of all the other members put together. It is also a giant democracy which tries to maintain a democratic parliamentary constitution and levels of individual freedom of the kind which almost all Commonwealth countries strive to maintain. India maintains a sophisticated constitution

of a liberal democratic nature in the face of difficulties which are far greater in scale than those of any other country.

India is in effect the founder of the modern Commonwealth. If Prime Minister Nehru had not decided to take his country into the Commonwealth when independence came, then it is almost certain that hardly any of the countries that later won their independence would have decided to stay in the association. The vast majority of the delegations at the 21st Parliamentary Conference would not have been there had India not given a lead and transformed the nature of the Commonwealth almost thirty years before.

Having identified the dominant giant of the organisation, my next impression was the vast range of member countries that made it up. They vary to an extraordinary degree in size, level of development and importance in the international scene.

The United Kingdom, Canada, Kenya, Australia, Malaysia, Guyana, Jamaica, Malawi and some of the others are major states of considerable political standing in international councils and of great importance within their respective areas of the globe. They had large and strong delegations of professional parliamentarians. The membership of the Conference comprised a large number of smaller states in addition to these however, ranging from sizeable Caribbean islands down the scale to tiny territories with only a few thousand inhabitants.

The delegates from these small territories undoubtedly derived a great deal of value

from this opportunity of being heard by and bringing themselves to the attention of the bigger states. They were not over-awed however and one or two of the most significant and forceful contributions were put in by delegates from small territories.

The speeches made by the delegates from Belize, Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands made a particular impression on me as clear statements of their particular positions and moving appeals for diplomatic support against threatening neighbours.

Each of these speeches stood out in a process of debate which illustrated over and over again the huge range of geography, interests, political philosophy and economic development that this parliamentary gathering contained.

This diversity was made a virtue of because we had real controversial political debate with little restraint in the exchange of views. I felt a huge sense of relief that the speeches were not just the vague pious platitudes expressing general goodwill that are so often delivered at international gatherings and make them a pleasant but slightly boring waste of time.

My belief that we were really debating began almost straight away as the first debate on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace was one of the hottest and fiercest of the whole Conference. There were times when my British colleagues reacted to the impression that the United Kingdom was virtually "in the dock" and on trial by her accusers over the Diego Garcia base. Together with the other British, as

I listened to that debate, I felt that our position was being misunderstood and that we could refute the allegations that the base might be used for nuclear arms—but I would not have missed the debate, I had never had the opportunity before to hear at first hand the feelings of the people of the region and the range of reaction from about the world that that debate disclosed. No debate in Westminster could have taught me so much about the real feelings behind the controversy surrounding Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean.

The debate was fierce but it was in the best parliamentary manner in that it had no personal bitterness or mere abuse. Each party to the debate was striving in a constructive way to persuade a friendly opponent to move nearer to the point of view being urged.

This parliamentary character to the proceedings was maintained throughout the Conference. There was a range of different national and regional interests amongst the members on every topic that was covered but at times it was astonishing how much common ground could be established in serious discussion.

Some of the sessions on the terms of international trade and commodity prices for instance were explorations of problems which might have ranged the developed industrial countries against their suppliers of raw materials. In fact a high powered discussion, led by Ministers from Guyana and Malaysia who had great experience of international negotiations about these matters, was of great value to everyone

who took part and clearly established the ground upon which sensible agreement could be reached.

The discussion on multinational companies was constructive and restrained with a great deal of agreement, when it might have been feared that it would produce emotional exchanges. The debate on the World Energy Crisis was an earnest discussion of a great problem that was shared and where there was a desire to achieve agreement and mutual aid.

The contents of the debates are of course on the record, but I choose these examples to illustrate the style and atmosphere of the debate which I thought were impressive throughout.

This encounter between politicians took place in a setting of generous hospitality from our Indian hosts who were so friendly and anxious to make us welcome that personal relations between all the delegates were warm and friendly throughout. My main personal recollection I suppose is of the friendship and kindness which so many people and, in particular, so many Indians showed.

But these pleasant personal memories are matched by valuable political experiences. My appreciation of the Commonwealth and its importance will always be fuller now. My understanding of international debate and the problems of the international community trying to reach agreement to solve its problems is now very

much greater. Ten days in Delhi will have an effect that will last for years on the contribution that I try to make to the political life of my country and the Commonwealth.

James Johnson, M.P.:

I send my very best wishes indeed and that I believe the Conference to have been one of the most efficient that I have attended for many years. It was also marked by a degree of kindness and politeness and courtesy and hospitality which is unusual. Nothing was too much trouble for you and your colleagues to take. Perhaps the most obvious evidence of this was the way in which we were all looked after at the end of the business conference and shepherded off to the various points of the compass, north, south, east and west. My wife and myself were on Tour C—Hyderabad, Bangalore and Madras, and we believe this is the most beautiful part of India.

*Julius Silverman, M.P.**

There is no doubt in my mind that the conference was a success. Some of the debates were sharp, but never acrimonious. During the first debate on Diego Garcia and a peaceful Indian Ocean, I had occasion to disagree with our own British delegates; but British delegates have the right to express their own individual opinions. We discussed many items including: challenges to Parliament; assistance to the developing countries of the Commonwealth; international cartels, and the standard of the debate was good

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and useful. Much of the value of the Conference lay in meetings and social functions outside the debating chamber. The general feeling throughout was fraternal and I do not doubt that the bond of the Commonwealth has been strengthened. In this respect we owe much to our hosts of the Indian Branch. They spared no effort to make us welcome and their hospitality was terrific.

At the Ashoka Hotel, where all the delegates and their wives stayed, representatives of the India CPA Branch worked through the day and well into the night: dealing with organisation and providing all sorts of facilities for their guests.

The Conference was opened by the President of India and by the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. Both emphasised the importance of the Commonwealth and the importance of democracy. Indira Gandhi's speech was most impressive and several of my colleagues expressed their admiration. She stressed the importance of the Commonwealth and the desire of India to retain a democracy. Without specifically mentioning the emergency in India, she dealt with the challenge to Parliament and democracy and how these should be met. Speaker Dhillon achieved great popularity by his warmth and ready dry wit.

In the last days of the Conference, we heard terrific explosions and wondered what these were about! It was the celebration of Diwali: bonfire night and Christmas rolled into one; the noise and

the racket beat anything we have in this country on November 5th.

There were many functions: *Son et Lumiere* at the Red Fort; a visit to Agra and especially the last dinner before our departure as guests of the Prime Minister. She personally visited her guests table by table and asked about their welfare. She made a most effective short speech during this dinner in which she related the following story. In 1951 when she was visiting the United Kingdom with her father, she and Winston Churchill were awaiting their cars at the end of a function. Winston Churchill said to her: "Isn't it strange that we should both be waiting here? I suppose you used to hate us in the old days?". India replied: "No we never hated you." Winston Churchill replied: "I did—but I don't now."

After the Conference, the delegates and their wives split up into four parties to visit different parts of the country. My wife and I went to Lucknow, Calcutta, Gauhati in Assam, and Shillong the capital of the new Meghalaya state. In all of these places we received a warm reception. During my stay, I met most of the Ministers of the Indian government and the senior Ministers in the States we visited.

Most important, I had the privilege of a long interview with the Prime Minister in her room. She was very generous with her time and I was with her for well over an hour. Indira Gandhi is probably the most powerful woman in the world and

yet the atmosphere when talking to her is completely relaxed and there is a total lack of pretentiousness in her manner. You might be speaking to the lady next door. She gave me many details of the reasons for the emergency and told me about the new sense of purpose and discipline throughout the Republic. She mentioned in reply to my questions that opposition parties were perfectly free to hold their meetings. They had in fact held a number of meetings, but these had been very poorly attended. The public seemed to have lost interest in them.

I asked her about the possible release of Jaya Prakash Narayan, providing he agreed to desist from unconstitutional activities. She wondered whether J. P. Narayan would accept his release if his associates were not released at the same time. She said he was not in prison, but detained in a house near a hospital so that medical assistance was readily accessible. He was regularly visited by his relatives. As you know, J. P. Narayan has since been released.

Our impression throughout India was one of complete normality. As we walked through the streets, there was little evidence of the police and no evidence of police activity.

I was interested to note that members of the opposition distributed their anti-government literature, indeed delivering it to the Ashoka Hotel, which is a government hotel, and this was handed to us with our room keys. A number of mem-

bers of the Opposition visited the hotel and met the delegates. I met two myself.

Our visit to India was exciting and interesting: we were conscious of India's great problems, but also of the friendship of their peoples, and of the efforts they are now making to put India on her feet.

Paul Dean, M.P.:

The New Delhi Conference provided me with three very enjoyable and valuable "firsts". My first visit to India, my first CPA annual Conference, and my first experience of the CPA governing bodies. I was pushed in at the deep end as an alternate Regional Councillor owing to the unavoidable absence of my UK colleague, Sir Bernard Braine.

The Conference itself was a model of organization while the generous hospitality and the warm welcome bestowed upon us by our Indian hosts kept us refreshed during the hard working sessions. As in most Conferences, informal contacts outside the session added flavour and cemented friendships and this was greatly assisted by the presence of our wives.

The Commonwealth defies definition but for those of us who belong it is very real. We are scattered all over the globe and in some respects are very different from each other. This came out at the Conference. But what struck me most was the similarities, the things which unite us, the ease with which we were able to get on net with each other. We have a common language in more ways than one and not least as

Parliamentarians. Words and procedures which our own people find difficult to understand are familiar to all of us through common usage. "Speaker" is one obvious example. I always feel completely at home in any Commonwealth Parliament I visit. Although our Parliaments have adapted themselves to local conditions, thereby enriching the Parliamentary tradition, the common thread is easily recognized and understood.

It would be very rash for a new boy to criticize the constitution of the CPA. Here, too, I was struck by another unifying force. We have a high regard for custom and convention, for the common sense solution to problems. I suspect it is this which makes possible the harmonious and effective way in which the CPA governs its affairs, and adapts itself to meet changing situations.

Of many vivid impressions of India, three stand out. First, the warmth of the welcome we received from the President of India and the Prime Minister, right through to the people in the cities and the villages. Second, the sense of occasion which graced the functions, for example, the magnificence of the opening ceremony and the grace and colour of the Indian dancers. Third, the rich variety in modern India ranging from the breathtaking beauty of the Taj Mahal to the efficiency of the modern factory.

I am particularly glad the Conference was in India. All countries go through difficult times when the understanding and help of friends can mean a lot. There is no

better way of showing one's friendship than a visit.

William Whitelaw, M.P.:

This was my first visit to a CPA Conference as well as my first visit to India. Both provided me with an unforgettable and most valuable experience.

At the Conference itself one was struck forcibly by the amazing family spirit amongst delegates of different colours and creeds from all parts of the world. There were naturally differences of opinion and these were properly voiced in the debates. But despite these there was an underlying feeling of special friendship and understanding. As a result, there was none of the bitterness which can easily show at international conferences. My conclusion was that all of us and all the countries which we represented were proud to be members of the Commonwealth and valued it. And it is much to the credit of those who run and organise the C.P.A. and its conferences that this mood prevails.

Of course the success of the whole Conference owed much to the generosity and the meticulous care given to every detail of organisation by the Indian Government. In Delhi we were magnificently entertained and it was very impressive that the President, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, gave up so much of their time to looking after us. Nor could any account of the Conference omit the great contribution made by the former Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Dr. Dhillon, as President of the Conference. Nothing was

ever too much trouble for him. He really was the perfect host.

After the Conference we had the tours to various states; in our case to Kashmir, the Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. Everywhere we received a welcome of such warmth and kindness as to be quite overwhelming. One was bound to be impressed, particularly in the factories which we visited, with the sense of purpose that inspired so many people. They believed in India's future and were determined to play their part in it.

As a general impression of course one realised that India faces enormous problems particularly in the size and rate of increase of her population. But I certainly came away with the feeling that her leaders and people deserved to overcome them. Above all my wife and I will never forget a memorable fortnight in our lives, made for us by the kindness and hospitality of so many people in India.

II. From Indiaa Delegation

Godey Murahari, M.P.
(Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha):

The Conference had the unique distinction of meeting in the biggest of the Commonwealth democracies and providing a forum not only for discussion of certain common problems but also strengthening the bonds of friendship and identity of views on many matters within the Commonwealth. From the comments that I hear from delegates they were very much

satisfied with the arrangements and the facilities that were provided at the Conference. The new Annexe which can compare with the best of Conference halls in the world came in handy for the Conference. The Conference attended by a wide cross-section of Commonwealth countries was a major event of the year.

Meeting as it did in the wake of the declaration of emergency in the country it provided a very good opportunity for Commonwealth Delegates to see for themselves the working of the Indian democracy especially its Parliament and State Legislatures. The delegates who later went round the country in groups could see for themselves that dissident and contrary opinions were as much the order of the day as it was before the emergency and also on par with other democratic countries. The only difference one could perhaps notice in the country was that some top Opposition leaders were in detention. If one were to compare the situation within the country before the emergency to the one that exists now, one will find that almost half that number of M.Ps. were in jail at one time or the other in pursuance of some agitation or the other. Although some of the delegates were concerned about the detention of some Members of Parliament they did appreciate the fact that there were certain situations in which certain acts of even Parliamentarians could not be condoned and they also appreciated the fact that democracy also enjoins certain norms of functioning. In a parliamentary democracy unless the Opposition played its role in a responsible manner there could be

difficulties. All these aspects of parliamentary functioning were also discussed in the Conference.

The Conference took up for discussion a wide variety of subjects which included the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, Developments in South East Asia, South Africa and the African continent, World Population Growth Commodity Prices, Terms of Trade, etc., Producer or Consumer Country Cartels and Regional Economic Groupings, Multinational Corporations, Educational and Technological Aid and Debt Repayment for Developing Countries. It also took up for discussion certain social problems like the social effects of unemployment, the growth of violence, unrest among youth, the preservation of environment free from pollution and protection of wild life. Subjects which had a bearing on our Parliamentary functioning like Internal and External Threats to the Authority and Prestige of Parliament, the Conflicts of Interests between Ministers, Members and Presiding Officers were major subjects of discussion. To end with the Plenary Session also discussed the Commonwealth as an Instrument of Social, Political and Economic Transformation.

One of the most important subjects discussed was, however, the strains and stresses that Parliaments and Legislatures faced. It was in that context that the role of the Opposition parties as also that of the Ruling parties came up for discussion. The discussions at the Conference did contribute to clearing a lot of doubts and misapprehensions. On many subjects the discussions tended not to come to any con-

sensus because the subjects were usually talked out but nevertheless it provided a very good opportunity to know each other's point of view. Certain international problems which perhaps would not have been discussed within the ambits of a national Parliament did find a place in the discussions at the Conference. The problem of environmental pollution, the problem of racial discrimination as also the political upheavals in the African continent as also in the Mediterranean region, the South East Asia and other parts of the world found a place of importance in the discussions. Whereas in a national Parliament these questions perhaps would have been debated from a narrow nationalist point of view they found a different approach in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference where countries of the diverse points of view on these problems exchanged views with their counterparts. The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference did significantly contribute to a healthy discussion on most of these subjects. On many of the subjects which were discussed there tended to be a consensus.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference not having resolutions to be passed or decisions to be taken did not degenerate into warring camps trying to get voting strength to get a particular point of view passed at the Conference. It is in this context therefore that the effort was more to understand each other rather than confront each other. The Commonwealth Secretary-General Shri Ramphal contributed a great deal to a proper identification of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Con-

ference with a general concept of the Commonwealth. His intervention at the Conference also significantly contributed to giving a proper perspective to the Conference as also giving a direction to the identification of all the member-countries with the Commonwealth concept.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference which also discussed the question of aid, debt repayment and other economic problems contributed to a great extent in educating the Commonwealth Parliamentarians on the need for a common approach to these problems. It also provided an opportunity to other Commonwealth countries to pinpoint the need for the United Kingdom to safeguard the interests of member-countries of the Commonwealth in whatever arrangements they may have with the European Common Market. The World Energy Crisis was also debated in depth. It was during the discussion of the social effects of unemployment, the growth of violence and unrest among youth, etc. that the proclamation of emergency in India was also briefly discussed. It was made clear to the Parliamentarians attending that in countries where there are complex problems, both economic and social which tend to get aggravated due to political exploitation, there was need for restraint and at times even certain constraints upon freedoms, so that a temporary phase of instability or upheaval may be properly solved. It is in this context that India also took recourse to the declaration of emergency. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was told that when the proper norms of democratic functioning were not observed by certain Groups and when there

was a threat to peace and possibility of violence, especially when appeals were made for forcible dissolutions of elected Assemblies and for the Army to take a hand in toppling Governments and revolt against democratically elected Governments, there was no other course but to assume such emergency powers, however distasteful it may be. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was also told that this situation was a passing phase and would certainly be a temporary one. The Conference therefore provided an excellent opportunity not only for India to put the present situation in the country in its proper perspective to the other Commonwealth Parliamentarians but it also provided an opportunity to the other Parliamentarians to see India at close quarters with all its problems and its achievements.

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference which was held under ideal circumstances and with the best of facilities was in my opinion a great success inasmuch as it contributed to bringing the countries of the Commonwealth closer to each other.

Andhra Pradesh

K. Dasaratharama Reddy, MLA (Speaker.)

On account of our faith in the leadership of Pandit Nehru, our people joined the Commonwealth and automatically we became a member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The experience is quite rewarding.

At the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary

Conference, several important matters like Commonwealth and the World security, World Energy Crisis, Peace in the Indian Ocean and a New International Economic Order, were discussed freely and frankly by the representatives. The attention of the whole World, was focussed on the deliberations at the conference. The discussions were given wide publicity by the press and liberally commented upon in all World capitals.

The Indian delegates met Parliamentarians from different parts of the Commonwealth. It was an interesting and unique gathering. When there is so much tension, distrust and misunderstanding all over the world, people from different independent countries, representing different races, cultures and ideologies, could sit under one roof and discuss the world situation in all its aspects in a friendly atmosphere and in a common language. The usual understanding at these conferences was not to raise, as far as possible, controversial issues unless they related to basic principles. There is, undoubtedly, a common bond amongst the countries of the Commonwealth. To begin with, there is the bond provided by the English language. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference is the only International conference, which conducted its deliberations without the aid of any interpreters. There is also general acceptance of certain basic principles—the democratic way of life, the rule of law, and the value and dignity of the human personality. It was because South Africa would not conform to the last of these principles that she had to leave the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth also represented, to a

certain extent, a closely knit economic association, with England giving special protection to the commodities which she imported from the Commonwealth countries. Two of the developed countries, namely Canada and England, have implemented the resolution passed in the United Nations Organisation, with regard to the contribution of 1 per cent of their G.N.P. to the developing countries. There is also a continuous exchange of ideas. Moreover, various other schemes are actually in operation in the cultural, educational and professional spheres. If people of different countries sat around a table or under one roof and discussed and debated important issues more frequently, there is a greater possibility to reduce international tensions.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is a remarkable experiment in international living and free and voluntary association among Nations, based on mutual respect, sincere desire to understand each other's view-points and problems and cooperation in common interests of their people.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious in character. The purpose of the Association is to promote knowledge and education in the social, economic, cultural, constitutional and legislative system, within a Parliamentary Democratic framework, with particular reference to the countries of the Commonwealth, and the countries outside the Commonwealth, having close historical and Parliamentary Association with it.

It strengthens the sense of community and fosters a sense of fellowship among the members even when differences tend to separate them. Its members are drawn together by common interests. They are inspired by a common faith in democracy. It also strengthens Parliamentary institutions through exchange of information, the pooling of experience and holding of seminars on Parliamentary practice and procedure.

Although no resolutions are moved and no formal decisions are arrived at in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conferences, the very fact that the views expressed in the conference will be heard and felt beyond the confines of the 'six continents and the five oceans' of the Commonwealth, gives a meaning and purpose to the labours of the conference.

The commonwealth represents more than a third of the World's population and countries it represents occupy about a quarter of the World's surface and contribute a substantial share of the world's wealth. The basic problem of the commonwealth is that it contains a larger proportion of the under-developed and developing areas. The progress of each other is affected to a greater or lesser degree by the prosperity of others. The Commonwealth has undertaken some carefully thought out plans like the 'Colombo' plan to bridge the gap between the component countries. Alas even the 'Colombo' plan had some loopholes.

Peace and political stability has to be ensured in order to achieve economic development in any part of the world. The

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association could give direction and call for goodwill, cooperation, coordination, understanding and thoughtfulness, not only among the members of commonwealth, but also the world at large.

How Parliamentary delegations of one commonwealth country visiting another country can help clear the mist of misunderstanding, can be best illustrated from the following. After the promulgation of Emergency in India, the press in certain countries carried on a false propaganda against India. The situation in India was sought to be described in such a way that an impression was created upon the people outside that democracy was dead and that there is chaos and anarchy in India.

Mr. Paul Dean, Conservative M.P., from England who attended the recent Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, in New Delhi, had said the following, in a letter published in the 'Daily Telegraph', London, on December 27, 1975:

"Every country at some time in its history has had the sort of emergency India confronts today. I have a shrewd suspicion that Mrs. Gandhi's problems in Government, are not all that different from those faced in earlier times by Moghuls, Maharajahs and the British. No country can cast the first stone. India is more likely to deal with her difficulties successfully if she has the help and understanding of her friends."

Mr. Julius Silverman, Labour Party's M.P., in United Kingdom, who also visited India,

to attend the Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, at New Delhi, told a meeting on 10-12-1975, held under the auspices of the India League, that he was satisfied that if Mrs. Gandhi had not taken steps she had, to avert the crisis racing the country, there would have been little left of Democracy in India. Mr. Silverman, was very much impressed by the relaxed atmosphere at New Delhi and elsewhere, and also he did not see any kind of Police activity.

Several delegates visited various places in the country and they went back completely satisfied, with regard to the several steps taken by the Government to maintain peace and stability in the country. Thus, the conference paved the way for better understanding and appraisal of the real situation in our country.

The World is full of strife to-day and disaster looms on the horizon. In men's hearts there is hatred and fear and suspicion which cloud their vision. Every step, therefore, which leads to a lessening of this tension in the world, should be a welcome step. The 21st Parliamentary Conference at Delhi was a great success.

The President, the Vice President, the then Hon'ble the Speaker Dr. Dhillon, the Deputy Speaker, the Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, the Leaders of Indian Delegation and the two Secretaries-General were greatly responsible for this success.

Roda Mistry, MLC:

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference made a deep impact on the

minds of the participants as well as the general public of the country. The spirit of the Conference was to bring on to a common platform international problems. The subjects for discussion were planned meticulously, so that the building of a new international economic order could be achieved.

It can be said without any intention of self-praise that the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was conducted with meticulous efficiency and we as the citizens of the host country were very proud of the appreciation shown by the participating delegates. The discussions and subjects naturally consumed most of the time of the delegates and whatever time was left outside working hours, was well utilised in promoting public relations between the commonwealth countries.

A few comments are given below on the panel discussion and Radio Seminar on the subject of Multinationals or transnationals that was allotted to me by the leader of the delegation. There is a need to examine the similarity and differences between them to evolve commonly acceptable norms for negotiating terms which would, while safe-guarding the national interests of the host countries, provide incentives for foreign private investments in selected fields with due regard to the appropriate level of protection to indigenous investments.

The panel had unanimously concluded that an International body was highly essential to guide and evolve a general code of conduct for Multinationals.

It was generally felt that at present several national codes and guidelines were formulated in different countries to ensure that the operation of multinationals are consistent with national goals.

The degree of freedom that Multinationals should have and the extent of regulation that should be imposed on them for their present operation and future growth was exhaustively discussed and the following conclusions were arrived at:—

1. The Multinational Corporations are instrumental in spreading capital, technology, new processes, raw materials, ideas and Executive talent all over the world. They provide employment and training to local people and their advanced organisational skills make possible the efficient use of science and technology. They produce goods and render services, wherever they can be economically produced or rendered to serve world-wide markets at a profit;

2. The gigantic size of some Multinational Corporations and the huge short-term liquid assets they command (computed at 268 billion dollars) could produce a massive monetary crisis and frustrate a country's monetary policy because of the mobility of liquid assets.

Other Areas of Concern:

(a) Encroachment on the national sovereignty of a country by undermining its ability to pursue national and international objectives (to cite I.T.T's role in Chile in 1971);

(b) The control of key economic sectors by multinationals and the quality and price of their products;

(c) The concentration of research and development activity in the home countries of a relatively few firms contributes to technological dependence;

(d) Technology flows and payments for them absorb a considerable proportion of export earnings;

(e) Jurisdictional dispute among governments and the preponderance of transactions among affiliates tend to limit the size of the free market;

(f) The inter country differences in tax rates, definition of taxable income occurring abroad which are compounded by transfer pricing practices;

(g) Adverse effects in the home countries of parent firms on employment, balance of payments, monetary fiscal and trade policies.

The U.N.O. is fully seized of the problem of Multinationals and have formulated guidelines which were brought out in the general discussion.

A Seminar on Multinational Corporations arranged by the All India Radio on the occasion of the Conference, consisted of the following participants from amongst the delegates:—

1. Mr. Maurice Dupras M.P., Delegate from Canada,

2. Mr. Michael Marshall, M.P., Delegate from United Kingdom,
3. Mr. Lim Cho Hock, M.P., Delegate from Malaysia, and
4. Smt. Roda Mistry, MLC, Delegate from India.

As a Moderator, best efforts had to be made by me to bring out the thinking of the delegates from developed and developing countries to the best of my ability.

The participants held different views on the same subject *i.e.*, when non-productive Multinationals were discussed such as those that deal with vast quantities of tea which is produced and sold in the world market, etc., the view of the delegates of the developed countries, were contrary to those of the developing countries and it was felt that they were not happy with the working of the Multinationals handling our vast resources and, that we should start our own Multinationals to deal with the subject.

The following guidelines were laid down by the panel for Multinational Corporations:—

(a) Most countries should specify the conditions under which Multinational Corporations should operate and what they should achieve. They should clearly define the areas in which they are ready to accept foreign investment and also the conditions

upon which such investments would be allowed in those sectors. In particular, developing countries should retain ownership of their natural resources or control on the use of them;

(b) Multinational Corporations should act as agencies for international transfer of capital, technology and managerial expertise and should not be used for political ends. These should not try to restrict the effectiveness of Government policies of home countries or encroach upon their independence;

(c) The host countries should not have any discrimination between foreign and national undertakings in the application of general industrial policy;

(d) Reasonable facilities should be given for the remittance of profits and repatriation of capital consistent with the foreign exchange position of the country;

(e) The countries concerned should be called upon not to use multinational corporations as instruments for attainment of foreign policy goals;

(f) In order to attract foreign investments, host countries should ensure that in the event of nationalisation of the assets of multinational corporations, the compensation would be fair and adequate;

(g) The multinational corporation should not violate sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council.

As an alternative to excessive reliance on multinationals linked to existing centres of economic power, possibilities within the commonwealth of building up productive enterprises should be explored.

Two important points which were not elaborated but of grave concern to our country are:—

1. the effect of our own budding multinationals on our economy, employment, foreign exchange earnings and balance of payments and tax structures. For example, a factory manufacturing asbestos sheets and exporting them to Afro-Asian countries, decides to set up factories overseas in collaboration with other countries; what effect will this have on the home factory? The experiences of Home countries of multinationals may be studied to that all the pitfalls be avoided;

2. Because of the size and potentialities of these multinationals, unrealistic fears have made many developing countries to overreact by excessive controls and conditions on these multinationals, thereby depriving themselves of the much needed technology and capital. On their part, the multinationals have shown indifference and neglect towards developing countries. For example, only 5% of the capital is invested in Asia, the bulk of which is in South Korea and Taiwan which have shown dramatic results of these investments.

It is in the national interest to undertake a study of the system of controls on

foreign investments by these two countries so that we can benefit without danger in many key and vital areas of our economy.

Bihar

Chetakar Jha, MLC:

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was fruitful in more ways than one. It was a large assembly bringing together delegates from different lands, but by avoiding the rigid formality and the rituals generally associated with national and international political institutions, it created an atmosphere conducive to meaningful deliberations. The common heritage which most of these independent members of the CPA has naturally given them a remarkably similar experience, and most of the delegates discovered, to their satisfaction, that the similarity extended to their approaches towards present-day problems as well. They developed a better appreciation of the problems they face together, and also of the problems of one another. The highly distorted account of India's problems presented by the mass media in their countries was corrected to a very considerable extent. Most of the delegates were only too happy to have their impressions rectified.

Throughout the Conference, there was a general appreciation of the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru towards the building up of the Commonwealth as it is today. The institution is in no small measure a tribute to the constructive foresight of that great statesman. We have often, in the past,

questioned the relevance of the Commonwealth, and asked ourselves if it is at all beneficial to our interests to continue to be a member of this institution. This Conference leaves me in no doubt as to the usefulness of this institution for our country.

The Conference discussed various complex problems like the issue of Diego Garcia and the Multinationals, and also constructive issues like educational aid and the problem of employment, a new economic order and the more serious one relating to the threats to Parliament. The discussions widened our outlook and deepened our understanding of these pressing problems and I am sure, every participant gained a new insight.

The achievements of the conference were in no small measure due to the excellent arrangements, untiring and enthusiastic efforts of the staff of all levels in the Parliament of India and above all, the inspiring guidance of the CPA Chairman, Dr. G. S. Dhillon.

Jammu & Kashmir

A. G. Goni, MLA, (Speaker):

As a delegate from the Jammu and Kashmir State Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association I have had the privilege of attending two of its Conferences, one held in London in 1973 and the other in New Delhi in 1975. The deliberations at these Conferences have left very deep impressions upon my mind

especially in respect of the excellent manner in which the business was transacted in these Conferences. The belief that members of this world body shared certain constitutional and legal attitudes, governmental and business practices and habit of working together was manifest during the Conference held this time in New Delhi. While receiving a group of the delegates who visited Srinagar on post-conference tour I, in my welcome address, had observed that "We (members of the CPA) are one family wedded to a common cause of upholding the values of Parliamentary Democracy. Occasional get-togethers like our Conferences surely go to promote knowledge and education in the social, economic, cultural, legislative and constitutional systems obtaining in the countries of the Commonwealth of Nations." Indeed these Conferences bring us closer to each other and the deliberations lead to proper understanding of each other's points of view on various socio-economic and political problems faced by each Commonwealth country. Keeping this main object in view I feel happy to say that the 21st Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association held in New Delhi has been a great success.

The visiting delegations had an opportunity to see our country and our people. They themselves observed that the people of India were essentially dedicated to human values and were engaged in bringing about rapid changes for the good of the masses in a democratic way as envisaged in the Constitution. Recently I read a report of the meeting of India

League held at London after the Conference. According to this report the British Parliamentary Delegation which attended the Conference was of the view that India had not abandoned democracy. They felt that if Mrs. Gandhi had not taken the steps to avert the crisis facing the country there would have been little left of democracy in India.

The Conference was attended by the delegates comprising men of high calibre from all the participating nations. We had very useful discussion on many important items set forth on the agenda. I feel happy over the successful arrangements made by the Main Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in India for the Conference held in the newly-built building of Parliament. My happiness was shared by every participating delegate for the elaborate arrangements made for the Conference as well as their stay in New Delhi and other places visited by them on post-conference tour.

Punjab

Dr. Kewal Krishan, MLA (Speaker):

The annual conferences held by the CPA provide a forum for the multinational discussion of problems that beset us and affect the world peace.

At the New Delhi Conference subjects like 'the Commonwealth and World Security', 'World Energy Crisis', 'Building a New International Economic Order', 'Challenges to Parliament' etc., were dis-

cussed—some in plenary discussions, some in panel meetings.

To me, two subjects, viz.; the "Commonwealth and World Security" and "Building a New International Economic Order" were the most important subjects that were discussed. The discussion on the first subject which has attracted global attention was free, frank and forthright and it revealed the enormity of the problem and showed how several countries were agitated over the manifestation of the big power politics in the Indian ocean spreading its tentacles on a global scale.

Coming to the second subject viz.; 'Building a New International Economic Order'. (Point No. 1-World Population-Growth and Food Resources) which was discussed in the panel meeting, I must say that this subject is in no way less important. In a span of 20 years between 1950 and 1970, the world population has increased from about 2500 to over 3600 million or 44 per cent and in the middle of 1974 it stood at about 3900 million. It is expected that by the end of this century, the world population would reach 6 to 7,000 million, of which over 75 per cent is expected to live in countries currently classified as developing, where poverty, poor health and malnutrition exist on a large scale. While population is increasing in geometrical proportion, food production is increasing in arithmetic proportion. It was stated during the discussion that the real problem was that of distribution of food and probably in the near future some method of distribu-

tion might be forthcoming which would alleviate the present sufferings and that in addition to the need for food aid, countries would prefer to have assistance for the development of their rural areas. The discussion on this point was informative, educative and spotlighted the gravity of the problem which needed world wide attention, and proper and effective tackling.

On the whole, the discussion on all the subjects was objective and where some delegates differed, they showed remarkable self-restraint and respect for others point of view. I am of the considered view that periodical Conferences of the Association help immensely in the proper discussion of many international problems and finding out mutually acceptable solutions.

After the Conference was over, the delegates visited in Groups, different parts of the country on Study Tour. One such Group (Group 'A') comprising about 67 delegates visited Chandigarh for study tour on the 7th and 8th November, 1975. We (*i.e.*, the Governments and people of Punjab and Haryana and the C.P.A. Branches of these States) have had the pleasure of having them in our midst and to entertain them. In fact, we felt honoured by their visit. During the course of their brief sojourn, the delegates were shown the Vidhan Bhavan, the Punjab University Campus and the Post Graduate Institute of Medical Education and Research, Pinjore Gardens and the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory and entertained to a cultural programme

which depicted the gay life of Punjab and Haryana. Their visit provided us an opportunity to exchange views with them informally on various matters and the discussions, I should say, were to the advantage of both. I feel that they went back happy and left us with sweet memories.

In the end, I would like to add here that after the proclamation of emergency in India vicious propaganda was being carried on in a certain section of the foreign press, which looks at every thing in India with a jaundiced eye, that there was repression let loose in India and people were groaning under dictatorship. When the foreign delegates visited various parts of the country, they saw for themselves the state of perfect peace, calm and quiet prevailing everywhere and everybody carrying on his or her avocation fearlessly and zestfully. They also saw that the democratic structure in the country was undisturbed and how disciplined the Indians were and how cheerfully and courteously they behaved.

I am confident that in future as well such Conferences will continue to provide a forum for multinational approach to various subjects and exchange of views at panel level on those subjects.

Rajasthan

Ram Kishore Vyas, MLA (Speaker):

It was a tremendous privilege and a great honour for us to host the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in

India. This Conference which was a big international gathering, after the proclamation of Emergency was very admirably arranged and superbly executed. The enthusiasm and interest with which the proceedings of the Conference were conducted were really commendable and the impressions of the delegates about this Conference were rewarding.

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was a great event at a time when everywhere in the world the parliamentary institutions are at stake due to the internal and external threats and the world is confronted with enormous problems like energy crisis, population growth etc. In this background, the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference has achieved many inspiring results. It was attended by distinguished parliamentarians of high calibre and vast experience from about 34 countries and the deliberations that we had on a variety of subjects of national and inter-national importance were not only objective but in fact contributed something tangible towards the welfare of humanity both within and beyond Commonwealth. There was proper understanding of each other's point of view which ultimately helped in arriving at a consensus. The contributions that have come from the delegates drawn from every part of the world have been of enormous help and encouragement to us.

This has been a remarkable Conference in that we had a lot of open, free and friendly discussion and were able to arrive at satisfactory solutions to most of the burning problems of to-day.

Personally speaking, the Conference was an elevating experience, stimulating and educative for me. The discussions that we had in the Conference, and outside, promoted greater understanding and cooperation which are fundamental to our Association and to the Commonwealth. It was again a memorable occasion for me to be with the distinguished delegates when they visited Jaipur in the second week of November 1975 and participated in various programmes arranged by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (Rajasthan Branch) in their honour. This visit of so many parliamentarians to our State was one of the pleasant experiences we have ever enjoyed and marks a landmark in the annals of our Legislature. It provided another opportunity to come close to each other and have informal exchanges. In this process, we all benefitted from the advice and guidance of other Parliaments and I am sure the delegates have gone back with a feeling of closer unity and sense of friendliness.

Senator the Hon. Allister Grosart of Canada, while speaking at the Dinner on the 8th November 1975 in Jaipur, rightly remarked that India is the keystone of modern Commonwealth. We are wedded to the parliamentary institutions and are dedicated and determined to use them for strengthening the democratic system based on social justice and political freedom and to serve the best interests of common man. We also believe that the best defence of democracy lies in its own vigorous working, for it stands for certain disciplines, values and mechanism. We are very much alive to the tremendous importance of

maintaining the traditions, principles and ideals of democratic institutions. It is through our firm adherence to this system that India has gained political stability, it is important to recall the following observations of our Prime Minister which she made while addressing Delegates of the Conference on 28th October, 1975:—

“Democracy is not just an ideal or an objective. It is a method through which a country tries to manage its affairs. In a developing society this inevitably means taking measures for social and economic transformation. Any system can prevail only so long as it keeps pace with the changing conditions and proves its ability to solve the problems of its people.”

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference has undoubtedly enhanced the democratic values and we are proud that the parliamentary system in India, despite many challenges, has not only survived but emerged stronger and altogether better for new experiments under the dynamic and charismatic leadership of our esteemed Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

Our first and foremost achievement by holding this Conference in India was our ability to apprise the delegates from overseas about the causes that led to the imposition of Emergency in India. The delegates not only understood the reason but, on the whole, there was a sense of appreciation among them after the recognition of facts. The delegates were in our country for a fortnight and during this period they saw India for themselves. They

went round various parts of our country, moved freely and met our people without restrictions. In the words of Hon. G. A. Regan, Premier of Nova Scotia (Canada), ‘the reporting on Indian situation in the foreign press was grossly unfair’ and when Senator the Hon. Grosart of Canada spoke at the Sisodiya Rani Gardens, Jaipur on the 8th November, 1975 he observed:

“I would like to speak on one aspect that has much been commented upon so far in our Group and that pertains to some extent to what we heard about the present situation in India before we came here. We read about Emergency and I think we should consider it over once again and not to believe everything we read in international press.”

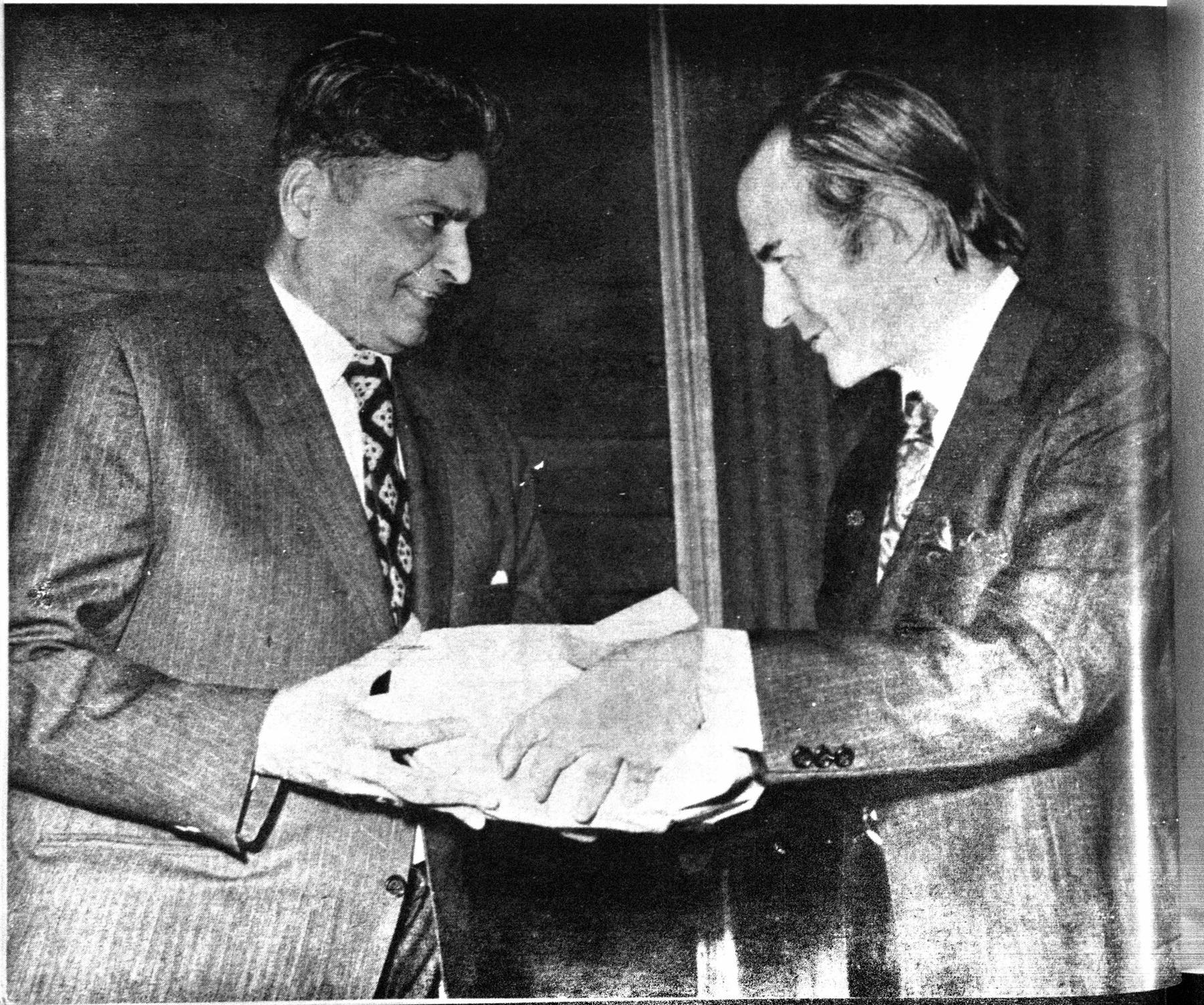
The opportunity which the 21st Conference afforded to the visiting delegates to understand and appreciate our approach and timely action in imposing Emergency, demonstrates our major achievement and I am of the view that our Embassies abroad, combined together, could not have done the job so effectively and in such a short time which this Conference has done alone. This Conference has, therefore, played a very significant role in removing the misgivings about the emergency and the delegates, by and large, have supported our action which is evident from the statements they are making on Indian situation after return to their respective countries.

The Conference has also revealed the strength of the support for our policies in general and the debates reflected well our



Sir Robin Vanderfelt presenting a gift to Shri S. L. Shakhder on behalf of C.P.A.

**Sir Robin Vanderfelt presenting a gift to
Shri B. N. Banerjee on behalf of C.P.A.**



policy on Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, World Energy Crisis, Population Growth, Social Problems and Challenges to Parliament.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has shown itself to be a good and convincing example of the virtues of parliamentary Government. We can discuss and debate even most controversial subjects in amity, good temper and good order. We believe that the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association will go in providing an effective and lasting bridge between all the Parliaments of the Commonwealth and will play an important role in socio-economic transformation of the people in developing countries. The friendship made with overseas colleagues has proved invaluable and they have returned to their countries inspired by a sense of community. It is a faith of this kind that must be under-pinning of the Commonwealth.

The Conference also provided an opportunity to the delegates to see something of our culture, our traditions, our land, our efforts to develop our resources and our endeavour to promote peace, justice and equality throughout the world.

The Conference owes much to the interest and concern shown by our Prime Minister. She not only welcomed the delegates of the Conference through her thought-provoking Address but she found time to be with the delegates in various programmes arranged in their honour. What other things could indicate the importance our country attaches to Commonwealth than

the action of our Prime Minister who in spite of many pressures on her time was available to the delegates.

The success of the Conference has been in a large measure due to the keen interest of Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha and President of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association who not only saw that the work that has been turned out in the Conference was of a very high order but very ably chaired the proceedings of the Conference throughout. He was in fact a guiding influence at every stage of the Conference and his wonderful charm, his dynamic personality and dexterity in handling the Conference has ensured the success of the Conference.

In short, the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference has reflected its capacity to achieve practical results on vital issues. On political questions we achieved understanding, on social problems we learnt from each other and on economic matters we reached agreements on a basis of advantages to both the sides.

Uttar Pradesh

Vasudeo Singh, MLA (Speaker):

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference discussed and helped highlight certain very important issues engaging the attention of the World for sometime past. Besides parliamentary questions the Conference expressed its free and frank views on burning political, economic and social problems facing the world. One of the most significant contri-

butions which the Conference made to the international debate was on the issue of World Security and Peace. The main point of discussion was the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The transfer by Britain of the island of Diego Garcia to the United States for air and naval bases was deeply discussed and strongly resented. It was the most forthright and enlightening debate on the subject. The discussion not only made grave revelations, but it also backed the powerful demand of keeping this region free from military bases by the Big powers. A powerful and strong lineup of India, Guyana, Mauritius, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Seychelles and several other countries left Britain in splendid isolation.

On the economic front, the need and importance of developed countries of the Commonwealth extending help to the developing members was reviewed. Important problems created by increasing population, decreasing food resources, rising prices, educational and technological aid and debt repayment for developing countries were discussed in some depth. Mr. Laurie Pavitt of United Kingdom put the problem of poverty in a very picturesque way when he said, "We cannot think of an affluent society when three-fourths of the World do not get a bowl of rice a day." So far as the problem of population-growth was concerned, the general view was that it could be checked only if necessary facilities were made available in every country. On the question of food, the consensus was that at the moment there was enough food to go round, but the real problem was that

of proper distribution, which if solved, would alleviate the suffering.

The Conference's discussion on the economic questions of multinational corporations and producers' cartels proved no less fruitful. The hard fact that the developing countries had to pay more for their imports was brought out with some effect and a policy to be followed by the member participants was hinted at. As Shri V. B. Raju of India pointed out, 25 per cent of India's export earnings or seven per cent of foreign aid received by the country went to repay external debts. With an adverse balance of Rs. 1000 crores in her foreign trade mainly on import of food, fuel and fertilisers, how could a developing country be expected to survive?

Of the social problems, besides other questions, preservation of the environment, the control of air and water pollution and protection of wild life were considered and deep concern was expressed on these problems not only for the Commonwealth countries but for other countries as well. Valuable suggestions were also made for universal application and implementation.

Most important and relevant of all was the discussion on challenges to Parliament involving internal and external threats to the authority and prestige of Parliament. During the course of discussion, delegates from several countries agreed with Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who had made it clear on the opening day of the Conference that the responsibility for preserving democracy could not be a one-sided obligation of the

ruling party. The responsibility lay equally with the Opposition and the people as a whole. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's view on the role of Opposition parties in a democracy found wide support at the Conference.

Apart from India's delegates Shri K. Raghuramaiah and Shri Om Mehta, several delegates agreed that the Opposition parties should give up negative approach of opposing everything the Government did. Mr. Maurice Edelman of U.K. rightly observed that the "Parliamentary democracy was not something which was crystallised and frozen and was usable for ever." He accepted that the "Parliamentary democracy must adapt itself to the changing needs of the time." His observation "that the system of parliamentary democracy would never yield to intimidation or to threats of violence" was very apt in the present context of emergency in India.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi's address to the Conference was a historic occasion in all respects. Mrs. Gandhi in her address explained how Indian democracy was responding to the many challenges it had to face. She rightly pointed out that for a country of India's size and baffling diversities, there was no other course but to accept the parliamentary form of Government, although it had to be adapted to Indian needs and had to retain its flexibility so that it could be responsive to the demands of a changing and growing society.

The President Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed also reaffirmed that the Constitution commits India to the Parliamentary system and

to the building up of an egalitarian system based on social and economic justice, individual liberty and freedom.

The representatives of various countries who assembled for the Conference could see what 'emergency' really meant in the existing conditions of India. When a British Labour M.P., Mr. Leo Abse expressed certain doubts about the Indian emergency and remarked 'more you imprison the people the more they defy', Mr. Godey Murahari aptly retorted "While certain groups take to violent activity, threaten to surround Parliament and ask the Army to revolt, what alternative is there except to detain some people and prevent such situation." With free exchange of ideas and opinions, the Conference helped in clearing off of much of the illusion and misunderstanding about the nature of emergency in India.

A delegate clearly said that they were impressed by Shrimati Gandhi's firm leadership in India. Mr. Maurice Dupras, leader of the Canadian delegation, said that from what he saw in India, he was inclined to agree with Shrimati Gandhi that the Western press had over-reacted to the developments in India. He also stressed that it was the function of democracy to protect the majority and he expressed his satisfaction over the restrictive measures taken by Shrimati Gandhi which were very necessary in the prevailing conditions. According to him, these measures were to the advantage of the majority and in the interest of the country's security. Mr. Robert Wenman, Conservative member of the delegation was also highly appreciative of

Shrimati Gandhi's firm leadership and direction and the people's attitude towards discipline and their new hope to resolve the internal problems. Mr. Max Saltsman of the New Democratic party said he also got the same impression from his conversations with people of all walks of life he met during his stay in India.

The Conference proved a great success in vindicating India's stand about imposition of emergency for the sole purpose of preserving democracy. It was probably a right instinct that motivated the Government of India to go ahead with the programme of the Conference despite Emergency in the country. Nothing could have been a more convincing index of the Governments' earnest commitment to the parliamentary democratic system than its determination to invite Parliamentary leaders

from the Commonwealth Countries to visit India during the Emergency and enable them to see for themselves what was happening in the country.

The discussions at the Conference level and at other gatherings and arrangements of the post-Conference tours contributed to dispel the doubts and misgivings of some delegates about the Indian democracy owing to malicious propaganda and news reports by certain sections in certain countries. The Conference was, therefore, a complete success, if not on any other account, atleast in creating a lasting impression on the delegates that the democratic roots are firmly established in India and the proclamation of emergency on June 26, 1975, was a long-awaited step essentially needed to protect it.

There cannot be harmony without the acceptance of the right of even the smallest nation to follow its own path. But independence does not mean isolation. We must work for Inter-Dependence on the basis of equality to advance the cause of understanding, co-operation and peace.

INDIRA GANDHI
October 28, 1975

Appendix I

LIST OF DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE

- Abas, Encik Hamzah bin, Clerk of Legislative Assembly (Meghalaya).
Abecasis, Hon. Isaac, M.H.A. (Gibraltar).
Abse, Hon. Leo, M.P. (U.K.).
Ackman, Hon. (Miss) M.M., M.P. (Guyana).
Adams, Hon. J.M.G. M.P. (Barbados).
Ahmed, Hon. Gulsher, MLA (Madhya Pradesh—India).
Alhabshi, Tuan Syed Ali bin Syed Idrus, PJK, Clerk of Legislative Assembly of Malacca (Malaysia).
Aminullah, Mr., Deputy Secretary of Parliament (Bangladesh).
Arek, Hon. Sergius, MHA (Papua New Guinea).
Austin, Dr. the Hon. Henry, M.P. (India).

Bahari, Hon. Mohd. Bashir B. Haji, MLA (Malaysia).
Baitullah, Hon. Mohammad, M.P. (Bangladesh).
Banda, Hon. R.A., S.C., M.P. (Malawi).
Banda, Hon. R. K., M.P. (Zambia).
Barnala, Hon. Surjit Singh, MLA (Punjab-India).
Batchelor, Hon. (Mrs.) Mary Dorothy, M.P. (New Zealand).
Bet, Hon. R. V., M.L.A. (Maharashtra—India).
Bell, Hon. John James, MHK, (Isle of Man).
Bezzina, Hon. Emanuel Attard, M.P. (Malta).
Bhatt, Hon. Nand Kishore, M.P. (India).
Bhattacharya, Hon. Pijush Kanti, M.P. (Bangladesh).
Bhattacharya, Hon. Gauri Shankar, M.L.A. (Assam—India).
Bhindi, Hon. P. K., MHR (Fiji).
Biswas, Hon. Santosh Kumar, M.P. (Bangladesh).
Blake, Hon. L. G., J.P., MLC (Falkland Islands).
Blackbeard, Hon. C., M.P. (Botswana).
Bonnell, Hon. M. Lorne, MDCM, Senator (Canada).
Bop, Hon. J. A., M.P. (Nauru).
Bradshaw, Mr. K. S., Esq., Clerk of the Overseas Office, House of Commons.

Bramble, Mr. D. H., Clerk of Legislative Council (Montserrat).

Brancker, Mr. G. E. T., Deputy Clerk of Parliament (Barbados).

Brincat, Dr. the Hon. Joseph, M.P. (Malta).

Bru, Mr. Maurice, Clerk-Assistant of Legislative Assembly (Mauritius).

Bundhun, Hon. Raouf, MLA (Mauritius).

Bwanali, Hon. E.C.I., M.P. (Malawi).

Caffery, Mr. Joe, Clerk of Legislative Assembly (The Cook Islands).

Carter, Mr. J. E., Clerk of House of Representatives (Trinidad and Tobago).

Casey, Hon. Joseph, MLA (Canada).

Cauchi, Mr. Denis, (Malta).

Chai, Hon. Lai Tha, M.P. (Singapore).

Cham, Hon. M.C., M.P. (Gambia).

Chanshi, Hon. P. R., M.P. (Zambia).

Cheddesingh, Hon. J. W., M.P. (Jamaica).

Chelliah, Hon. S. P., J.P. (Malaysia).

Cheong-Leen, Hon. Hilton, OBE, JP, MLC (Hong Kong).

Chilapondwa, Hon. J. S., M.P. (Malawi).

Clarke, Hon. Kenneth, M.P. (U.K.).

Clucas, Hon. John Callister, MHK, (Isle of Man).

Crotty, Hon. Kieran, M.P. (Republic of Ireland).

Dambuya, Mr. A. M. (Sierra Leone).

Daniel, Hon. John, Senator (Trinidad and Tobago).

Da Silva, Hon. (Mrs.), M.P. (Guyana.)

Dawkins, Hon. M.B., MLC (Australia).

Dean, Hon. Paul, M.P. (U.K.).

Deans, Mr. Edley L., J.P. (Jamaica).

Dewhurst, Hon. F.A., M.L.A. (Canada).

Dondas, Hon. Nicholas, M.L.A. (Northern Territory).

Dupras, Hon. Maurice, M.P. (Canada).

Dupre, Hon. C. S., Senator (Jersey).

Edelman, Hon. Maurice, M.P. (U.K.).

Eichhorn, Hon. William, MHA (Papua New Guinea).

Ereaut, Hon. H. F. C., Beliff of Jersey and President of States (Jersey).

Ford, Hon. J. R., M.P. (Bahamas).

Forster, Hon. John R., M.P. (Gambia).

Gabriel, Hon. T. S., Senator (Malaysia).

Gayfer, Hon. H. W., MLC (Australia).

George, Hon. P. P., MLA (Kerala—India).

Germain, Hon. Noel St., MNA (Canada).

Gichery, Mr. H. B. N., Clerk-Assistant of the National Assembly (Kenya).

Giraudy, Hon. Henry E., MHA (St. Lucia).

Goba, Hon. S. B., M.P. (Sierra Leone).

Goni, Hon. A. G., MLA (Jammu and Kashmir—India).

Gontse, Mr. I. P., Clerk of National Assembly (Botswana).

Gorst, Hon. James, MLA (Canada).

Gopallawa, Hon. M.C., M.P. (Sri Lanka).

- Griffith, Hon. Deighton F., M.P. (Barbados).
- Grosart, Hon. Allister, Senator (Canada).
- Gupta, Hon. Indrajit, M.P. (India).
- Gujadhur, Hon. R., CMG, MLA (Mauritius).
- Hanumanthappa, Shri Te., Secretary (Karnataka Legislature—India).
- Hashim, Hon. Tuan Haji Safirol bin Haji, PJK, MLA (Malaysia).
- Hashim, Hon. Encik Mohd. Salleh bin Hj, MLA (Malaysia).
- Henry, Hon. Sir Albert Royle, KBE, MLA (Cook Islands).
- Henry, Hon. Tupui Ariki, MLA (Cook Islands).
- Henry, Mr. M. B., Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly (Guyana).
- Hickey, Hon. T. Earle, FCA, MLA (Canada).
- Hinds, Hon. W. C. B., M.P. (Barbados).
- Hitam, Hon. Datuk Musa, SPMJ, M.P. (Malaysia).
- Hock, Hon. Lim Cho, M.P. (Malaysia).
- Hosten, Hon. George F., FIBA, JP (Grenada).
- Hussein, Than Hj Ahmad Hasmini bin Hj, Deputy Clerk of Parliament House (Malaysia).
- Hui, Hon. Sia Kah, M.P. (Singapore).
- Imrie, Mr. Ian, Executive Secretary-Treasurer (Canada).
- Isbey, Hon. E. E., M.P. (New Zealand).
- Ismail, Hon. Haji Mohd. Salleh bin, MLA (Malaysia).
- Jammeh, Hon. Seyfo Kebba, T., M.P. (Gambia).
- Jawara, Hon. Kebba K., M.P. (Gambia).
- Jeune, Hon. Reginald Robert, Senator (Jersey).
- Jeyakkody, Hon. K., M.P. (Sri Lanka).
- Kai, Dr. the Hon. Wong Soon, PBS, MCN, Minister for Agriculture and Community Development (Malaysia).
- Kar, Hon. Gulam Rasool, MLA (Jammu and Kashmir—India).
- Kawi, Hon. Dato Kurnia Budiman, Mohd. Khairuddin bin Mohd., AMN, MLA (Malaysia).
- Kreditsu, Hon. K. V., MLA (Nagaland—India).
- Kent, Hon. D.E., MLC (Australia).
- Keino, Hon. M. K., Arap, M.P. (Kenya).
- Khofi, Mr. L. M., Clerk of Parliament (Malawi).
- Kidwai, Hon. (Smt.) Mohsina, MLA (U.P.—India).
- Kim, Hon. Encik Thong Hiang Kim, PPT, JP, PJK, MLA (Malaysia).
- Krishan, Dr. the Hon. Kewal, MLA (Punjab—India).
- Kun, Hon. R. J. T., M.P. (Nauru).
- Kurup, Hon. K. Narayana, MLA (Kerala—India).
- Kwelagobe, Hon. D. K., M.P. (Botswana).

- Lessard, Mr. Jacques, Assistant Secretary-General (Canada).
- Lidderdale, Sir David, Esq. Clerk of British House of Commons.
- Lidderdale, Sir David, Esq. (Clerk of House of Representatives (New Zealand)).
- Lockhart, Hon. L. H., Senator (Bahamas).
- Loveridge, Hon. Sir John, kt. CBE, Bailiff and President of the States (Guernsey).
- Lyngdoh, Hon. B.B., MLA (Meghalaya—India).
- Macauley, Hon. F. S., J.P. (Sierra Leone).
- Manap Hon. Yang Berhormat Datuk Haji Ahmad bin Haji, DKSJ, PPN, JP, MLA (Malaysia).
- Marginson, Hon. E., MLA (Australia).
- Marshall, Hon. Michael, M.P. (U.K.).
- Marten, Hon. Neil, M.P. (U.K.).
- Martin, Hon. Alan, M.P. (Canada).
- Mason, Hon. M., MLA (Mauritius).
- Masters, Dr. the Hon. W. H. G., OBE, M.P. (Bermuda).
- Matthews, Hon. Gordon, M.P. (Barbados).
- Mazumdar, Hon. Apurbalal, MLA (West Bengal—India).
- Mehta, Hon. Om., M.P. (India).
- Misick, Hon. C. N., MSC (Turks and Caicos Islands).
- Mistry, Hon. (Smt.) Roda, MLC (Andhra Pradesh—India).
- Mitra, Hon. Haridas, MLA (West Bengal—India).
- Mohanty, Hon. Braja Mohan, MLA (Orissa—India).
- Mollov, Mr. P. G., OBE, MC, Secretary (U.K.).
- Moore, Hon. R. C. P., OBE, JP, M.P. (Grenada).
- Mullings, Hon. S., M.P. (Jamaica).
- Murahari, Hon. Godey, M.P. (India).
- Newland, Hon. L. G., M.P. (Jamaica).
- Nickel, Mr. Walter, Clerk-Assistant of Legislative Assembly (Western Samoa).
- N'Jai, Mr. S. A. R., Clerk of House of Representatives (Gambia).
- Noonan, Hon. Michal, M.P. (Republic of Ireland).
- Nwako, Hon. M. P. K., M.P. (Botswana).
- Onyango, Hon. (Mrs.) Grace, M.P. (Kenya).
- Pandit, Dr. the Hon. V. R., MLC (Maharashtra—India).
- Patel, Hon. Gosaibhai Chhibabhai Patel, MLA (Gujarat—India).
- Patil, Hon. R. S., MLA (Karnataka—India).
- Pavitt, Hon. Laurie, M.P. (U.K.).
- Perreault Hon. N. Jean, MNA (Canada).
- Phillips, Hon. Vaovasamanaia, R. P., M.P. (Western Samoa).
- Phillips, Hon. (Mrs.) Leaupepe Faimaala, M.P. (Western Samoa).
- Pradhan, Hon. Natbar, MLA (Orissa—India).
- Puget, Dr. the Hon. Albert Borg Olivier De, M.P. (Malta).

Raghuramaiah, Hon. K., M.P. (India).
 Rahman, Hon. Sheikh Abdur, M.P. (Bangladesh).
 Rahman, Hon. Aatur, MLA (Assam—India).
 Rajaram, Hon. K., MLC (Tamil Nadu—India).
 Raju, Hon. V. B., M.P. (India).
 Rakhetla, Hon. K. T. J., M.P. (Lesotho).
 Ramrakha, Hon. K. C., MHR (Fiji).
 Ramsaroop, Hon. B., M.P. (Guyana).
 Ramdin, Hon. D., MLA (Mauritius).
 Rana, Hon. Kultar Chand, MLA (Himachal Pradesh—India).
 Rao, Hon. Mallur Ananda, MLC (Karnataka—India).
 Reddy, Hon. R. Dasaratharama, MLA (Andhra Pradesh—India).
 Regan, Hon. G. A., Q.C., MLA, (Nova Scotia, Canada).
 Richardson, Hon. Roy, M.P. (Trinidad and Tobago).
 Roberts, Hon. R. F. Anthony, M.P. (Bahamas).
 Robertson, Hon. (Mrs.) Brenda, MLA (Canada).
 Roy, Hon. Marcel, M.P. (Canada).
 Russel, Hon. (Mrs.) Tekarei, Minister for Health and Welfare (Gilbert and Ellice Islands).
 Salim, Hon. Tuan Haji Redzuan bin Hj, AMN, PIS, MLA (Malaysia).
 Saltsman, Hon. Max, M.P. (Canada).
 Sangma, Hon. Captain W. A., MLA (Meghalaya—India).
 Sathe, Hon. Vasant, M.P. (India).
 Saunders Hon. N. B., MSC (Turks and Caicos Islands).
 Saunders, Mr. Percy Oswald, Clerk to the Legislature (Bahamas).
 Sauso'o, Hon. Tiatia, M.P. (Western Samoa).
 Schreyer, Hon. E. R., MLA (Premier) (Canada).
 Scott, Hon. William, M.P. (Canada).
 Seng, Hon. Lee Yick, M.P. (Singapore).
 Shepherd, Rt. Hon. Lord, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords (U.K.).
 Shukla, Hon. Narayan Prasad, MLA (Madhya Pradesh—India).
 Silverman, Hon. Julius, M.P. (U.K.).
 Singh, Captain V. Vijay, Clerk to Senate (Fiji).
 Singh, Hon. Chandra Shekhar, MLA (Bihar—India).
 Singh, Hon. Dinesh, M.P. (India).
 Singhe, Hon. D. P. Wickreme, M.P. (Sri Lanka).
 Singh, Hon. Kaur Battan, Senator (Fiji).
 Singh, Hon. Maham, MLA (Meghalaya—India).
 Singh, Hon. Manphui, MLA (Haryana—India).
 Singh, Hon. Sarup, MLA (Haryana—India).
 Singh, Hon. Vasudev, MLA (Uttar Pradesh—India).
 Siyomunji, Hon. J. B. A., M.P. (Zambia).
 Sloane, Hon. L. F., M.P. (New Zealand).
 Smith, Hon. Tom, M.P. (Sierra Leone).

Soysa, Hon. Bernard, M.P. (Sri Lanka).
 Steuart, Hon. David G., MLA (Canada).
 Strachan, Mr. Curtis V., Clerk of Parliament (Grenada).
 Stravens, Hon. Nicholson, MLA (Seychelles).
 Swell, Hon. G. G., M.P. (India).
 Sylvestre, Hon. Louis S., MHR (Belize).
 Tabua, Hon. I. K. Senator (Fiji).
 Taulupoo, Hon. Aeau, M.P. (Western Samoa).
 Taylor, Hon. J. H., MLA (South Australia).
 Thakalekoala, Hon. S. A., M.P. (Lesotho).
 Thomas, Hon. A. R., M.P. (Cayman Islands).
 Thomas, Hon. Chrysler, J. P., M.P. (Grenada).
 Thong, Hon. Jek Yeun, M.P. (Singapore).
 Tillekeratne, Hon. S., Speaker (Sri Lanka).
 Tlealase, Mr. B. A., Clerk to National Assembly (Lesotho).
 Turnquest, Hon. Orville, Senator (Bahamas).
 Verma, Hon. R. C., MLA (Himachal Pradesh—India).
 Vezhavendan, Hon. Kavignar Ka, MLA (Tamil Nadu—India).
 Viswanathan, Hon. G., M.P. (India).
 Vyas, Hon. Manubhai Gangaram, MLA (Gujarat—India).
 Vyas, Hon. Ram Kishore, MLA (Rajasthan—India).

Ward, Mr. R. E., Clerk of Legislative Assembly (Australia).
 Ward, Hon. S. V., MHA, (Australia).
 Wariithi, Hon. J. C., M.P. (Kenya).
 Wenman, Hon. Robert, M.P. (Canada).
 Wheeler, Mr. K. H., Clerk to Legislative Council (Hong Kong).
 Whitelaw, Rt. Hon. William, CH, MC, M.P. (U.K.).
 Wijesinha, Mr. S. S., Clerk of National State Assembly (Sri Lanka).
 Williams, Hon. George, M.P. (Trinidad and Tobago).
 Yadav, Hon. Ram Singh, MLA (Rajasthan—India).
 Young, Hon. L. G., MLA (Canada).
 Yumba, Mr. A. C., Clerk-Assistant of National Assembly (Zambia).

Appendix II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE DELEGATES, OFFICERS OF THE CPA AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. the Hon. G. S. Dhillon, M.P., Speaker of Lok Sabha (Parliament of India) and President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.—Born 1915; education: B.A., LL.B. (Lah.), LL.D. (P.U.); practised law from 1937 to 1947; journalist 1947—54; participated in Kisan and Freedom Movements; was Member, S.G.P.C. for some time; President, District

Congress Committee, Amritsar till 1953; Member, All India Congress Committee for some years; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1952—67; Deputy Speaker, 1952—54 and Speaker, 1954—62; Secretary-General and Chief Whip, Congress Legislature Party 1964—67; Minister, Punjab Government, 1965-66; elected Member of Parliament since 1967; Chairman, Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings 1968-69; unanimously elected Speaker, Lok Sabha (Parliament of India) in 1969; and re-elected in 1971; Chief Editor of Urdu daily Sher-i-Bharat, Punjabi daily Vartman 1947—52; Founder Member, Federation of Working Journalists of India; Fellow of Punjab University since 1956 representing Faculty of Law; Member, Punjab University Syndicate since 1960 and at present Dean of Faculty of Law; Fellow, Punjabi University 1968-69; Fellow and Syndic, Guru Nanak University since 1970; conferred following hon. causa degrees—LL.D. (Pbi. Univ.); Ph.D. (Sun Ky Kwan Univ.); LL.D. (Kurukshetra Univ.); D.Litt. (G. N. Univ., Amritsar), Ph.D. (Pol. Sc.), Humboldt Univ.; presided over 57th Inter-Parliamentary Conference 1969; presided over Commonwealth Speakers' Conference 1970; Chairman, Standing Committee of the Conference of Commonwealth Speakers 1971—73; Member of IPU Executive Committee 1969—72; President of the IPU Council since October 1973; President, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association 1974; Leader or member of various parliamentary delegations visiting abroad from time to time; Chairman, Presiding Officers' Conference of Legislative Bodies in India; President, Institute of Constitu-

tional and Parliamentary Studies since 1969.

Special interests: social service, education, farming, rural sports.

Hon. R. Gujadar, C.M.G. M.L.A. (Mauritius); Labour Party; Deputy Speaker of Legislative Assembly; Vice-President of CPA; Member, General Council of CPA and of its Executive Committee.—Born 1909; married; solicitor, Supreme Court of Mauritius since 1938; Municipal Councillor, Port Louis 1947; Deputy Mayor, Port Louis 1947; Member, Town Council, Curepipe 1957—60, re-elected 1962, Chairman 1963; first elected to Parliament 1963; Deputy Chairman of Committees 1967 and Deputy Speaker since 1968; director, various sugar estate companies, commercial firms and cinema concerns; Steward, Mauritius Turf Club 1970—74 and its Chairman 1974; attended Parliamentary Visit to U.K. 1970 and Commonwealth Speakers' Conference, India 1971; Chairman, Third African Regional Conference, Mauritius 1971; participated (i) 21st Westminster Parliamentary Seminar 1972 (ii) meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975 (iii) AIPLF Conference, Mauritius 1975 as CPA Observer.

Special interests: horse racing.

Hon. G. A. Regan, Q.C. M.L.A. (Nova Scotia); Liberal Party; Premier of Nova Scotia, Canada; Member, General Council of CPA and Chairman of its Executive Committee.—Born 1928; married; a lawyer; first elected to Parliament 1963; chosen Leader, Nova Scotia Liberal Party

1965; elected to Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly 1967; sworn in as Premier and Chairman, Nova Scotia Power Corporation 1970; re-elected Premier of Nova Scotia 1974; attended (i) CPA Conferences: Malaysia 1971, United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meetings of Executive Committee of General Council, Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975 (iii) Thirteenth Parliamentary Seminar, Westminster 1964 (iv) Canadian Area Conferences; Prince Edward Island 1964, Alberta 1965 and Saskatchewan 1975 (v) Caribbean Regional Conference, Commonwealth of the Bahamas 1974 and (vi) 13th Australasian Regional Conference, Queensland 1975; CPA Observer at 62nd Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference, London 1975.

Special interests: music, skiing, tennis.

Hon. S. Tillekeratne, M.P. (Sri Lanka); Sri Lanka Freedom Party; Speaker of National State Assembly of Sri Lanka; Immediate Past President of CPA; Member, General Council of CPA and of its Executive Committee; President, Sri Lanka Branch of CPA and Chairman of its Executive Committee.—Born 1929; educated in the University of Ceylon, B.A.; married; Attorney-at-law of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka; President, University of Ceylon Political Society 1949; first elected to Parliament 1960; elected Speaker, House of Representatives 1970; President of the Constituent Assembly which drafted the Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka 1970—72; elected Speaker, National State Assembly after the inauguration of the Republic of Sri Lanka 1972; President, Sri Lanka Group of Inter-Parliamen-

tary Union and Chairman of its Executive Committee since 1970; attended (i) CPA Conferences: Australia 1970 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meetings of Executive Committee of General Councils Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975 (iii) Fifth U.K. and Mediterranean Regional Conference, Guernsey 1974 (iv) Sixth African Regional Conference, Botswana 1974 (v) Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference, Rome 1972 (vi) Spring Meeting, Sri Lanka 1975; Leader, Parliamentary Delegation to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea 1970, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic 1972, Pakistan 1975 and Australia 1975.

Special interests: reading, politics, economics, law, sports.

Hon. M. C. Cham, M.P. (The Gambia); People's Progressive Party; Minister of Education, Youth, Sports and Culture; Alternate Regional Councillor for Africa on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee; Member, Executive Committee of The Gambia Branch of CPA—Born 1938; married: Government Civil Servant 1958—61; first elected to Parliament 1962; member Opposition United Party 1962—70, joined People's Progressive Party 1970; appointed Minister of State for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, March 1972 and Minister of Education, Youth and Social Welfare, October, 1972; attended CPA Conference, Sri Lanka 1974; member CPA Visit to the United Kingdom 1966.

Special interests: football, boxing, karate, theatre, dancing.

Hon. M. P. K. Nwako, M.P. (Botswana); Democratic Party; Minister of Health; Regional Councillor for Africa on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee—Born 1922; married; Former Treasurer, Bakwena and Bamangwato Tribal Administrations; Secretary-Treasurer, Moeng College 1954—64; former Member of B. P. Abattoirs Wages Board; Member, Bamangwato Tribal Council and its Executive Committee; Member of African Council (National); Minister of Agriculture 1965; Minister of State 1966; Minister of Health, Labour and Home Affairs 1969—74, attended (i) CPA Conferences: Australia 1970 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975; Chairman, Sixth African Regional Conference, Botswana 1974; attended Seventh African Regional Conference, Lesotho 1975; as Minister of State represented Botswana at U.N., O.A.N. and other international conferences. Special interests: sports, farming.

Hon. Bernard Soysa, M.P., (Sri Lanka) Lanka Sama Samaja Party—Leader of the delegation.—Born 1914; single; member, Colombo Municipal Council since 1949; Secretary, Lanka Sama Samaja Party; Member of the House of Representatives 1956—72; Member of the National State Assembly since the inauguration of the Republic of Sri Lanka 1972; Chairman, Public Accounts Committee of the House of Representatives 1965—72 and of the National State Assembly since 1972; acted as Minister of Finance on several occasions: Leader of Ceylon delegation to the CPA Con-

ferences: Jamaica 1964; and Trinidad and Tobago 1969; attended (i) CPA Conference Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Council as alternate Regional Councillor for Asia, Isle of Man 1975 (iii) spring meetings of the Inter—Parliamentary Union held in Sri Lanka 1975.

Special interests: cricket.

Dr. the Hon. Henry Austin, M.P. (Indian); Congress Party; Regional Councillor for Asia on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee.—Born 1920; married; started career as a teacher, then took to law; Advocate High Court of Kerala; Journalist, Special Hony. Correspondent, Kerala Press Service; Member A.I.C.C. since 1959; former General Secretary Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee and All India Congress Committee; special invitee to meetings of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress; Trade Unionist, having been President or Secretary of several trade unions; Member, Working Committee of the Bharat Sewak Samaj (Social Service Organization); first elected to Kerala Legislative Assembly 1965 and to Lok Sabha 1971; former Chairman of Privileges Committee of Lok Sabha; former member, Panel of Chairmen (Lok Sabha); member External Affairs Consultative Committee and other important Parliamentary Committees; led Indian delegation to CPA Conference Sri Lanka 1974; attended meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975.

Special interests: reading, swimming, horse-riding.

Hon. Vaovasamanaia R. P. Phillips, M.P. (Western Samoa); Minister of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries; Regional Councillor for Australasia on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee.—Born 1924; married: served World War II with RNZAF in U.K. theatre of war; Barrister and Solicitor; law practice in Apia, Western Samoa since 1954; Samoan chiefly title of Vaovasamanaia conferred by Taga Village, Savai'i 1970; first elected to Parliament 1972; attended (i) CPA Conferences: United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meetings of Executive Committee of General Council: Cayman Islands 1973, Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975 (iii) Australasian Regional Conferences: Victoria 1973, and Queensland 1975 (iv) Second Australasian Parliamentary Seminar 1974.

Special interests: rugby.

Senator the Hon. Allister Grosart (Canada); Progressive Conservative Party; Regional Councillor for Canada on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee; Member and past Chairman, Executive Committee, Canadian Branch of CPA.—Born 1906; widower, Carnegie Fellow of International Law, 1928; Journalist, Mining and Syndicate Editor of Toronto Star, Toronto Globe Mail 1929—35; served with Irish Regiment of Canada 2nd Battalion, 1939—45; Vice-President, McKim Advertising Ltd; Toronto and Montreal 1950—57; Director, First City Financial Corporation; Chairman, Audit Committee of Directors City

Savings and Trust (Vancouver); President, Grosart & Co. (Toronto); Campaign Chairman, Progressive Conservative Party of Canada 1957—62; attended (i) CPA Conferences: Jamaica 1964, Canada 1966, Malaysia 1971, Malawi 1972, United Kingdom 1973, Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meetings of Executive Committee of General Council: Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975 (iii) Caribbean Regional Conference, Cayman Islands 1969 (iv) Canadian Regional Conferences: Ottawa 1970, Nova Scotia 1971, Manitoba 1972, Quebec 1973, Ontario 1974, Saskatchewan 1975 (v) Parliamentary Visit to United Kingdom 1968; Canadian Representative, Western European Union Assembly 1973, 1974 and Science and Technology Committee of Council of Europe 1971—74; Vice-Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs; Chairman, Steering Committee of Senate Committee on Science and Technology; Vice-Chairman, Canada—U.S. Parliamentary Group.

Special interests: Canadian art, bibliography, foreign affairs, national science policy, gardening.

Hon. F. A. Dewhurst, M.L.A. (Saskatchewan); New Democratic Party; Speaker of Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, Canada; Regional Councillor for Canada on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee; President, Saskatchewan Branch of CPA.—Born 1911; married; farmer; first elected to the Legislature 1945; re-elected 1948, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1967 and 1971; Deputy Speaker 1961-62; Speaker 1962—64 and

1971 to-date; attended (i) CPA Conferences: Nigeria 1962, Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) Canadian Regional Conferences: Manitoba 1960 and 1972, Ontario 1962 and 1974, Prince Edward Island 1964, Ottawa 1970, Quebec 1973 (iii) Parliamentary Seminars: Ottawa 1973 and 1974; (iv) Inter-Provincial Visits of CPA Whitehorse (Yukon) 1972, Newfoundland 1973 (v) Meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975; hosted Canadian Regional Conferences, Saskatchewan 1963 and 1975.

Hon. Sia Kah Hui, M.P. (Singapore); People's Action Party; Minister of State for Labour and Government Whip; Regional Councillor for South-East Asia on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee; Member, Executive Committee of Singapore Branch of CPA.—Born 1923; married; formerly Principal, Presbyterian Boys' School; President, Singapore Teachers' Union; Director Chinese Y.M.C.A.; first elected to Parliament 1963; attended meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975.

Special interests: golf.

Senator the Hon. C. S. Dupre, M.C. (Jersey); President of the Tourism Committee; Regional Councillor for U.K. & Mediterranean on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee; Vice-President and Chairman of Jersey Branch of CPA.—Born 1914; married; entered family business 1931; joined army 1940; commissioned through Sandhurst and became

major in Cheshire Regiment; returned to family business 1946; first elected to Legislature 1957; has been President of Tourism Committee for past fifteen years; attended, (i) CPA Conference, Jamaica 1964 (ii) meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975 (iii) Sixth U.K. and Mediterranean Regional Conference, Gibraltar 1975; President, Channel Island Aero Club, football and squash clubs.

Hon. Paul Dean, M.P. (United Kingdom); Conservative Party; Alternate Regional Councillor for U.K. and Mediterranean on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee; Member of the Executive Committee of U.K. Branch of CPA.—Born 1924; M.A. B. Litt.; married; war service 1942—46; farming 1946—57; was in Conservative Party Headquarters 1957—64; Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Social Services 1970—74; Company Director and Pensions Consultant; member CPA delegation to Papua New Guinea and Australia 1974.

Special interests: pensions, insurance, health, fishing, walking.

Hon. J. M. G. Adams, M.P. (Barbados); Labour Party; Leader of the Opposition; Regional Councillor for West Indies, Central & South American Mainland on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee.—First elected to Parliament 1966; married; Attorney-at-Law; Barrister-at-Law (Grays Inn); formerly a B.B.C. producer; Political Party Secretary 1965—68; attended (i) CPA Conference, Sri

Lanka 1974 (ii) meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975 (iii) Caribbean Regional Conferences, Antigua 1968 and Bermuda 1970 (iv) Parliamentary Seminar, Westminster 1969.

Special interests: cricket, gardening, stamp collecting.

Hon. J. R. Ford, M.P. (Bahamas); Progressive Liberal Party; Regional Councillor for West Indies, Central & South American Mainland on General Council of CPA and its Executive Committee.—Born 1925; married; electrical engineer; Executive Chairman, Bahamas Telecommunications Corporation; part-time life underwriter, Imperial Life Assurance Company of Canada since 1956; member of the National General Council (PLP); served World War II with the Bahamas Air Service Squadron; first elected to Parliament 1968; attended (i) CPA Conference, Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meeting of Executive Committee of General Council, Isle of Man 1975 (iii) Canadian Regional Conference Saskatchewan 1975 (iv) Parliamentary Seminar, Westminster 1969.

Special interests: lawn tennis, swimming.

AUSTRALIAN STATE BRANCHES

New South Wales

Hon. J. H. Taylor, M.L.A.; Labour Party; Member of Executive Committee, New South Wales Branch, CPA.—Born 1920; educated All Saints College, Bathurst,

New South Wales; married; Gunner, Australian Imperial Forces; stockman, property manager, owner wheat, sheep and cattle farm; Shire Councillor, Country Councillor; first elected to Parliament 1960; Member Legislative Assembly; country party whip and parliamentary party secretary treasurer; Australian States Representative on General Council, CPA. Special interests: transportation and rural health systems, water conservation, cricket, football, tennis and oil painting.

Queensland

Hon. E. Marginson, M.L.A.; Labour Party; Opposition Whip; Member of Executive Committee of Queensland Branch, CPA.—Born 1909; married; first elected to Parliament in 1969; Alderman of Ipswich City Council from 1952 until resignation in 1970; was Deputy Mayor of Ipswich, Chairman of Finance Committee and Chairman of Works Committee.

Special interests: lawn bowls.

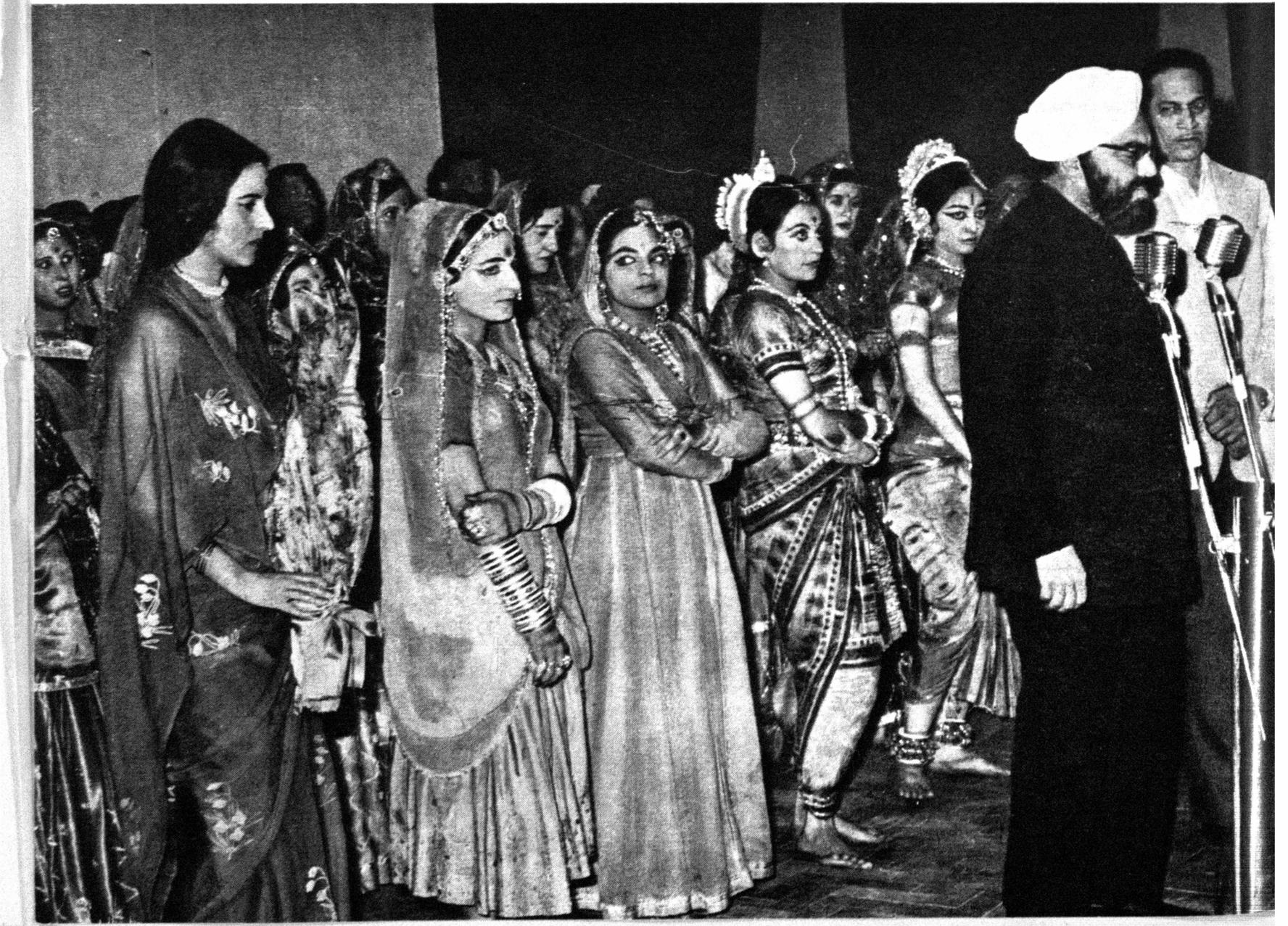
South Australia

Hon. M. B. Dawkins, M.L.C.; Liberal Party.—Born 1917; married; first elected to Parliament 1962; Member, Library Committee since 1962; Member (and former Chairman), Parliamentary Land Settlement Committee since 1967; member United Farmers and Graziers of South Australia Inc.; Governing Director, A. M. Dawkins & Sons Pty. Ltd., stud sheep breeders; former State President and Federal Vice-President Australian Society of



**Sir Robin Vanderfelt and Lady Vanderfelt
chatting with Dr. Dhillon and Professor Swell**

An Evening of Indian Dances



Breeders of British Sheep; delegate to Eighth Australian Area Conference 1965. Special interests: music.

Tasmania

Hon. S. V. Ward, M.H.A.; Labour Party.—Born 1903; married; first elected to Parliament 1956; Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker 1959—61; Minister for Housing and Forests 1961—69. Special interests: dairying & beef production, trotting.

Victoria

Hon. D. E. Kent, M.L.C.; Labour Party.—Born 1919; married; farmer; first elected to Legislature 1970.

Special interests: farming, history, tennis, riding.

Western Australia

Hon. H. W. Gayfer, M.L.C.; National Country Party; Member of Executive Committee of Western Australia Branch of CPA.—Born 1925; married; First elected to Legislature 1962; elected M.L.C. for Central Province 1974; Director, National Safety Council of W.A. (Road Division) 1962—71; Chairman, Cooperative Bulk Handling Ltd. of W.A. since 1971; member, Royal Perth Golf Club and life member Corrigin Golf Club; member, Corrigin Lawn Bowling Club; Patron, Brookton Lawn Bowling Club; President, Parliamentary Bowls Association of Australia.

Special interests: golf and bowls,

Mr. R. E. Ward, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales; Honorary Secretary-Treasurer, New South Wales branch of CPA—Secretary to the Australian State Branches delegation.—Born 1916; married; served R.A.A.F. 1941—45; Clerk Assembly Staff 1940, Clerk Assistant 1967—73; attended Tenth Australian Area CPA Conference, Sydney 1969, Twelfth Australasian Area Conference, Melbourne 1973 and Thirteenth Australasian Conference, Brisbane, 1975.

Special interests: gardening, reading.

BAHAMAS

Hon. R. F. Anthony Roberts, M.P.; Progressive Liberal Party; Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Local Government—Leader of the delegation.—Born 1932; married; served as alternate Governor of the Caribbean Development Bank for the Bahamas; first elected to the House of Assembly in 1968; re-elected in 1972 and appointed Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries; in 1973 appointed Minister of Home Affairs.

Special interests: international affairs, reading, cricket, fishing, boating; swimming.

Senator the Hon. L. H. Lockhart; Progressive Liberal Party; Vice-President of the Senate.—Born 1916; married; businessman.

Special interests: swimming.

Senator the Hon. Orville Turnquest; Free National Movement; Opposition Leader in the Senate.—Born 1929; married; L.L.B.,

Barrister-at-Law; first elected to Parliament in 1962; President, Bahamas Bar Council 1970—72; Chancellor, Diocese of Nassau and Bahamas 1962 to date; Member, Commission of Theological Education in West Indies; Member, House of Assembly 1962—67; appointed to Senate 1972.

Special interests: tennis, swimming.

Mr. Percy Oswald Saunders, Clerk to the Legislature—Chief Clerk of the House of Assembly; Secretary, Bahamas Branch of CPA—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1933; Single; school teacher; customs officer grade I; supervisor air freight; Secretary to Parliamentary Seminar, Bahamas, 1969; Secretary to Auxiliary Branch Delegations, Seventeenth CPA Conference, Malaysia, 1971; Conference Secretary Eleventh Caribbean Regional Conference, Nassau Bahamas, 1974; attended (i) Seventh Caribbean Regional Conference, Grenada, 1970, (ii) Third Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, Cayman Islands, 1972, (iii) Tenth Caribbean Regional Conference, Jamaica 1973, (iv) Nineteenth CPA Conference, London, 1973 and (v) Twentieth CPA Conference Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Special interests: flying, all water sports, golf, tennis, skeet shooting, painting, tapestry, bowling.

BANGLADESH

Hon. Mohammad Baitullah, M. P.; Awami League; Deputy Speaker of Parliament—Leader of the delegation.—Born 1927; educated Dacca University; M.A., L.L.B.;

married; started political career during student life; took active part in the language movement of 1948 and was beaten mercilessly by Pakistani police; participated in all the progressive movements of the country; joined legal profession in 1957; Vice-President of Rajshahi district Awami League and President of Naogaon Sub-divisional Awami League for many years; elected to the then National Assembly of Pakistan in 1970; participated in the War of Liberation 1971; motivator of freedom fighters of a military training camp at Raiganj in district of Dinajpur (India); Member of Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh, 1972 and was elected its Deputy Speaker; played a significant role as member of Constitution Drafting Committee; elected Member of Parliament in the first general election in 1973 and was unanimously elected its Deputy Speaker.

Special interests: sports, reading.

Hon. Sheikh Abdur Rahman, M. P.; Awami League.—Born 1933; educated Dacca University; M.A., L.L.B.; married; President of Bagerhat District Awami League 1966—73; Principal, Silchar Degree College 1962—66; twice President of Bagerhat Bar 1971—73; Member, Bangladesh Council 1972-73; Chairman, Bagerhat Sub-Division Relief Committee 1971—73; Advocate Supreme Court of Bangladesh, founder of many schools, colleges and social organisations; helped the Government during the War of Liberation in the free zone; author of “Desh on Pathe”, “Muktir Path” and “Dharmanirapekhata Dharmahinata Nay”; elected Member of

the then Provincial Assembly in 1970 and became Member of Parliament in 1973.

Mr. Aminullah, Deputy Secretary of Parliament—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1920; educated Dacca University; M. A., B. L.; married; Assistant House Tutor, Dacca University 1943—45; Lecturer in a Government College 1946—48; joined Dacca Bar 1948 and judicial service 1949; Deputy Secretary to erstwhile East Pakistan Assembly 1962—66; Subordinate Judge and Assistant Sessions Judge 1966; Secretary to erstwhile East Pakistan Assembly 1966—69; Additional District and Sessions Judge 1970-71; Divisional Special Judge 1971-72; District and Sessions Judge 1972; Deputy Secretary to Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh 1972; Hon. Secretary to erstwhile East Pakistan Branch of CPA 1966—69; attended the Thirteenth CPA Conference in Uganda in 1967 as Secretary to the then Pakistan Delegation; Parliamentary Fellow of the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi 1973-74; Secretary to Bangladesh Delegation to the Twentieth CPA Conference in Sri Lanka 1974.

Special interests: reading lives of great men, constitutional, parliamentary, economic and judicial literature and visiting historical places.

BOTSWANA

Hon. D. K. Kwelagobe, M. P.; Botswana Democratic Party; Minister of Public Service and Information—Leader of the de-

legation.—Born 1943; married; first elected to Parliament 1969.

Special interests: photography, football.

Hon. C. Blackbeard, M. P.; Botswana Democratic Party.—Born 1927; married; trader and farmer; first elected to Parliament 1974.

Special interests: tennis, cricket.

CANADA—MAIN BRANCH

Hon. Maurice Dupras, M. P.; Liberal; President of the Canadian Branch of CPA—Leader of the delegation.—Born 1923; married; graduated from St. Jerome's Commercial College; joined the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1942; served as instructor in Canada and Europe; first elected to Parliament in 1970; member of the local Chamber of Commerce; Chairman of the External Affairs and National Defence Standing Committee; attended (i) CPA seminars in Ottawa, 1973 and 1974, (ii) regional conferences in Halifax 1972, Toronto 1974, Saskatchewan, 1975, and (iii) CPA Conference in Sri Lanka, 1974.

Special interests: reading, ski, golf, flying.

Senator the Hon. M. Lorne Bonnell, M. D. C. M.; Liberal.—Born 1923; M.D. (Master Surg.) 1949; Lic. Medical Council of Canada; married; Physician and Surgeon, Murray River and Montague, P. E. I.; Secretary, Medical Staff, King's Co. Memorial Hospital, Montague; first elected to P.E.I. Legislature 1951, appointed (i) Minister of Health 1955, (ii)

Minister of Welfare and Tourist Development 1966, and (iii) Minister of Housing 1970; summoned to Senate 1971; member P.E.I. Centennial Commission; Chairman, Murray River P.E.I. Centennial Commission; member (i) P. E. I. Medical Association, (ii) Canadian Medical Association; Freemason (PM).

Special interests: golf.

Hon. Marcel Roy, M.P.; Liberal; First elected to Parliament 1968; agronomist; specialist in soil fertility and animal husbandry.

Hon. Alan Martin, M.P.; Liberal; Born 1930; married; Chartered Accountant holding senior financial positions in Canadian Industry and Education (University Administration); President, Tax Executives Institute (Toronto Chapter) 1967-68; first elected to Parliament 1974; Vice-President, Ontario March of Dimes—1974; Churchwarden, Anglican Church of Canada.

Hon Robert Wenman, M, P.; Progressive Conservative.—Born 1940; married; secondary school teacher and investment counsellor; first elected to Parliament 1974.

Hon. William C. Scott, M. P.; Progressive Conservative.—Born 1921; married; merchant; Director Agricultural Societies for Ontario; Secretary Manager, Kinmount Fair Board; Past President Lions and hockey referee O.H.A. and O. M. H. A.; first elected to Legislature 1965.

Hon. Max Saltsman, M. P.; New Democratic Party;—Born 1921; married; former businessman, manager and ex-RCAF serviceman; elected to the Board of Education 1958, re-elected 1960; elected alderman of the City of Galt 1961; re-elected 1963; first elected to Parliament 1964; member of Galt Industrial Commission, Waterloo-Wellington Airport Commission and important Committees of the House of Commons; participated in the NATO Conference in Europe, Commonwealth Conference in New Zealand, Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in Caracas; adjunct professor at Waterloo University in the School of Management Science and special lecturer at Sir Wilfred Laurier University in political science.

Mr. Ian Imrie, Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Branch of CPA—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1929; married; joined the Canadian Government service, 1955 and staff of Parliament, 1964; Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Section, Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group; attended (i) Sixteenth to Nineteenth CPA Conferences in Australia 1970, Malaysia 1971, Malawi 1972, United Kingdom 1973 and (ii) Ninth to Sixteenth Canadian Regional CPA Conferences 1968 to 1975.

CANADIAN PROVINCIAL BRANCHES

Alberta

Hon. L. G. Young, M.L.A.; Progressive Conservative.—Born 1934; married; first elected to Legislative Assembly 1971; economist; General Secretary of Farm

Organisation; labour relations specialist for provincial association of school boards; business consultant; member of Alberta delegation to Federal Parliament.

Special interests: gardening, fishing.

British Columbia

Hon. James Gorst, M.L.A.; New Democratic Party.—Born 1922; married; first elected to the Legislature 1972; attended (i) CPA Regional Conference Quebec City and Montreal, Province of Quebec 1973 and (ii) CPA Regional Conference, Regina, Province of Saskatchewan 1975.

Manitoba

Hon. E. R. Schreyer, M.L.A.; New Democratic Party; Premier and Minister of Federal Provincial Relations, Minister of Finance, Minister charged with the administration of the Manitoba Hydro Act; Vice-President, Manitoba Division of CPA. Born 1935; married; political science teacher; first elected to Legislature 1958; Member of Parliament, 1965—69; re-elected to Legislature 1969 and sworn as Premier of Manitoba; attended Canadian section CPA Conference in Manitoba 1960 and Quebec 1964.

Special interests: reading, golf, curling.

New Brunswick

Hon. (Mrs-) Brenda Robertson, M.L.A.; Progressive Conservative Party.—Born 1929; married; first woman elected to the New Brunswick Legislature (1967); was Minister of Social Welfare and of

Youth for four years; Doctor of Human Letters from Mt. St. Vincent; presently Principal in the Management Consultant firm of P. S. Ross & Partners.

Prince Edward Island

Hon. T. Earle Hickey, F. C. A., M. L. A.; Liberal; Minister of Finance; Chairman of the Treasury Board and Minister for Cultural Affairs.—Born 1907; married; practised as chartered accountant until 1966 when elected to Legislative Assembly.

Quebec

Hon. Jean Perreault, M. N. A.; Liberal Party.—Born 1923; married; first elected to National Assembly 1970 and re-elected 1973; appointed Coordinator for the Interdepartmental Committee on the James Bay Project; Chairman of Committee on Waters Administration.

SASKATCHEWAN

Hon. David G. Steuart, M. L. A.; Liberal; Leader of the Opposition.—Born 1916; married; first elected to the Legislature 1962; Minister of Public Health 1964—1966; Minister of Natural Resources 1966—67; Minister in charge Saskatchewan Power Corporation 1967; Provincial Treasurer and Minister in charge of Saskatchewan Pulpwood Ltd. 1967—71; elected Leader of the Opposition 1971.

Mr. Jacques Lessard, Assistant Secretary General, Quebec National Assembly—Secretary to Canadian Provincial Bran-

ches delegation.—Born 1919; married; was a school teacher for twenty-four years; author of a book entitled “Modern Practical English”; elected President of the School Board of Cap-Rouge 1955; Mayor of Cap-Rouge 1963—73; elected Prefect of the County of Quebec 1971-72; appointed Assistant Secretary General of the National Assembly 1964; elected Secretary of the Association of Clerks-at-the Table in Canada.

FIJI

Hon. P. K. Bhindi, M. H. R.; Assistant Minister of Finance.—Leader of the delegation.—Born in India in 1923 and came to Fiji in 1934; married; started business in 1954; elected to Suva City Council 1952 and 1955; appointed member of Honeyman Commission in a sugar industry dispute; elected member Indian Advisory Council 1960 and Labour Advisory Board; President, Federation of Chamber of Commerce 1965-66; first elected to legislature 1972 as an Indian National Member for South Central Suva West.

Hon. K. C. Ramrakha, M.H.R.; National Federation Party; Opposition Whip; Member of Executive Committee Fiji Branch of CPA.—Born 1933; married; practising as barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Fiji since 1954; first elected to legislature 1966.

Special interests: table tennis, reading, gardening.

Senator the Hon. I. K. Tabua; The Alliance.—Born 1925; educated at Fulton

Missionary College and joined the Fiji Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve in 1942; married; joined the Regular Force of the Fiji Military Force as bandsman; went to Malaya with Fiji Battalion and was awarded M.I.D. appointed Regimental Sergeant Major of the Territorial Battalion in 1958; joined Government Civil Service in 1959; resigned from the Civil Service in 1967; serving as member of the Lau Provincial Council and Great Council of Chiefs; appointed Senator in 1972 as nominee of the Great Council of Chiefs.

Special interests: rugby, boxing, cricket, lay preacher in the Methodist church.

Captain Vir Vijay Chandra Singh, Clerk Assistant to the Parliament of Fiji.—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1940; married; Captain in the Territorial Battalion of the Royal Fiji Military Forces; joined Fiji Civil Service 1961; served as District Officer in various districts throughout Fiji and as Assistant Secretary with the Ministry for Agriculture, Fisheries and Forests; appointed Clerk Assistant to Parliament and Clerk to the Senate 1973; Secretary to Parliamentary Select Committees; Secretary, Fiji Delegation to the 13th Australasian Regional Conference, Brisbane 1975.

Special interests: motoring, football, bowls, swimming, boating.

THE GAMBIA

Hon. Seyfo Kebba T. Jammeh, M.P.; Peoples Progressive Party; Deputy Speaker of House of Representatives—Leader

of the delegation.—Born 1935; married; District Head Chief (Local Government Administration) and Member of Parliament representing Head Chiefs of the Gambia; participated CPA Parliamentary visit in London 1966 and CPA Regional Meeting in The Gambia 1972.

Special interests: debate, sports.

Hon. John R. Forster, M.P.; The United Party; Leader of the Opposition; Second Vice-President of the Gambia Branch of CPA.—Born 1909; married; joined the United Party in 1954; elected Member of Parliament 1966; Leader of the Opposition 1972; participated CPA Regional Conference, Dar-Es-Salaam 1973 and Parliamentary Course in London 1967.

Special interests: cricket, tennis, walking, indoor games, fishing, reading.

Hon. Kebba K. Jawara, M. P.; Peoples Progressive Party.—Born 1942; married; first elected to Parliament 1970.

Special interest: table tennis.

Mr. S. A. R. N'Jai, Deputy Secretary Cabinet, Clerk of House of Representatives; honorary Secretary-Treasurer, The Gambia Branch of CPA—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1940; junior school teacher 1960—64; university student 1964—68; Grammar School teacher 1968—69; Assistant Secretary President's Office 1970—72; participated Fifth African Regional Conference, Dar-Es-Salaam 1973 and Nineteenth and Twentieth CPA Plenary Conferences, London and Colombo.

Special interests: reading, lawn and table tennis.

Hon. George F. Hosten, F.I.B.A., J.P., M.P.; United Labour Party; Minister for Finance, Trade and Industry and Leader of Government business in the House of Representatives—Leader of the delegation.—Born 1924; married; appointed Grenada Civil Service 1943; Clerk of the Legislative Council 1950; President Civil Service Association 1956—60; Permanent Secretary to Ministry of Trade and Production 1957; Grenada's delegate to Caribbean Conference Barbados and Antigua 1962; attended Parliamentary Seminar, Grenada 1969 and 7th Caribbean Regional Conference, Grenada 1970; advisor to Eastern Caribbean Conference, London 1962; first elected to Parliament 1967, re-elected 1972; Governor, Caribbean Development Bank 1971; attended Independence Constitutional Conference, London 1973; Chairman, Board of Governors, Caribbean Development Bank 1973-74; Fellow of the International Bankers' Association.

Hon. R. C. P. Moore, O.B.E., J.P., M.P.; Speaker of the House of Representatives; Joint President, Grenada Branch of CPA.—Born 1908; married; first elected to Parliament 1948; Justice of the Peace 1945; Official Attestor 1948; member, St. Patrick's and St. Mark's District Boards; Speaker, Legislative Council 1961-62; Deputy Governor, Associated State of Grenada 1970; attended (i) First Caribbean Regional Conference Jamaica 1952, (ii) Standing Committee meeting of the Conference of Commonwealth Caribbean Presiding Officers and Clerks, St. Lucia

1974, St. Kitts 1975 (iii) Commonwealth Caribbean Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, Bermuda 1974, (iv) CPA Conferences: Jamaica 1964, London 1973, Sri Lanka 1974.

Special interests: cricket.

Senator the Hon. Chrysler Thomas, J.P., M. P.; United Labour Party; Parliamentary Secretary.—Born 1934; widower; first elected to Parliament 1973.

Special interests: Photography, cricket.

Mr. Curtis V. Strachan, Clerk of Parliament; Secretary Grenada Branch of CPA—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1926; married; on attachment to House of Commons, London 1962 and 1969 and Ottawa 1971; attended (i) Caribbean Regional Conferences; Barbados 1965, Trinidad and Tobago 1966, Cayman Islands 1967, Antigua 1969, Grenada 1970, Bermuda 1971, St. Lucia 1972, Jamaica 1973 and Bahamas 1974, (ii) Commonwealth Parliamentary Seminar, Grenada 1969, (iii) Presiding Officers' and Clerks' Conferences; Barbados 1968, Cayman Islands 1972, Bermuda 1974, (iv) Standing Committee meetings of the Conference of Commonwealth Caribbean presiding Officers and Clerks Belize 1969, St. Kitts 1975, (v) Canadian Area Conference Nova Scotia 1971, (vi) Canadian Clerks' Conference, Fredericton 1971; Co-ordinator of Caribbean Parliamentary Trade Delegation to Nova Scotia 1975.

Special interests: Swimming, tennis, church architecture.

Hon. B. Ramsaroop, M. P.; People's National Congress; Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Leader of the House—Leader of the delegation.—Born 1939; married; teacher; barrister-at-law; first elected to Parliament 1969; was Minister of Housing and Reconstruction and Minister of Trade; Chairman of People's National Congress; Leader of Guyana Delegation to the Twentieth CPA Conference 1974.

Special interests: reading, gardening, cricket, social work.

Hon. (Miss) M. M. Ackman, M. P.; People's National Congress; Parliamentary Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister and Government Chief Whip.—Born 1921; single; Assistant General Secretary, People's National Congress.

Special interests: reading, meeting people, social work.

Hon. (Mrs.) E. DaSilva, M. P.; United Force.—Born 1924; married; educated St. Rose's Ursuline Convent Georgetown, Guyana and Convent of The Holy Child Jesus, Kent. England; service during World War II with British Red Cross Society, England; radio announcer, Georgetown; Member of Parliament since 1969; Chairman of the United Force; participated Regional CPA Conference St. Lucia, West Indies 1972.

Special interests: music, literature, travel.

Mr. M. B. Henry, Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly; Assistant Secretary-

Treasurer, Guyana Branch of CPA—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1935; single; High School Language and Mathematics Master 1954-55; Class II Clerk 1955—62; Class I Clerk 1962—66; attended U. K. Parliamentary Course 1968, Presiding Officers Conference, Barbados 1968 and CPA Regional Conference, Bahamas 1975.

Special interests: politics and world affairs, draughts (checkers).

INDIA—MAIN BRANCH

Hon. K. Raghuramaiah, M.P.; Congress Party; Minister of Works, Housing & Parliamentary Affairs—Leader of the delegation.—Born 1912; educated at Andhra Christian College, Guntur, Lucknow University and Middle Temple, London, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law; married; advocate; practised in Madras High Court 1937—41; joined Provincial Judicial Service 1941; Between 1941 and 1951 held various posts in the Madras Government and in the Central Government; resigned from Government service in 1951; enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court; Member, Executive Committee; Congress Party in Parliament in 1954, also its Secretary in 1955 and Convener External Affairs Standing Committee 1952—57; alternate delegate to the Trusteeship committee of the United Nations 1956; India's Representative in the U.N. Committee on Information from Non-self Governing Territories 1956; alternate delegate to the U.N. General Assembly 1956; member Executive Committee of the Indian Parliamentary

Group 1955—57 and delegate to the Inter-Parliamentary Council Meeting at Dubrovnik (Yugoslavia) in 1966 and at Nice (France) in 1957; Editor, 'Asian Recorder', 1955; member A.I.C.C. 1955—59 and its Legal Advisory Committee 1956; Member Lok Sabha since 1952; Member (i) Estimates Committee 1954, (ii) General Purposes Committee and Rules Committee 1955—57; Chairman, Petitions Committee 1955—57; has been Deputy Minister of Defence, Minister of State for Defence, Minister of Defence Production, Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour and Employment, Minister of Supply in the Ministry of Industry and Supply, Minister of Supply and Technical Development, Minister of State in the Ministry of Law, Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals and of Planning and Social Welfare, Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals and of Social Welfare, Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Shipping and Transport.

Special interests: tennis.

Hon. Om Mehta, M.P.; Congress Party; Minister of State for Home and Parliamentary Affairs.—Born 1927; educated at Prince of Wales College Jammu, B.A.; married; Chairman (i) Cooperative Marketing Society Ltd. Kishtwar since 1962, (ii) Chamber of Commerce, Kishtwar since 1962, (iii) Town Area Committee Kishtwar 1956-57; Director (i) Central Cooperative Bank Ltd. 1958—60 and (ii) Jammu and Kashmir Cooperative Land Mortgage Bank Ltd. since 1962; member (i) Cen-

tral Committee, Jammu and Kashmir Bharat Sewak Samaj, (ii) Panchayati Raj Committee 1962—64, (iii) Aid to Industries Board 1962—64, (iv) Governing Body of the Constitution Club, New Delhi since 1971, (v) Executive Committee Congress Party in Parliament, (vi) Public Accounts Committee of Parliament 1966—68 and (vii) A.I.C.C. since 1967; Deputy Chief Whip Congress Party in Rajya Sabha; President Arya Samaj Kishtwar; Secretary Doda District National Conference Committee 1959—66; Whip of National Conference Party in Legislature; Convener, Congress Party Standing Committee for Commerce 1964-65 and standing Committee for Defence 1965; attended Commonwealth Parliamentary Union Conference, Trinidad 1969; elected Member Legislative Council, Jammu and Kashmir 1957, re-elected 1959—64; elected to the Rajya Sabha 1964, re-elected 1970; Government Deputy Chief Whip of the Rajya Sabha since 1967; appointed Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs 1970 and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs and Shipping and Transport 1971 and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs and Works and Housing 1973.

Special interests: politics, fiction, general reading, tennis, cinema.

Hon. G. G. Swell, M.P.; Unattached; Deputy Speaker of Lok Sabha—Born 1924; educated at Ram Krishna Mission High School, Cheerapoonji, Bangabasi College, Calcutta, Scottish Church College, Calcutta and Calcutta University; M.A.; married; Professor; Member, Lok Sabha since 1962;

Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha 1969-70 and March 1971 onwards.

Special interests: walking, gardening.

Hon. Godey Murahari, M.P.; Independent; Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha.—Born 1926; educated at (i) Banaras Hindu University and (ii) Pachiappa's College Madras; bachelor; Publisher; was in the Indian National Congress 1941—47 and also in the Socialist Group of the Party till it separated from the Congress; was jailed in 1943 in connection with the 'Quit India' Movement and externed from Banaras for two years till the establishment of the Interim Government in 1946; underwent jail terms thrice for activities connected with the Socialist Party; led the Indian delegation to the Congress of the International Union of Socialist Youth, Copenhagen; edited 'Young World' (a weekly) 1956-57; Editor and Publisher "Mankind" (monthly) and publisher, 'Jan' a Hindi monthly; Secretary, All India Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha, 1957-58; General Secretary, All India Socialist Party 1958-59; Member (i) Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Geneva, (ii) Executive Committee and also Chairman of the Commission on National Legislatures, World Constitution and Parliamentary Association and (iii) National Executive Socialist Party and was Secretary of its Central Parliamentary Board 1961—63; member (i) Public Accounts Committee 1966—68, (ii) Committee on Public Undertakings 1968—70 and National Shipping Board 1970—71; elected to the Rajya Sabha in April, 1962, re-elected in April 1968 and again in April 1974; Deputy Chairman Rajya Sabha

1972—74 and again from April 1974 onwards.

Special interests: journalism, youth and cultural activities, cinema.

Hon. Nand Kishore Bhatt, M.P.; Congress Party.—Born 1919; educated at Madhav College, Ujjain, Christian College, Indore, Agra University, Nagpur University and Delhi University; M.A. LL.B.; married; trade unionist; actively participated in the freedom struggle since 1938; was imprisoned during “Quit India” Movement in 1942; General Secretary, Indore Students’ Federation 1943-44; Founder Indore Students’ Congress 1944-45; connected with INTUC since its very inception and held various positions in this organisation; President All India National Life Insurance Employees Federation; Vice-President (i) Indian National Mine Workers’ Federation and (ii) National Metal Workers’ Federation; attended I.C.F.T.U. Congress Vienna 1955 and London 1972; attended I.L.O. Conference at Geneva 1955 and 1972; Leader Indian Delegation Young Workers’ Conference at Casablanca 1962; attended (i) I.C.F.T.U. Regional Conferences at Singapore 1969 and Kuala Lumpur 1973 (ii) Miners International Conference in London 1971 and (iii) I.C.F.T.U. Conference on international multinational corporations in Japan 1973; elected to the Rajya Sabha 1966 and re-elected 1972.

Special interests: labour, social service, politics, philosophy, journalism, classical and instrumental music, reading, yogic culture.

Hon. Dinesh Singh, M.P.; Congress Party.—Born 1925; educated at Doon School, Dehra Dun, Colvin College, Lucknow and University of Lucknow; B.A.; married; member of Indian delegation to many international organisations such as FAO, ECAFE, ECOSOC and U.N. General Assembly; Leader of Indian delegation to ECOSOC, UNCTAD-II and U.N.; attended the second and the third All-African Peoples Conference in Tunis and Cairo respectively; Vice-President Indian Council for Africa and Central Citizens’ Council; elected President of UNCTAD II; member of Indian Parliamentary Group CPA and Parliamentary Scientific Committee; Member, Lok Sabha since 1957; Member Estimates Committee 1959-60; Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs 1962—66; Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs 1966-67; Minister of Commerce 1967—69; Minister of External Affairs 1969-70; Minister of Industrial Development and Internal Trade 1970-71; President H. R. Trust and R.A.S.M. Education Society, Kalakankar, U.P.; Member (i) Bharatiya Natya Sangh (ii) Bharat Krishak Samaj (iii) Indian Council for Child Welfare (iv) Indian Council for World Affairs (v) Youth Hostel Association of India.

Special interests: International and economic affairs.

Hon. Indrajit Gupta, M.P.; Communist Party of India.—Born 1919; educated at St. Stephens’ College, Delhi and King’s College, Cambridge; unmarried; political worker and trade unionist; President of

several trade unions of Jute, Textile, Engineering and Port and Dock Workers; Secretary All India Trade Union Congress since 1958; Member Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India; arrested and detained under Preventive Detention Act in 1950, 1953, 1959; arrested in connection with labour strikes in 1958 and 1960; spent 3½ years in underground activity when CPI was banned during World War II and during 1948—50; Member Lok Sabha since 1960; Commissioner for Calcutta Port; author of (i) "Capital and labour in the Jute Industry" and (ii) "Self-reliance in Defence".

Special interests; reading, watching sports, cinema, theatre, economic development, industrial relations, international affairs, defence problems.

Hon. V. B. Raju, M.P.; Congress Party.—Born 1914; got diploma in Civil Engineering; married; consulting engineer and architect; took interest in the development of Hyderabad City and other modern housing colonies; actively participated in freedom struggle against the regime of Nizam of Hyderabad; entered the Trade Union Movement 1948; was President (i) State Railway and Transport Workers' Union and (ii) Coal Mine's Union; was Founder-President, All India Airways Employees Federation; joined Congress in 1950; was General Secretary, State Congress Party and became its Vice-President in 1964; was editor "The Daily News, Hyderabad; President, Institute of Asian Studies, Hyderabad since 1967; Member (i) Hyderabad Legislative Assembly 1952

—56 (ii) Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly 1956—59 and 1967—70 and (iii) National Productivity Council; Minister (i) Hyderabad Government 1950—53 and (ii) Andhra Pradesh Government 1956—59; Minister of Revenue and Civil Supplies, Andhra Pradesh Government 1967—69; elected to the Rajya Sabha 1970; Vice-Chairman Rajya Sabha 1972-73; alternate delegate to the 27th Session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Hon. Vasant Sathe, M.P.; Congress Party.—Born 1925; educated at Bhonsla Military School, Nasik, Nagpur Maha Vidyalaya and Law College, Nagpur University; B.A., LL.B; married; advocate, associated with P.S.P. till 1964; took active part in the Quit India Movement in 1942 and was arrested; member (i) Metropolitan Board, Nagpur, 1969—71 (ii) Development Corporation of Vidarbha 1971-72; member, National Productivity Council Study Team which visited USSR and Czechoslovakia in 1961; senior Adviser in the Indian Delegation to the 25th Session of U.N. General Assembly; represented India in the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations working for the growth and welfare of Vidarbha; associated with various trade unions, cultural organisations, youth movements and sports organisations.

Special interests: swimming, music, yoga, reading, theatre, cricket, boxing, horse riding, classical and folk dances.

Hon. G. Viswanathan, M.P.; A.D.M.K. Born 1940; educated at Voorhees College, Vellore, Loyola College, Madras and Madras Law College; M.A., B.L.; married; ad-

vocate; President (i) All India Train Clerks Council (ii) North Arcot Distt. Weight Lifting Association (iii) North Arcot Distt. Cooperative Sugar Mills Staff Union (iv) Southern Asbestos Cement Workers Union, Arkonam (v) Vellore Electric Corporation Employees Union; Vice-President, Tamil Nadu Rock Climbing Association; Secretary World Association of World Federalists (Indian Parliamentary Group); Director, National Federation of Industrial Cooperatives 1969-70; Member, North Arcot District Sports Council; Member, Lok Sabha since 1967; has been Member (i) Committee on Subordinate Legislation (ii) Committee on Public Undertakings (iii) Joint Committee on Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament.

Shri S. S. Bhalerao, Additional Secretary of Rajya Sabha—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1921; educated at Fergusson College, Gokhale College, Institute of Politics and Economics, Law College, Poona; M.A., LL.M.; married; joined as Lecturer in constitutional law and jurisprudence in the Osmania University Law College, Hyderabad 1951-52; Assistant Secretary, Hyderabad Legislative Assembly Secretariat 1952-56; Under Secretary, Law and Judicial Department, Government of Bombay 1956-58; Deputy Secretary, Rajya Sabha in November 1958; Joint Secretary, Rajya Sabha 1963-74; Additional Secretary, Rajya Sabha since 1974.

INDIAN STATE BRANCHES

Andhra Pradesh

Hon. R. Dasaratharama Reddy, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Speaker of Andhra Pra-

desh Legislative Assembly; President, Andhra Pradesh Branch of CPA.—Born 1907; married; advocate; first elected to legislature 1960.

Special interests: bridge.

Hon. (Smt.) Roda Mistry, M.L.C.; Congress Party; Member of Executive Committee, Andhra Pradesh Branch of CPA. Born 1928; married; social worker; Vice-President, Indian Conference of Social Work, Andhra Pradesh Branch 1956-66, President 1966-71, General Secretary since 1971, Vice-President of its Central Executive Committee 1968-70; Chairman of Aram Ghar (Home for Destitutes), Andhra Pradesh; launched Women's Employment Scheme 1958; Secretary of War Widows Organisation, Andhra Pradesh; first elected to the State Assembly 1959; re-elected 1962; nominated to Legislative Council 1968 and appointed Minister for Women's Welfare, Tourism and Cultural Affairs; participated in Seminar on Social Work, Kyoto, Japan; Chairman, Research and Designs Institute, Andhra Pradesh; Director, Indian Tourism Development Corporation; member, T.B. Association and Family Planning Association, Andhra Pradesh Branch; member, Indian Red Cross Society and Advisory Committee of T.B. Hospital, Mental Hospital, etc.; life member Andhra Pradesh Branch of CPA; attended CPA Seminar Ootacamund 1967-68.

Special interests: sports, antiques, handicrafts, welfare and promotion of artisans and artists.

Assam

Hon. Ataur Rahman, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Member, Executive Committee of Assam State Branch of CPA.—Born 1920; married; Lecturer in history, Cotton College, Gauhati, 1943—45 and M.L. College, Barpeta 1948—55; first elected to legislature, 1949; Member, Assam Legislative Assembly representing Jania Constituency since 1967; Deputy Speaker, Assam Legislative Assembly, 1968—70; Minister of Agriculture and Panchayat, Assam, 1970—72; has been honorary Principal, Law College, Barpeta and Chairman, Barpeta Co-operative Jute Mills Ltd.; lawyer; author of 'Bharat Bhramilo'; attended All India Presiding Officers' Conferences, Tri-vandrum 1968, Goa 1969, Srinagar 1970. Special interests: cattle-breeding, reading.

Hon. Gauri Shankar Bhattacharya, M.L.A.; Peoples Democratic Party; Leader of the United Legislature Party; Member, Executive Committee of Assam State Branch of CPA.—Born 1915; married; General Secretary, Assam Students' Federation 1939—41; President, Assam Students' Federation 1941—43; General Secretary, Assam Provincial Trade Union Congress 1951—58; Member, Assam Legislative Assembly since 1952; was Chairman, Public Accounts Committee of Assam Legislative Assembly; author of Assamese booklets: 'Students Movement in Assam', 'Pakistan and National Unity' and 'Food Problem in Assam'.

Special interests: reading, gardening.

Bihar

Dr. the Hon. Chetkar Jha, M.L.C.—Born 1926; M.A. (Allahabad), Ph.D. (London); married; teaching at Patna University since 1948; Vice-President of Indian Political Science Association 1970—72; member (i) General Council of the International Political Science Association 1970—72, (ii) Executive Council of the Indian Public Administrative Association since 1971, (iii) Bihar State Cooperative Council 1963—67; honorary Adviser to the Bihar Government in Department of Local Self Government 1967-68; elected Member of Bihar Legislative Council 1970; Chairman, Employment Liaison Committee, Government of Bihar 1972—75; Chairman, Bihar Municipal Finance Commission since 1974, author of 'The Indian Local Self Government', 'The Indian Government and Politics' and 'The Local Government by Committee'.

Special interests: photography.

Gujarat

Hon. Gosaibhai Chhibabhai Patel, M.L.A.; Congress (O) Party; Member of Executive Committee of Gujarat Branch of CPA.—Born 1921; married; held various offices for many years in a number of public institutions; first elected to the Legislature 1962; Chief Whip of the ruling Congress (O) Party.

Special interests: literature, sports.

Hon. Manubhai Gangaram Vyas, M.L.A.; Congress Party.—Born 1935; married; first

elected to the Legislature 1972; President, Rashtriya Mazdoor Sangh; Joint Secretary, INTUC (Gujarat) 1973; Director, Gujarat Textile Corporation 1974-75.

Special interests: reading, trade union activities.

Haryana

Hon. Sarup Singh, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Speaker of Haryana Legislative Assembly; President, Haryana Branch of CPA.—Born 1919; married; advocate since 1942; Senior Vice-Chairman District Board, Hissar 1948—54; first elected to Punjab Vidhan Sabha 1952; Secretary, Punjab Congress Legislature Party 1954—56; elected Deputy Speaker, Punjab Vidhan Sabha 1954, re-elected 1957; elected Member Haryana Vidhan Sabha 1968, re-elected 1972; Minister of Development and Cooperation, Haryana 1970-71; elected Speaker, Haryana Vidhan Sabha 1973; Vice-President, All India Sewa Samiti since 1974.

Special interests: reading political books.

Hon. Manphul Singh, M.L.A.; Congress Party.—Born 1923; married; Chairman, Panchayat Samiti, Jhajjar; Chairman, Zila Parishad, Rohtak; Chairman, Bharat Sewak Samaj, District Rohtak; Vice-President, Jat Institutions Executive Committee, Rohtak; Vice-President, Jhajjar Education Society, District Rohtak; first elected to Haryana Vidhan Sabha 1967; Deputy Speaker, Haryana Vidhan Sabha 1967.

Special interests: reading.

Himachal Pradesh

Hon. Kultar Chand Rana, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Speaker of Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly; President, Himachal Pradesh Branch of CPA.—Born 1922; LL.B., J.D.; married; started law practice at Dharmsala (Kangra) 1945; has been associated with Cooperative Movement and Panchayati Raj; served as Managing Director, Kangra Central Co-operative Bank; joined Congress 1963; nominated honorary Chairman, Himachal Pradesh Board of School Education 1970; appointed Parliamentary Secretary 1971; elected Speaker 1972; member, Indian Parliamentary Delegation to U.K. 1972; attended CPA Conferences: Malawi 1972, U.K. 1973, Sri Lanka 1974.

Special interests: reading, hiking, journalism.

Hon. R. C. Verma, M.L.A.; Congress Party.—Born 1947; B.Com., LL.B.; single; was General Secretary of Delhi University Students Union 1968-69; went abroad as leader of youth delegation; advocate; elected member Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee and District Congress Committee Executive unanimously in 1968; elected Member, Legislative Assembly 1972; Chairman, Public Accounts Committee since 1974.

Special interests: photography, table tennis, social service.

Karnataka

Hon. R. S. Patil, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Member of the Executive Commit-

tee of Karnataka Branch of CPA.—Born 1933; married; first elected to State Legislative Assembly 1957; Secretary, Karnataka Legislature Congress Party; member of Estimates Committee 1957—62; member of Public Accounts Committee.

Special interests: volley ball, reading, gardening, social work.

Hon. Mallur Ananda Rao, M.L.C.; Independent; Member of the Executive Committee of Karnataka Branch of CPA.—Born 1935; M.A., B.Ed.; married; General Secretary, Karnataka State Secondary Teachers' Association since 1965; hony. Principal, Jeevana Shikshakna Prathisthana, Bangalore; Joint Secretary, All India Secondary Teachers' Federation; first elected to the Legislative Council 1970.

Special interests: yoga, wrestling, volley-ball, teachers' welfare.

Madhya Pradesh

Hon. Gulsher Ahmed, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Speaker of Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly; President, Madhya Pradesh Branch of CPA.—Born 1921; B.A. LL.B., Barrister-at-Law (Inner-Temple London); married; lawyer and farmer; first elected to Parliament 1952; elected to Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly 1962, re-elected 1972; Deputy Minister for Finance and Law 1963; Minister for Law, Parliamentary Affairs, Excise, Sales Tax and other non-Agricultural Taxes 1963—67; nominated Director of Heavy Electricals, Bhopal 1969; Vice-President,

Madhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee, 1970-71; Chairman of the Privileges Committee of the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly 1963—67; attended Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference: Malawi 1972, London 1973, Sri Lanka 1974.

Special interests: farming, reading law books.

Hon. Narayan Prasad Shukla, M.L.A., Deputy Speaker of Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly.—Born 1931; married; journalist and social worker; first elected to Legislature 1972.

Special interests: reading, writing, cricket, indoor games.

Maharashtra

Hon. R. V. Bet, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Deputy Speaker of Maharashtra Legislative Assembly; President, Maharashtra Branch of CPA.—Born 1915; B.A., LL. B.; married; advocate; first elected to the Legislative Assembly 1967, re-elected 1972; elected Chairman, Estimates Committee 1970; has been connected with a number of institutions in the field of industrial cooperation.

Special interests: reading, sports.

Dr. the Hon. V. R. Pandit, M.L.C.; Bharatiya Jana Sangh.—Born 1921; M.A., Ph. D.; married; Professor of Sanskrit, Wilson College, Bombay; astrologer advocate and politician; founder member of Bharatiya Jana Singh; President Bharatiya Jana Sangh Maharashtra; first elected to legis-

ature 1964; worked on important legislative committees; member of several educational literary, cultural and sports associations; attended Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, London in 1966.

Special interests: photography, horse racing, stamp collecting, music.

Meghalaya

Hon. Captain W. A. Sangma, M.L.A.; All Party Hill Leaders Conference; Chief Minister of Meghalaya; Vice-President of Meghalaya State Branch of CPA.—Born 1919; married; served in army during World War II as Commissioned Officer 1942—46; entered politics after war; founder-member Garo National Council, its President 1947-48 and 1950—to date; elected to Garo Hills District Council 1952 and became its first Chief Executive Member; one of founders of Eastern India Tribal Union and became the first Chairman of the Party 1953; first elected to Assam Assembly 1957; Minister of Tribal Areas, Transport, Publicity and Information, Assam 1958—60; one of founders of All Party Hill Leaders Conference, its Chairman since 1961 till now; elected to interim Legislative Assembly of Meghalaya 1970 and became the first Chief Minister of Meghalaya 1970; Indian delegate to the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly 1974.

Special interests: social work, badminton, golf, fishing.

Hon. Maham Singh, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Leader of the Opposition; Vice-

President of Meghalaya State Branch of CPA.—Born 1920; married; joined Shillong Bar Association 1947, twice elected President of the Association; was appointed Assistant Government Advocate and later Government Advocate; first elected to the Assam Legislative Assembly 1952, re-elected 1959 and became Cabinet Minister; elected to the Meghalaya Legislative Assembly 1972 and became Leader of Opposition; member of Assam Pradesh Congress Committee for a number of years; became first President of Meghalaya Pradesh Congress Committee 1972; connected with a number of social and educational institutions.

Special interests: promotion of indigenous dances and music, gardening, cattle-rearing.

Nagaland

Hon. K. V. Kreditsu, M.L.A.; Nagaland Nationalist Organisation; Speaker of Nagaland State Legislative Assembly; President of the Nagaland Branch CPA.—Born 1940; married; Joint Secretary, Naga Students Union, Shillong; General Secretary, Naga Students' Federation, Gauhati 1964-65; Headmaster, Chiechama Government-Aided High School 1965-66; first elected to Legislative Assembly 1966, re-elected 1969; elected Deputy Speaker of Nagaland Legislative Assembly in 1969; re-elected Member of the Assembly 1974 and elected Speaker of the State Legislative Assembly in 1974.

Special interests: reading, hunting.

Orissa

Hon. Braja Mohan Mohanty, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Speaker of Orissa Legislative Assembly.—Born 1923; B.A. (Hons.), LL.B.; married; advocate; Secretary, Puri District Students' Federation 1939; joined 'Quit India' movement 1942; member of the Working Committee of Indian National Union of Students 1950; joined Puri Bar 1951; elected Municipal Councillor, Puri 1951; Associate Public Prosecutor, Puri District 1964; associated with a number of educational institutions; founder-member of Puri Mahila College, Nimapara College and President of Nimapara College; elected to Orissa Legislative Assembly 1967, re-elected 1971, 1974; Chief Whip of Assembly Congress Party 1967, elected Secretary of Congress Legislature Party 1971; President Orissa Pradesh Congress Committee 1971; Minister of Revenue, Irrigation and Power and Mining 1972-73; Speaker of Orissa Legislative Assembly since 1974.

Special interests: reading, writing of articles on political and economic problems and on literature.

Hon. Natabar Pradhan, M.L.A.; Swatantra Party.—Born 1922; B.A., B.L.; Married; advocate and cultivator; Director of many Apex Cooperative Institutions; President Apex Cooperative Marketing Society and Boudh Central Cooperative Bank; participated in "Quit India" movement; was active Prajamandal worker during Ruler's regime in Boudh; edited underground paper "Swadhin Boudh Barta";

joined Congress after Independence; was member of Executive of Utkal P.C.C. and President of D.C.C. Phulbani; joined Swatantra Party 1971; elected to Orissa Assembly 1971; Minister of Tribal and Rural Welfare and Law 1971-72; re-elected to Orissa Assembly 1974; Chairman P.A.C.; Executive Member Bhartiya Lok Dal Orissa Branch and President Phulbani District Unit.

Special interests: story-writing, social welfare, cooperation.

Punjab

Dr. the Hon. Kewal Krishan, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Speaker of Punjab Legislative Assembly; President of Punjab Branch of CPA.—Born 1923; married; Member of Municipal Committee, Mukerian (Hoshiarpur) 1954—69 and its Vice-President for two years; Manager, Arya Girls High School, Mukerian; first elected to the Legislative Assembly 1969, re-elected 1972; elected Deputy Speaker 1972; elected Speaker 1973; keenly interested in medical science; attended CPA Conference held at Colombia in 1974 and CPA seminar in England in 1975.

Special interests: study of literature, political science.

Hon. Surjit Singh Barnala, M.L.A.; Shiromani Akali Dal.—Born 1925; married; entered legal profession 1946; first elected to the Legislative Assembly 1967, re-elected 1969; Education Minister, Punjab 1969—71; re-elected to the Assembly 1972; General Secretary of Akali Dal;

President, World Guru Nanak Foundation for two years.

Special interests: travelling, painting, reading, mountaineering.

Rajasthan

Hon. Ram Kishore Vyas, M.L.A. Congress Party; Speaker of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly; President, Rajasthan Branch of CPA.—Born 1908; B.A., LL.B.; married; actively participated in national freedom struggle; advocate Rajasthan High Court; Secretary, Jaipur Bar Association 1944—47; Member, Jaipur Municipal Council 1938—52; Chairman of various committees of Jaipur Municipality; elected member of the Central Advisory Board, Jaipur State; lecturer Law College Jaipur 1949—52; Member Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1952—62 and 1967—72; Cabinet Minister, Rajasthan Government since 1952 holding various portfolios; Deputy Leader of Congress Legislature Party in Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1955; Chancellor, Hindi Sahitya Sadavart, Jaipur; Member, North Zonal Council; Editor 'Saba Granthavali'; President, Provincial Congress Committee 1966-67; Member, Congress Parliamentary Board and Working Committee, Rajasthan; Member AICC; Chairman, Bangla Desh Sahayata Samiti (Rajasthan Branch); Chairman, Shaheed Smarak Samiti, Rajasthan; President, Indo-GDR Friendship Association, Rajasthan Branch; Chairman, Committee on Administrative Reforms in Rajasthan; Member, Executive Council of the Institute of Constitutional and Parlia-

mentary Studies, New Delhi; attended CPA conferences; Blantyre 1972, London 1973.

Hon. Ram Singh Yadav, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Deputy Speaker of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly.—Born 1928; M.A., LL.B.; married; advocate; Pradhan, Panchayat Samiti, Kishangarh Basti 1959—65; Vice-Chairman, Agricultural Produce Marketing Committee, Khairthal 1965—71 and Chairman since 1971 to date; Chairman, Central Cooperative Bank, Alwar 1967-68; first elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1972; Chairman, Press Gallery Advisory Committee and Decoration Committee of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly; Vice-President of MLA's Club; Vice-President of Peace and Solidarity Council for Rajasthan; attended CPA Conference, Colombo in 1974.

Special interests: agriculture and rural development, law, sports.

Tamil Nadu

Hon. Kavignar Ka Vezhavendan, M.L.A.; Dravida Munetra Kazhagam; Member of the Executive Committee of Tamil Nadu Branch of CPA.—Born 1940; B.A., B.L.; married; advocate; Member Dravida Kazhagam and Dravida Munetra Kazhagam; Member Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly since 1967; Minister for Labour, Tamil Nadu 1969; Chairman, Estimates Committee 1971-72; Leader of several labour unions; editor of "Tamil Then", a monthly journal and author of many books

in Tamil; attended Labour Conference, Geneva 1970.

Special interests: reading, attending dramas, film shows.

Hon. K. Rajaram, M.L.C.; Congress (O) Party; Leader of the Opposition in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Council; Vice-President of Tamil Nadu Branch of CPA.—Born 1909; married; President of the District Congress Committee for 9 years; took part in the freedom movement and was in jail for 5 years; first elected to Madras Legislative Assembly 1946; Member of Madras State Legislature since 1946 except for the period 1957—62; Minister in the State Cabinet 1953-54; President of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee 1957—59 and Treasurer of the Committee since then.

Special interests: reading, organisational work.

Uttar Pradesh

Hon. Vasudeva Singh, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Speaker of Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly.—Born 1915; married; was lecturer in P.B. College, Pratapgarh City, U.P.; joined Praja Socialist Party 1953; was Chairman of Pratapgarh City Local Body; honorary Flight Officer 1947 and helped in evacuation of marooned Indian refugees from Pakistan; elected district secretary of the Socialist Party of India in 1954, state secretary in 1956 and all-India joint secretary in 1958; elected Chairman of the U.P. Socialist Party 1961; personal secretary of the Socialist Leader

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia 1964; elected joint secretary of the Socialist Party 1964 and to its National Executive 1965; first elected to the U.P. Assembly 1969; Deputy Speaker of the U.P. Assembly 1969—74; elected Speaker of the Assembly 1974; attended CPA Conferences: Malawi 1972, London 1973 and Colombo 1974.

Special interests: reading, sports, study tours.

Hon. (Smt.) Mohsina Kidwai, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Minister for Harijan and Social Welfare; Member of Executive Committee of Uttar Pradesh Branch of CPA.—Born 1932; married; first elected as member of Legislative Council in 1960; political and social worker.

Special interests: photography, sports, politics, social work and reading.

West Bengal

Hon. Apurbalal Mazumdar, M.L.A.; Independent; Speaker of West Bengal Legislative Assembly; President, West Bengal Branch of CPA.—Born 1925; M.A., LL.B.; married; advocate Calcutta High Court; first elected to legislature 1957, re-elected 1962, 1967, 1969, 1971 and 1972; connected with active politics since school-days and became a follower of Netaji Subhas Bose; President (i) Bengal S.C. Students' Federation 1945—48 (ii) Progressive Backward People's Association 1951 (iii) Sara Bangla Agragami Kisan Sabha 1970 (iv) Manbik Adhikar Sanrakshan Samiti 1973 (v) Medico-Psychological Research Society, Calcutta 1974 (vi) Gov-

erning Body of Dinabandhu Mahavidyalaya Bongaon; founder-secretary Netaji Vidyatan, Howrah, Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Society 1972 and Bengal Scheduled Castes' Federation 1975; Vice-President, All India Youth League, 1971 and All India S. C. Students Federation 1945—56; Chairman (i) St. Johns Ambulance, Howrah and (ii) Central Refugee Council 1970; Secretary, All India Forward Block, West Bengal State Committee and Member Executive Committee All India Forward Block (since resigned in 1972); attended CPA Conferences held in 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974.

Special interests: books, travels, sports, social service.

Hon. Haridas Mitra, M.L.A.; Congress Party; Deputy Speaker of West Bengal Legislative Assembly.—Born 1914; M.A.; married; started political life in early student days; jailed in 1935 when Secretary of Calcutta University Students Union; sentenced to death in 1945 being Netaji's INA Secret Service man, death sentence commuted to life imprisonment on Gandhiji's intervention, released on the eve of independence in 1947; first elected to legislature 1957, re-elected 1967, 1972; led a refugee movement in 1959 as General Secretary, All Bengal Refugee Association; founder President of the College at Chakdaha; President, Indo-GDR Friendship Society West Bengal; President, Jessops Employees Union, Calcutta; General Secretary, Bangladesh Mukti Sangram Sahayak Samiti 1971; President, Bharat Bangladesh Friendship Society 1975; Secretary,

Praja Socialist Party, West Bengal 1957—61; Secretary, Bangla Congress Pradesh Committee 1966—69.

Special interests: literature, travelling, visit to European countries.

Shri Te. Hanumanthappa, Secretary Karnataka Legislature—*Secretary to Indian State Branches delegation*.—Born 1914; B.A. (Hons.), B.L.; practised as an advocate; served as a Lieutenant for four years in the Second World War; Secretary, Madras Legislature 1955—64; Secretary Karnataka Legislature since 1965; Secretary, Madras Branch of CPA till 1964; Secretary and Treasurer, Karnataka Branch of CPA since 1965; attended CPA Conferences as Secretary, Indian State Branches delegation; New Delhi 1957, London 1961, Nassau 1968.

Special interests: swimming.

JAMAICA

Hon. S. Mullings, M.P.; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Youth and Community Development.—*Leader of the delegation*.

KENYA

Hon. H. C. Wariithi, M. P.; Kenya African National Union; Assistant Minister of State, President's Office.—*Leader of the delegation*.—Born 1931; married; advocate of High Court of Kenya since 1959; first elected to Parliament in 1963;

founder member of KANU (life member); participated in CPA seminar U.K. in 1966.
Special interests: tours, tennis, swimming.

Hon. M. K. Arap Keino, M.P.; Kenya African National Union.—Born 1937; married; economist; Statistical Officer in Ministry of Economic Planning 1967-68; Provincial Statistical Officer in Ministry of Economic Planning 1969; first elected to Parliament 1969.

Special interests: farming, athletics.

Hon. (Mrs.) Grace Onyango, M.P.; Kenya African National Union.—Born 1934; married; teacher 1950—56; Councillor, Municipality of Kisumu 1954-55; acting Mayor 1955; Mayor 1956—58; first elected to Parliament 1969; has visited Bulgaria, East Germany, United Kingdom, U.S.A. and India in various representative capacities.

Special interests: reading, social welfare activities.

Mr. H. B. N. Gicheru, Clerk Assistant of the National Assembly.—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1944; single; joined Parliament in 1970 as Clerk-Assistant; attached to British House of Commons 1972; responsible for legislation and research on Parliamentary affairs; author; member of Committee on Legislation and Municipal Affairs—Kenya National Chamber of Commerce; attended CPA conferences; Australia 1970, Malaysia 1971 and Malawi 1972; attended African CPA Regional Conference in Botswana 1974.

Special interests: athletics, reading.

LESOTHO

Hon. S. A. Thakalekoala, M. P.; Basutoland Congress Party.—Born 1907; married; member of Basutoland Congress Party since its inception in 1952; first elected to Parliament 1973; treasurer of the National Executive of the party since 1973.

Special interests: tennis.

Mr. B. A. Tlelase, Clerk to the National Assembly; Secretary, Lesotho Branch of CPA.—Secretary to the delegation.—Born 1922; started career as teacher; President, National Teachers Union 1963—68; President, National Football League 1957—68; Secretary-General, Lesotho Sports Council 1970—73 and 1974-75; Deputy-Clerk, National Assembly 1968—70, Clerk 1969—75; board-member of Maseru Tyre Co., Thaba-Bosiu Ceramics and Lesotho Airways Corporation; Secretary for Training 1970-71; attended (i) African Regional Conference, Botswana 1974, (ii) CPA Conference, Sri Lanka 1974, (iii) African Regional Conference, Lesotho 1975.

Special interests: music, sports, cinema, reading, writing short stories, horse riding.

MALAWI

Hon. R. A. Banda, S. C., M.P.; Malawi Congress Party; Minister of Justice and Attorney General and Minister of Local Government; member of Executive Committee Malawi Branch of CPA.—*Leader of the delegation.*—Born 1937; married; Barrister-at-Law; Sports Officer 1962; Legal

Aid Advocate 1966-67; State Advocate 1967; Local Courts Commissioner 1968; Resident Magistrate 1968-69; Senior Resident Magistrate 1969-70; Director of Public Prosecutions 1970-72; Attorney General and Secretary for Justice 1972-74; appointed Senior Counsel 1972; appointed Minister for Parliamentary Elections 1975.

Special interests: football, reading.

Hon. E. C. I. Bwanali, M.P.; Minister of Health.—Born 1946; married; took diploma in Public Administration; Administrative Officer 1969-73; nominated Member of Parliament 1973 and Deputy Speaker 1974.

Special interests: football, reading.

Hon. J. S. Chilapondwa, M.P.; Deputy Speaker of Parliament; Member of Executive Committee of Malawi Branch of CPA.—Born 1935; married; teacher 1954-57; Court Clerk 1957-59; attended six months' course on co-operative societies in India and obtained diploma 1964-65; elected Member of Parliament 1968.

Special interests: football, reading.

Mr. L. M. Khofi, Clerk of Parliament; Honorary Secretary, Malawi Branch of CPA.—*Secretary to the delegation.*—Born 1942; education: High School, Institute of Public Administration, Malawi, Oxford University; married; joined Government service 1964; Assistant District Commissioner and District Commissioner, 1965-66; Section Officer, Ministry of Works & Supplies 1967, Ministry of

Finance 1968-69; Public Service Inspector 1970; Commissioner for Training 1972-74; Clerk of Parliament 1968, 1970-72 and 1974-75; attended (i) CPA Conferences: Australia 1970, Malaysia 1971, Malawi 1972, Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) African Regional Conference, Botswana 1974; attachment to House of Commons 1971; has travelled widely in Africa, Europe and the Far East.

MALAYSIA—MAIN BRANCH

Hon. Datuk Musa Hitam, S. P. M. J., M.P.; United Malays National Organisation; Minister of Primary Industries; Member of Executive Committee of Malaysia Branch of CPA.—*Leader of the delegation.*—Born 1934; married; Malaysian Civil Service 1959-63; Political Secretary to Minister of Transport 1964; Executive Secretary, United Malays National Organisation 1965-68; first elected to Parliament 1968; Assistant Minister to Deputy Prime Minister 1969; Chairman, Federal Land Development Authority 1971-72; Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry 1973-74; attended CPA Conferences, Malaysia 1971, Malawi 1972; attended Executive Committee meetings representing Southeast Asia; West Indies 1971, Singapore 1972.

Hon. Lim Cho Hock, M.P.; Democratic Action Party.—Born 1940; married; advocate and solicitor; Deputy Secretary General of Democratic Action Party; first elected to Parliament 1969.

Special interests: reading, swimming, social work.

Senator the Hon. F. S. Gabriel; Malaysian Indian Congress (National Front).—Born 1933; married; Police Inspector for 10 years; Officer-in-Charge Company Security for 7 years; first elected to Parliament 1969; attended (i) 110th session of IPU in Yaounde, Cameroons 1972 (ii) 12th Area CPA Conference in Melbourne, Australia 1973.

Special interests: badminton, table tennis, hockey, reading.

Tuan Hj. Ahmad Hasmuni bin Hj. Hussein, Deputy Clerk of Parliament.—*Secretary to the delegation.*—Born 1935; married.

Special interests: reading.

MALAYSIAN STATE BRANCHES

Johore

Hon. Tuan Haji Redzuan bin Hj. Salim, AMN, PIS, MLA: Barisan National (National Front).—Born 1930; married; businessman; first elected to Legislative Assembly in 1969; attended CPA Conferences at Kuala-Lumpur 1971 and at Malawi 1972.

Special interests: sightseeing, fishing.

Kedah

Hon. Tuan Haji Safirol bin Haji Hashim, PJK., M.L.A.; Barisan National (National Front).—Born 1940; married; businessman and politician; first elected to the legislature in 1974; Chairman of the Youth Organisation, North Kedah.

Special interests: badminton, football.

Malacca

Hon. Yang Berhormat Datuk Haji Ahmad bin Haji Manap, DKSJ, PPN, J.P., M.L.A.; United Malays National Organisation; Speaker of Legislative Assembly; President of the Malacca Branch of the CPA.—Born 1916; married; politician; first elected to the legislature in 1969.

Special interests: football.

Negeri Sembilan

Hon. Encik Thong Hiang Kim, P.P.T., J.P., P.J.K., M.L.A.; National Front; Member of State Executive Council.—Born 1915; married; businessman; first elected to the legislature in 1959.

Special interests: reading, gardening.

Pahang

Hon. Dato Kurnia Budiman Mohd. Khairuddin bin Mohd. Kawi, A.M.N., M.L.A.; United Malaysian National Organisation; Speaker of Legislative Assembly; President Pahang Branch of CPA.—Born 1928; married; journalist; nominated as member of the then Pahang State Legislative Council 1956—59; first elected to the legislature in 1959; nominated Member of State Executive Council 1959—69.

Special interests: writing.

Penang

Hon. S. P. Chelliah, J.P.; M.L.A.; Barisan National; Member of State Executive Council.—Born 1939; married; first elected to legislature in 1969; interested in trade

union movement, religious and social activities; attended CPA Conference in London 1973.

Special interests: reading, badminton.

Perak

Hon. Mohd. Bashir bin Haji Mohd. Bahari, P.J.K., M.L.A., National Front.—Born 1934; married; Company Director; first elected to Legislature 1974.

Special interests: reading, swimming.

Sabah

Hon. Datuk Kassim Kamidin, P.G.D.K., M.L.A.; United Sabah National Organisation.—Born 1922; married; elected Chairman of the Tawan Rural District Council 1964; first elected to Legislature 1967; appointed Chairman of the Sabah Ports Authority 1971; Assistant Minister to Minister of Communications and Works 1975.

Special interests: reading, golf, music.

Sarawak

Dr. the Hon. Wong Soon Kai, P.B.S., M.C.N.; United People's Party; Minister for Agriculture and Community Development.—Born 1927; P. B. S.; M. B. B. S., F.R.C.S. (England and Edinburgh); married; served in Sibuan King Howe Government Hospital as surgeon since 1959 and established his own clinic and surgical hospital in 1971; first elected to Council Negri (Legislative Assembly) 1974; Life member of Sarawak Branch of CPA; State Minister for Agriculture and Community Development since 1974.

Special interests: golf, social gathering, reading.

Selangor

Hon. Dato Haji Harun bin Haji Idris, S.P.M.S., S.M.S.; M.L.A.; Barisan Nasional; Chief Minister of Selangor State; Vice-President, Selangor Branch of CPA.—Born 1925; barrister-at-law; married; first elected to the legislature in 1969.

Special interests: football, golf.

Trengganu

Hon. Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Ismail, S.M.T. P.J.K., M.L.A.; National Front; Member of Executive Committee, Trengganu State Branch of CPA.—Born 1936; married; Deputy Commissioner of Land and Mines, Trengganu; District Officer Dungun, Trengganu; Deputy State Development Officer, Trengganu; businessman; first elected to legislature 1974.

Special interests: tennis, golf, travelling.

Tuan Syed Ali bin Syed Idrus Alhabshi, P.J.K.; United Malays National Organisation; Clerk of Legislative Assembly of Malacca; Secretary, Malacca Branch of CPA.—*Secretary to Malaysian State Branches delegation.*—Born 1921; married; public administrator.

Special interests: sports.

MALTA

Hon. Emmanuel Attard Bezzina, M.P.; Labour Party; Speaker of House of Representatives.—*Leader of the delegation.*—Born 1921; Degree in Pharmacy 1945;

married; first elected to Parliament 1947; Deputy Speaker 1956; Chief Whip 1962; attended CPA Conferences: Jamaica 1964, Sri Lanka 1974; led Parliamentary delegations to Libya 1974 and 1975 and to Egypt 1974; attended (i) Council of Europe Speakers' Conference 1974 and 1975 (ii) Socialist International, Hamburg 1959 (iii) Freedom from Colonialism Conference in Tunis 1961.

Special interests: photography, swimming, sailing.

Hon. Joseph Brincat, M.P.; Labour Party. Born 1944; married; graduated in Arts and Economics from London University; LL.D. from University of Malta 1970; lawyer; entered politics 1970; first elected to Parliament 1971; Leader of Maltese delegation to Council of Europe since 1972.

Special interests: football, music.

Hon. Albert Borg Olivier De Puget, M.P.; Nationalist Party.—Born 1932; LL.D. (Royal University of Malta); single; Assistant-Secretary General for Political Affairs of the Nationalist Party; President of the Nationalist Party Youth Movement; first elected to Parliament 1966; Government Whip 1966—71; Opposition Whip 1971—74; Parliamentary Delegate to Council of Europe 1966—74; International Secretary of the Nationalist Party 1975.

Special interests: reading, music, walking.

Mr. Denis Cauchi.—*Secretary to the delegation.*—Born 1937; married; Civil Servant; Secretary to the Maltese Parlia-

mentary Delegation to the Council of Europe sessions 1972, 1973.

Special interests: archery, swimming.

MAURITIUS

Hon. Raouf Bundhun, M.L.A.; Muslim Committee of Action; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Youth and Sports—*Leader of the delegation.*—Born 1937; married; served as Public Assistance Officer 1958—61; teacher of English and History at St. Andrews College 1961—69; first elected to the legislature 1967; participated in CPA Group Visit to U.K. 1969; attended General Assembly of AIPLF in Dakar as leader of Mauritian delegation and elected Member of Executive Committee. Special interests: theatre, music, football.

Hon. M. Mason, M.L.A.; Labour Party; Parliamentary Secretary, Prime Minister's Office; Member of Executive Committee of Mauritius Branch of CPA.—Born 1913; married; primary school teacher; Police constable; labourer; trade unionist, journalist; first elected to the legislature 1967; attended CPA African Regional Conference in Sierra Leone 1970.

Special interests: reading, theatre.

Hon. D. Ramdin, M.L.A.; Labour Party.—Born 1920; married; owner planter; first elected to the legislature 1967; attended CPA Conference, Malawi 1972.

Special interests: deer hunting, horse-riding, reading.

Mr. Maurice Bru, Clerk Assistant of Legislative Assembly—*Secretary to the delegation*.—Born 1927; married; Assistant Secretary, Civil Service Union 1945-46; Secretary and Accountant, Medical Services 1948-49; Reporter Legislative Council 1949—59; Chief Reporter 1959—62; Clerk Assistant, Legislative Assembly since 1962; participated in Regional African Seminar, Kenya 1970; Parliamentary Practice and Procedure Course, Westminster, London 1971; Attachment. House of Commons 1971; attended (i) Annual CPA conference, Malawi 1972 (ii) Regional African Conference, Tanzania 1973 (iii) Third Speakers' Conference, Zambia 1973 and (iv) Annual CPA Conference, Sri Lanka 1974.

Special interests: theatre, swimming, soccer, horse-racing.

NAURU

Hon. J. A. Bop, M.P.; Minister of Finance—*Leader of the delegation*.—Born 1922; married; politician; first elected to Parliament 1966.

Special interest: golf.

Hon. R. J. T. Kun, M.P.; Member of Executive Committee of Nauru Branch of CPA.—Born 1942; married; teacher; first elected to Parliament 1971.

Special interests: chess, photography.

NEW ZEALAND

Hon. E. E. Isbey, M.P.; Labour Party, Parliamentary Under Secretary to Minister of Civil Aviation and Meteorological Services,

to Minister of Transport and to Minister of Railways; Member of Executive Committee, New Zealand Branch of CPA—*Leader of the delegation*.—Born 1914; married; emigrated from Britain 1946; factory manager, farm worker, water-sider; Executive member and President, Auckland Waterside Workers' Union for 12 years; National President, Waterside Workers' Union for 11 years; has been Vice-President of Labour Party; first elected to Parliament 1969.

Special interests: arts, theatre, sports.

Hon. (Mrs.) Mary Dorothy Batchelor, M.P.; Labour Party; Member of Executive Committee, New Zealand Branch of CPA.—Married; first elected to Parliament 1972; trade union organiser; City Councillor.

Special interests: surfing, dancing.

Hon. L. F. Sloane, M.P.; National Party; Member of Executive Committee, New Zealand Branch of CPA.—Born 1918; married; reporter, "Northland Times"; joined army 1940 and served in North Africa and Italy campaigns, returning to New Zealand in 1945; director, Northern Wairoa Dairy Company and Bobby Calf Pool; member, local Agricultural and Pastoral Association and patron of district's Racing Club; former President of Northern Wairoa Returned Services Association and member of the NZRSA Dominion Council representing Northland; first elected to Parliament 1960 and then in 1969 when appointed Chairman of the Local Bills Committee.

Special interests: rugby, football, tennis, cricket and lawn bowls.

Mr. C. P. Littlejohn, Deputy Clerk of House of Representatives; Assistant Hon. Secretary New Zealand Branch of CPA—*Secretary to the delegation*.—Born 1923; married; LL.M. from Victoria University of Wellington; joined Public Service, Land and Survey Department 1940; served World War II RNZAF in New Zealand and Pacific 1941—45; appointed Clerk of Journals and Records, 1954; Second Clerk Assistant 1964; Clerk Assistant 1971; Deputy Clerk 1974; attended (i) CPA, Conferences: New Zealand 1965, Uganda 1967, Australia 1970, Malawi 1972, (ii) Eighth Australian Area Conference, Tasmania 1965, (iii) Eleventh Australasian Area Conference, New Zealand 1971.

Special interests: Yachting, gardening.

SIERRA LEONE

Hon. Tom Smith, M.P.; All People's Congress; Minister of State and Leader of the House; Member of the Executive Committee of the Sierra Leone Branch of CPA—*Leader of the delegation*.—Born 1936; married; businessman; first elected to Parliament 1973.

Special interests: sports, music and concerts.

Hon. S. B. Goba, M.P.; All People's Congress; Member of the Executive Committee of the Sierra Leone Branch of CPA.—Born 1924; married; politician; first elected to Parliament in 1951.

Special interests: films, dancing, plays.

Hon. F. S. Macauley, J.P., M.P.; All People's Congress.—Born 1904; married;

politician; Commissioner for Oaths; first elected to Parliament 1973.

Special interests: films, reading.

Mr. A. M. Dumbuya, Secretary of the Sierra Leone Branch of CPA—*Secretary to the delegation*.—Born 1943; married; Editor of Debates 1970-72; Deputy Clerk of Parliament since 1972; attended African Regional CPA Conference Dar-es-Salaam 1973 and CPA Conference, London, 1973.

Special interests: dancing, table-tennis, swimming.

SINGAPORE

Hon. Jek Yeun Thong, M.P.; People's Action Party; Minister for Culture—*Leader of the delegation*.—Born 1930; married; journalist; first elected to Parliament in 1963; Member of Executive Committee of Singapore Branch of CPA 1967-68.

Hon. Lai Tha Chai, M.P.; Peoples' Action Party; Member of Executive Committee of Singapore Branch of CPA.—Born 1937; married; journalist.

Special interests: cultural and educational activities.

SRI LANKA

Hon. M. C. Gopallawa, M.P.; Sri Lanka Freedom Party.—Born 1941; married; graduated from University of Ceylon; first elected to Parliament 1970; Member of House of Representatives 1970—72; Member of National State Assembly since

inauguration of Republic of Sri Lanka 1972.

Special interests: student activities.

Hon. K. Jeyakkody, M.P.; Federal Party.—Born 1916; married; law graduate; Attorney-at-Law of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka; Member of Ceylon Judicial Service 1951—59; first elected to Parliament 1970; Member of House of Representatives 1970—72; Member of National State Assembly since inauguration of Republic of Sri Lanka 1972.

Special interests: cooperative movement.

Mr. S. S. Wijesinha, Clerk of the National State Assembly, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of Sri Lanka Branch of CPA—*Secretary to the delegation.*—Born 1921; B.A. LL.M. married; Barrister-at-Law Attorney-at-Law of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka; appointed Crown-Counsel 1948; represented Ceylon at the International Law Association Conference, New York 1958; Member, Ceylon delegation to the U.N. General Assembly 1959; represented Ceylon at the International Civil Aviation (Legal) Conference, Tokyo 1963; Clerk of the National State Assembly and Registrar of Constitutional Court of Sri Lanka since May 1972; attended meetings of the Association of Secretaries-General of Parliaments, Geneva 1967, New Delhi 1969, Rome 1972, Ivory Coast 1973; Romania 1974 and Sri Lanka 1975; Member of its Executive Committee since 1972; attended CPA Conferences: New Zealand 1965, Canada 1966, Uganda 1967, Bahamas 1968, Trinidad and Tobago 1969, Australia 1970, Malawi 1972,

United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974; President of the Classical Association of Sri Lanka and Vice-President of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

Senator the Hon. John Daniel, M.P.; People's National Movement—*Leader of the delegation.*—Born 1929; married; was second class clerk, first class clerk, senior clerical officer, principal officer, auditor; appointed Senator and Parliamentary Secretary 1970.

Special interests: music, reading, sports.

Hon. Roy Richardson, M.P.; United Progressive Party; Leader of the Opposition; Joint Vice-President of the Trinidad and Tobago Branch of CPA.—Born 1926; married; Barrister-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn); Journalist at Telegraph and Argus, Bradford 1953-54, Express News & Features, London, 1954-55; Sub-Editor, Trinidad Guardian, 1958-59; Editor Shell Topics, 1959-60; first elected to Parliament 1966; Deputy Speaker 1966—70; Parliamentary Secretary 1970—72; Leader of the Opposition since 1972; Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee since 1973; attended (i) seventeenth CPA Parliamentary Course, London 1968 (ii) CPA Caribbean Regional Conferences: Grenada 1970, Jamaica 1973, Bahamas 1974 (iii) CPA Conferences: Malawi 1972, United Kingdom 1973, Sri Lanka 1974 (iv) meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Council, Grand Cayman 1973.

Special interests: folk music, folk dancing, paintings.

Hon. George Williams, M.P.; People's National Movement.—Born 1921; single; Senior Staff at Texaco Trinidad Inc.; Co-operative Member Texaco Employees Credit Union; Chairman, Southern Darts League; Member of Naparima Lodge 7108 E.C.; a Trinidad cycling representative from 1948 to 1952; first elected to Legislature 1971.

Special interests: billiards, lawn tennis, darts.

Mr. J. E. Carter, Clerk of House of Representatives—*Secretary to the delegation.*—Born 1929; married; Clerk-Assistant, House of Representatives 1961—64; Clerk of the Senate 1964—75; Clerk of the House 1975 to-date; attended (i) CPA Conferences: Uganda 1967, Bahamas 1968, Trinidad and Tobago 1969, Malawi 1972 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) Caribbean Regional Conferences: Trinidad and Tobago 1966 and Grenada 1970 (iii) Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, Caribbean Region, Bermuda 1974; Secretary of Trinidad & Tobago Branch of CPA.

Special interests: helping the poor and aged, cricket, football, athletics.

UNITED KINGDOM

Rt. Hon. Lord Shepherd; Labour Party; Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords—*Leader of the delegation.*—Born 1918; married; served as Lieutenant R.A.S.C. 1939—45 War in North Africa, Sicily and Italy; Opposition Chief Whip 1959—64; Captain of the Gentle-at-Arms and Labour Chief Whip in the House of

Lords 1964—67; Privy Councillor 1965; Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs 1967; Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs 1968; Deputy Chairman of Opposition 1970—74; Lord Privy Seal since 1974; attended CPA Conferences: Canada 1966, Sri Lanka 1974.

Special interests: golf.

Rt. Hon. William Whitelaw, C.H., M.C., M.P.; Conservative Party.—Born 1918; married; first elected to Parliament 1955; Assistant whip and Government whip 1959—62; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour 1962—64; Opposition Chief whip 1964—70; Lord President of the Council, Leader of the House of Commons 1970—72; Secretary of State for Northern Ireland 1972-73; Secretary of State for Employment 1973-74; Chairman Conservative Party 1974-75; Deputy Leader of the Opposition.

Special interests: farming, golf.

Hon. Leo Abse, M.P.; Labour Party.—Born 1917; married; solicitor by profession; first elected to Parliament 1958; responsible for altering British laws relating to divorce, homosexuality, family planning, legitimacy, widows damages and adoption.

Special interests: art, history, penal problems.

Hon. Maurice Edelman, M.P.; Labour Party.—Born 1911; M.A. (Cambridge); married; author and journalist; served as war correspondent with Picture Post in

France and N. Africa; author of 12 novels and several non-fiction works; President Alliance Francaise in Great Britain; Hony. Director-General Franco-British Council; Vice-President Franco-British Parliamentary Relations Committee; Vice-Chairman British Council 1951—67; delegate to Consultative Assembly Council of Europe 1949—51 and 1965—70.

Special interests: tennis, painting.

Hon. James Johnson, M.P.; Labour Party; Member of Executive Committee of U.K. Branch of CPA.—Born 1908; married; first elected to Parliament in 1950; school master; trade union official; chairman, Coventry Labour Party; Member, Coventry City Council; attended CPA Conferences: London 1973, Colombo 1974; Member CPA delegations: Nigeria 1952, Sierra Leone 1965, Tanzania 1969.

Special interests: soccer, cricket.

Hon. Michael Marshall, M.P., Conservative Party.—Born 1930; M.B.A. (Harvard), married; Branch Manager and later Managing Director of the United Steel Companies India (Private) Limited in Bombay and Calcutta; Honorary Secretary of U.K. Citizens Association of Bombay 1953—66; Chairman and founder of the English Speaking Union, Bombay Branch 1960—64; Managing Director of Head Wrightson Export Co. Ltd. and Management Consultant with Urwick Orr and Partners Ltd. 1967—74; presently Chairman of Marshall Consultants Limited and a regular broadcaster on industry, international affairs, overseas development and

until recently) cricket commentator for the B.B.C.; first elected to Parliament in 1974; Member of the House of Commons Select Committee on Overseas Development; Joint Secretary of the Conservative Party Industry Committee.

Special interests: international affairs, overseas development, industry, cricket.

Hon. Neil Marten, M.P., Conservative; Member of Executive Committee of the U.K. Branch of CPA.—Born 1916; married; solicitor 1939; war service 1940—45; diplomatic service 1947—57; Member of Parliament 1959 to date; Member, CPA Delegation to Canada 1970.

Special interests: tennis, skiing, mountaineering.

Hon. Kenneth Clarke, M.P., Conservative Party.—Born 1940; educated Cambridge University; married; called to the Bar by Grays Inn 1964; Chairman of Cambridge University Conservative Association 1962; Chairman of Federation of Conservative Students 1963-64; President of the Cambridge Union 1963; first elected to Parliament 1970; PPS to Solicitor General 1971-72; Government Whip 1972—74; Land Commissioner of the Treasury 1974; Government Whip for Europe and member of British delegations to Council of Europe and Western European Union 1973-74.

Special interests: football, photography.

Hon. Laurie Pavitt, M.P., Labour and Co-operative; Member of Executive Committee of U.K. Branch of CPA.—Born 1914; married; first elected to Parliament in

1959; National Secretary, Cooperative Youth; Secretary, Anglo-Chinese Development Society; Education Officer, Cooperative Movement; National Organiser, Medical Practitioners Union; Parliamentary Private Secretary 1964—67; Member (i) Regional Hospital Board (ii) Medical Research Council (iii) Hearing Aid Council; appointed Assistant Government Whip 1974; Member, U.K. Executive Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Special interests: organisation of cooperative societies, overseas aid, music, poetry.

Hon. Julius Silverman, M.P., Labour Party.—Born 1905; married; educated at Leeds Central School; called to the Bar (Grays Inn) 1930; Birmingham City Councillor 1934—45; first elected to Parliament in 1945; Chairman, Indo-British Parliamentary Group; Chairman, India League; member CPA Delegation to India 1965.

Special interests: reading, chess.

Mr. P. G. Molloy, O.B.E, M.C., Secretary, U.K. Branch of CPA—*Secretary to the delegation.*—Born 1914; married; commissioned Somersat Light Infantry 1934; served World War II; Assistant Military Attache, Washington 1945—48; Assistant Game Warden, Sudan 1949—54; Director, National Parks, Tanganyika 1954—60; appointed Secretary, UK Branch of CPA 1961; attended CPA Conferences: U.K. 1961, Malaysia 1963, New Zealand 1965, Uganda 1967, Trinidad and Tobago 1969, Australia 1970, Malawi 1972, U.K. 1973.

Special interests: nature conservation, gardening.

Hon. (Mrs.) Leupepe Faimaala Phillips, M.P.—*Leader of the delegation.*—Born 1934; married; Registered Nursing Sister (New Zealand); first elected to Parliament in 1970; Member of House Committee; attended CPA Conferences: Malaysia 1971 and London 1973.

Special interests: health education, maternal and child welfare, sewing, tennis, dancing, music, outdoor bowling.

Hon. A'e'au Taulupoo, M.P.—Born 1937; married; cocoa planter; first elected to Parliament in 1970; Member of the Bills Committee; attended Eleventh and Twelfth CPA Australasian Area Conferences: New Zealand 1971 and Australia 1973.

Special interests: rugby, boxing, cricket.

Hon. Tiatia Sauso'o, M.P.—Born 1929; married; business executive and proprietor; first elected to Parliament in 1973; Member of the Public Accounts Committee.

Special interests: fishing, hunting, rugby, boxing, cricket.

Mr. Walter Nickel, Clerk-Assistant of Legislative Assembly—*Secretary to the delegation.*—Born 1938; married, joined Legislative Department 1956; appointed Clerk-Assistant of Legislative Assembly 1969; attended Presiding Officers and Clerk Conferences: Malbourne 1970 and Perth (Australia) 1972.

Special interests: rugby, football, boxing, fishing.

ZAMBIA

Hon. J. B. A. Siyomunji, M.P.; United National Independence Party; Minister for Central Province—*Leader of the delegation*.—Born 1917; married; teacher, civil servant and one of the first Permanent Secretaries; served in Foreign Service as High Commissioner to Botswana; first elected to Parliament in 1969; Minister of State in Local Government; Cabinet Minister since 1971 in the Provinces.

Special interests: music, reading, soccer.

Hon. R. K. Banda, M.P.; United National Independence Party; Member of the Executive Committee of Zambia Branch of CPA.—Born 1942; married; trade unionist 1963—68; leader National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers; Chairman of Major Unit Security Ltd. since 1968; first elected to Parliament 1973; member of Parliamentary Delegation to Tanzania for twentieth TANU Celebrations 1974.

Special interests: football, reading, cinemas, discussions, sight-seeing.

Hon. P. R. Chanshi, M.P., United National Independence Party.—Born 1939; married; worked as a depot manager with an international company before completing the course of Chartered Institute of Secretaries; on completion of C.I.S., was made Section Head of Ledgers Department etc., with Lever Brothers Ltd., founder of a singing group; secretary player of a Football Club; registrar of Zambia National Football League; Treasurer of

the Football Association of Zambia; businessman; elected to Parliament in 1973.

Special interests: reading, music, soccer, swimming, cinema.

Mr. A. C. Yumba, Clerk-Assistant of National Assembly—*Secretary to the delegation*.—Born 1939; B.A. (Hons.); married; Executive Officer, Ministry of Agriculture 1967—69; Principal, Ministry of National Guidance 1969; Second Clerk Assistant of the National Assembly 1969—73; attended Parliamentary Attachment Course, House of Commons 1970; attended CPA Conference in Australia 1970 and Third African Regional Conference of CPA Mauritius 1971 as Secretary to the Zambian delegation.

Special interests: gardening, dancing, music, reading.

AUXILIARY BRANCHES

BELIZE

Hon. Louis S. Sylvestre, M.H.R.; People's United Party; Minister of Energy and Communications; Member of Executive Committee of Belize Branch of CPA.—Born 1931; married, first elected to House of Representatives 1957; politician; attended CPA Conference New Zealand 1965.

BERMUDA

Dr. the Hon. W.H.C. Masters, O.B.E.; M.P.; United Bermuda party.—Born 1911; married; graduated in medicine from the Edinburgh University 1935; started general practice in Bermuda 1937; member of the

House of Assembly of Bermuda since 1958; Chairman, Social Welfare Board 1963—68; Chairman, Development Applications and Planning Board since 1968, President of Medical Staff King Edward VII Memorial Hospital, Bermuda; attended seminar on parliamentary practice and procedure 1968.

Special interests: yachting, fishing.

Hon. A. R. Thomas, M.P.; Bermuda Progressive Labour Party.—Born 1934; B. Mus. Howard University; post-graduate study at Inter-American University of Puerto Rico; married; has been music teacher; first elected to Parliament 1968; re-elected 1972; life member of Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia Fraternity of America Zeta Iota Chapter.

Special interests: photography, swimming, boating, fishing, music.

CAYMAN ISLANDS

Hon. Trevor Ewan Foster, M.L.A.; Second Elected Member to Executive Council, responsible for Inter-island Coordination and Information; Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee of Cayman Islands Branch of CPA.—Born 1937; married; seaman 1958-59; businessman; first elected to legislature 1968, re-elected 1972; participated: regional CPA Conference Antigua 1969; Parliamentary Visit to London 1970.

Special interests: dancing, fishing.

COOK ISLANDS

Hon. Sir Albert Royle Henry, K.B.E., M.L.A., Cook Islands Party; Premier; Vice

President of Cook Islands Branch of CPA.—Born 1907; educated in St. Stephen College, Auckland. New Zealand: married; school teacher for twenty years in Cook Islands; proceeded to New Zealand and established base for formation of Cook Islands Party; returned to Cook Islands to conduct 1965 General Election campaign; first elected to legislature in a bye-election 1965 and became first Premier; Knighted by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 1974; Premier; Minister of General and Central Administrations, External Affairs, Outer Islands, Affairs. Police, Immigration, National Development Corporation, National Provident Fund Civil Aviation, Shipping, Housing, Public Service, Civil Defence Security and Minister in-charge of the Legislative Service Vote.

Special interests: sports, films.

Hon. Tupui Ariki Henry, M.L.A.; Cook Islands Party; Minister of Justice, Lands and Survey and Internal Affairs; Member of Executive Committee of Cook Islands Branch of CPA.—Born 1929; attended Hamilton Technical College, Auckland Teachers' College, Auckland University; married; teacher for eleven years with Auckland Education Board; returned to Cook Islands as campaign organiser for the Cook Islands Party in 1965 general elections; first elected to Parliament 1966 and appointed Minister of Internal Affairs 1967; Minister since then holding different portfolios; attended first Australian Parliamentary Seminar 1972; leader of the Cook Islands delegation to the twentieth CPA Conference, Sri Lanka 1974; Minister of Justice, Lands and Survey and Internal

Affairs; Associate Minister for Outer Islands Affairs and for Housing.

Special interests: bows, rugby-football, horse-racing.

FALKLAND ISLANDS

Hon. L. G. Blake, J.P., M.L.C.; Born 1935; married; studied agriculture at West of Scotland Agricultural College 1957-58; nominated Member of the Council 1964-68; elected to the Council 1971; member, U.K. delegation to Falkland Islands 1971. Special Interests: social service, agriculture, fishing.

GIBRALTAR

Hon. Issac Abecasis, M.H.A., Gibraltar Labour Party and Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights; Minister for Housing and Postal Services.—Born 1929; married; Secretary Gibraltar Branch Civil Service Clerical Association 1953-63; Vice-Chairman Gibraltar Branch Transport and General Workers Union and Chairman, Gibraltar Trades Council 1963-71; first elected to legislature 1969; Secretary Gibraltar Labour Party and Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights since 1969; participated in (i) Parliamentary Seminar Westminster 1970 (ii) Commonwealth Parliamentary Visit Westminster 1972 (iii) CPA Regional Conferences; Isle of man 1972, Guernsey 1974.

Special interests: Languages.

GUERNSEY

Sir John Loveridge, Kt. C.B.E., Bailiff and President of the States; President of

Guernsey Branch of CPA.—Born 1912; married; Barrister-at-Law; called to Bar of England and Wales, Middle Temple 1950; Advocate of Royal Court of Guernsey 1951; first appointed to Legislature 1954; Her Majesty's Solicitor General, Guernsey 1954-60; Her Majesty's Attorney General, Guernsey 1960-69; Deputy Bailiff of Guernsey 1969-73; attended fifth Conference of Branches in the United Kingdom and Mediterranean Region held in Guernsey 1974;

Special interests: reading, swimming, sports.

HONG KONG

Hon. Hilton Cheong-Leen, O.B.E., J.P., M.L.C.—Born 1922; married; first appointed to legislature 1973; Member of Legislative Council; Chairman of H. Cheong-Leen and Co. (Asia) Ltd.; former Vice-Chairman of Urban Council; Chairman H.K. Civic Association; former District Governor, Lions International; member of Housing Authority and Environmental Pollution Committee; attended twenty-third Parliamentary Seminar, London 1974 and second seminar on Parliamentary Practice and Procedure, Canberra 1974.

Special interests: music, swimming, travel.

ISLE OF MAN

Hon. John James Bell, M.H.K.; Chairman, Airports Board.—Born 1929; married; first elected to legislature 1964; served on (i) Police Board, (ii) Tourist Board; served in Education Health Services, agriculture and fisheries, social security, rating

and assessments; Chairman of Mental Hospital.

Special interests: gardening, local affairs.

Hon. John Callister Clucas, M.H.K.; Independent; Chairman. Manx Electric Railway Board; Member of Executive Committee, Isle of Man Branch of CPA.—Born 1935; educated at King William's College, Isle of Man; married; National Service in Royal Artillery 1954-55; Chartered Accountant; first elected to Legislature 1970.

Special interests: gardening, photography, meeting people.

JERSEY

Hon. H.F.C. Ercant, Bailiff of Jersey and President of the States (Parliament); President of Jersey Branch of CPA.—Born 1919; M.A. from Exeter College, Oxford; married; Barrister-at-Law (Inner Temple); served in the British Army 1940—46; advocate of the Royal Court of Jersey 1947—58; non-elected Member of Parliament since 1958; H. M. Solicitor General for Jersey 1958—62; H.M. Attorney General for Jersey 1962—69; Deputy Bailiff of Jersey 1969—74; attended 23rd Parliamentary Seminar in London 1974. Special interests: gardening, music.

Senator the Hon. Reginald Robert Jeune, Member of Executive Committee, Jersey Branch of CPA.—Born 1920; married; Solicitor of the Royal Court of Jersey since 1945; Deputy, States of Jersey 1962—72; Senator, States of Jersey since 1972; President, Public

Works Committee 1963—72; President, Education Committee since 1972; attended CPA Conference in Canada 1966 and Gibraltar Regional Conference 1970; member of Northern Ireland Delegation 1967.

Special interests: golf, rotary, church.

NORTHERN TERRITORY

Hon. Nicholas Dondas, M.L.A.; Country Liberal Party; Member of Executive Committee, Northern Territory of Australia Branch of CPA.—Born 1939; married; first elected to Assembly 1974; has business enterprises in Hong Kong, Perth and Darwin; Inaugural President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Darwin; member of Postcyclone Interim Citizens Advisory Committee 1975; Chairman, Northern Suburbs Action Group 1975.

Special interests: rugby, golf, horse racing chess.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Hon. Sergius Arek, M.H.A.; Peoples' Progress Party.—Born 1927; married; teacher for 20 years; first elected to Legislature 1974.

Special interests: village development, fishing.

Hon. William Eichhorn, M.H.A.; Pangu Pati.—Born 1937; married; first elected to Legislature in 1972; trader in crocodile skins and timber; local government councillor since 1966.

ST. LUCIA

Hon. Henry E. Giraudy, M.H.A.; United Workers Party; Member of the Executive Committee of St. Lucia Branch of CPA.—Born 1923; Bachelor of Laws, Utter Barrister, Gray's Inn; married; partner, Law Firm of Floissac & Giraudy, Saint Lucia 1957; Member and Deputy Chairman Castries Town Council 1961; Chairman, United Workers Party 1964; first elected to Parliament 1964; attended Regional CPA Conference, Barbados 1965 and CPA Conference, Uganda 1967; Leader, Saint Lucia delegation, Nova Scotia West Indies Trade and Parliamentary Conference 1974.

Special interests: books, music.

SEYCHELLES

Hon. Nicholson Stravens, M.L.A.; Democratic Party.—Born 1910; married; first elected to Legislature in 1976; worked in gold and copper mines in East Africa 1929—54; awarded honorary testimonial by Royal Humane Society 1952; farmer since 1954; Secretary-General and Treasurer of Seychelles Stevedores Winchmen and Dock-workers Union and President of Seychelles Artisans Union since 1968.

Special interests: study of vegetation.

TURKS & CAICOS ISLANDS

Hon. N. B. Saunders, J.P., M.S.C. — Born 1943; married; clerical officer with T & C Salt Company 1961—64; accountant with Caicos Company 1964—69; treasurer and director of the Caicos Com-

pany 1969—75; became shareholder and took over management of Caicos Air Services 1973; first elected to Legislative Assembly 1967; Member, Planning and Development Authority since 1967; Chairman, Tourist Board since 1971; Chairman, Communications, Works and Development Committee.

Special interests: fishing, cricket, tennis, hunting.

Hon. C.N. Misick, M.S.C.—Born 1918; married; has been carpenter, sailor, former, company's agent, airline sales representative; first elected to State Council in 1967; Member of Board of Education, Member of Air Licensing Transport Authority, President Murual Burial Association 1952—60; Chairman Health, Education and Social Welfare Committee; attended CPA Conference in Jamaica.

Special interests: Fishing, farming.

Mr. D.H. Bramble, Clerk of Legislative Council, Montserrat.—*Secretary of Auxiliary Branches*.—Born 1928; married; Head Master Cork Hill School 1957—60; Clerk to Financial Secretary 1960-61; Head Master St. Georges' School 1961—65; Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture 1965-66; attended CPA conferences in Trinidad and Tobago 1966, The Cayman Islands 1967, Antigua 1969. Grenada 1970 and Bahamas 1974; Secretary Montserrat Branch CPA.

Special interests: photography.

Mr. Kenneth Harry Wheeler, Clerk to the Legislative Council of Hong Kong.—*Secretary of Auxiliary Branches*.—Born 1932;

married; appointed Clerk to the Legislative Council and Honorary Secretary of the Hong Kong Branch of CPA 1973.

Special interests: bridge, music, sports.

OFFICIAL BRANCH OBSERVER

GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS

Hon. (Mrs.) Tekarei Russell, Minister for Health and Welfare.—Born 1937; married; had teachers' training course from Nasinu Teachers Training College, Fiji 1954-55; teacher 1956-67; worked in Women's Interests Section, Gilbert Islands 1968-71; first elected to Legislative Council 1971; elected to House of Assembly 1974.

Special interests: culture, tennis, reading, sewing, cooking.

KINDRED GROUP

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Hon. Kieran Crotty M. P.; Fine Gael Party.—Born 1930; married; first elected to Legislature 1969; member of various local authorities since 1967; Mayor of Kilkenny 1971-73; Master Baker; Managing Director of P.J. Crotty and Sons Ltd. (Bakery) since 1956; Director of Kilkenny Engineering Products.

Special interests: hurling, greyhound racing.

Hon. Michael Noonan, M.P.; Fianna Fail Party.—Born 1935; married; farmer Member of Limerick County Council; President of Macra na Feirme 1963-65; Member of

RTE Authority 1965-69; first elected to Legislature 1969.

Special interests: gardening, walking, sports.

OBSERVERS

A.I.P.L.F.

Mr. Robert Moinet, (Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Francaise); Technical Adviser, Chevalier du Merite.—Born 1921; married; Chief of Protocol and Director, International Relations Branch of the French National Assembly; attended CPA Conferences: United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974.

Mr. Deniau, (Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Francaise); Political Secretary-General; Officer Legion d'Honneur.—Born 1923; married; first elected to French National Assembly 1962; attended CPA Conferences: United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974.

OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

H.E. Mr. S. S. Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General.—Born 1928; graduated LL.B. Hons. from King's College, London University and gained his LL.M. with distinction; married; was called to the bar from Gray's Inn; served with the legal department of British Guyana 1952-58; Legal Draftsman, Federal Government of the West Indies 1958-59; Solicitor General, Guyana 1959-61 and Assistant Attorney General, Federal Government 1961-62;

has been a member of (i) International Commission of Jurists (ii) Board of the Vienna Institute of Development (iii) Advisory Committee of the Centre for International Studies of New York University; was made Queen's Counsel of Guyana 1965 and Senior Counsel 1966; was awarded a CMG 1966 and made knight bachelor 1969; also received decorations from Egypt, Peru and Ecuador; led Guyana's delegation to each successive session of the General Assembly until 1974 and to last year's Special Session which called for a new inter-national economic order; elected Vice-President of the Assembly 1968 and 1973; represented Guyana at U.N. Conferences on the Law of Treaties (Vienna 1968-69) and on the Law of the Sea (Caracas 1974).

SPECIAL INVITEE

Sir David Lidderdale, K.C.B., Clerk of British House of Commons.—Born 1910; educated at Winchester and at King's College, Cambridge; married; joined the House of Commons in 1934 as an Assistant Clerk; during the war served with The Rifle Brigade in North Africa and Italy; after the war returned to the House of Commons in 1946 as one of the Senior Clerks; from 1953 to 1959 held the newly created office of Fourth Clerk at the Table; in 1959 became Second Clerk Assistant and in 1962, Clerk Assistant; became Clerk of the House in 1974; created Companion of the Bath in 1963 and knighted in 1975; connected with the Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments since 1946—from 1946 to 1954 as its joint secretary and now as one of its two vice-presidents; attached to the

sessions of Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe 1949—53 and to the inaugural session of the Assembly of Western European Union in 1955; author of "The Parliament of France" and co-author of "European Parliamentary Procedure."

Special interests: walking.

SOCIETY OF CLERKS-AT-THE TABLE

Mr. K. A. Bradshaw, Clerk of the Overseas Office, House of Commons and Secretary of Society of Clerks-at-the Table.—Born 1922; single; appointed Assistant Clerk, House of Commons 1947; seconded as Acting Clerk of the Provincial Legislature of Saskatchewan for its Session December 1965 to April 1966; Clerk of the Overseas Office since 1972; attended (i) CPA Conferences: United Kingdom 1961 and 1973, Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) Conference of Speakers and Clerks of Caribbean Parliaments, Bermuda 1974 (iii) Standing Committee of Conference of Commonwealth Speakers, Jamaica 1975.

CPA GENERAL COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

Sir Robin Vanderfelt, Secretary-General, General Council of CPA.—Born 1921; married; served World War II in India and Burma 1941—45; Assistant Secretary, United Kingdom Branch of CPA, 1949—59, Secretary 1960-61; attended (i) as Secretary, United Kingdom delegation to CPA Conference, India 1957 and as Secretary-General CPA Conferences; United Kingdom 1961 and 1973, Nigeria 1962, Malaysia 1963 and 1971, Jamaica 1964, New Zealand 1965, Canada 1966, Uganda

1967, The Bahamas 1968, Trinidad and Tobago 1969, Australia 1970, Malawi 1972 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) Canadian Area Conferences; Saskatchewan 1963, Prince Edward Island 1964, Ottawa 1970 and Quebec 1973 (iii) Eighth Australian Area Conference, Tasmania 1965 (iv) United Kingdom and Mediterranean Regional Conferences: Isle of Man 1969 and 1972, Jersey 1971, Guernsey 1974 and Gibraltar 1975 (v) Third African Regional Conference, Mauritius 1971 and Caribbean Regional Conference, Bermuda 1971 (vi) Conference of Speakers and Clerks of Parliament of Eastern and Central African States, Kenya 1964 and Conference of Commonwealth Speakers and Clerks, Canada 1969 (vii) General Council Working Party, Malta 1967 (viii) meetings of Executive Committee of General Council: Mauritius 1968, Gibraltar 1969, Jersey 1970, Prince Edward Island 1971, Singapore 1972, Cayman Islands 1973, Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975 (ix) ceremonies to mark 350th anniversary of the meeting of the First Bermuda Parliament, Hamilton 1970 and 50th Anniversary of the meeting of the First Parliament of Northern Ireland, Stormont 1971 (x) the Independence of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas (xi) as an Observer, the 62nd Inter-Parliamentary Conference, London 1975.

Mr. Ian Grey, Deputy Secretary-General, General Council of CPA.—Born 1918; Barrister-at-Law; married; served Royal Australian Navy, World War II; attended (i) CPA Conferences: Jamaica 1964, New Zealand 1965, Canada 1966, Uganda 1967, The Bahamas 1968, Trinidad and

Tobago 1969, Australia 1970, Malaysia 1971, Malawi 1972, United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) Caribbean Regional Conferences: Barbados 1965 and Trinidad and Tobago 1966 (iii) General Council Working Party, Malta 1967 (iv) meetings of Executive Committee of the General Council: Mauritius 1968, Gibraltar 1969, Jersey 1970, Prince Edward Island 1971, Singapore 1972, Cayman Island 1973, Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975 (v) Parliamentary Seminar, Grenada 1969 (vi) Conference of Presiding Officers and Clerks of Commonwealth Caribbean Parliaments: Grand Cayman 1972, and Bermuda 1974; Editor of Publications, General Council of CPA; contributor to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; author of *Peter the Great* (1960), *Catherine the Great* (1961), *Ivan the Terrible* (1964), *The First Fifty Years: Soviet Russia 1917—67* (1967), *The Romanovs: Rise and Fall of the Dynasty* (1970), *A History of Russia* (1970), and *Boris Godunov* (1973).

Mr. Palitha Weerasinghe, Assistant Secretary-General, General Council of CPA.—Born 1924; single; Attorney-at-Law of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka; Crown Counsel in the Department of the Attorney-General of Ceylon 1955—64; functioned as District Judge and Magistrate; Legal Adviser to Royal Commission inquiring into alleged misconduct by certain officers of the Royal Ceylon Navy and to Royal Commission appointed to report upon the press in Ceylon; appointed Clerk-Assistant of the Ceylon Senate 1946 and Clerk 1970; Assistant Secretary-General since August 1971; attended (i) CPA conferences:

Malaysia 1971, Malawi 1972, United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974; (ii) meetings of Executive Committee of General Council: Singapore 1972 and Isle of Man 1975 (iii) African Regional Conferences: The Gambia 1972, Tanzania 1973, Botswana 1974 and Lesotho 1975 (iv) Caribbean Regional Conferences: St. Lucia 1972, Jamaica 1973 and the Bahamas 1974 (v) Canadian Regional Conferences: Manitoba 1972 and Saskatchewan 1975 (vi) Third Conference of Commonwealth Speakers and Presiding Officers, Zambia 1973 (vii) Independence Celebrations, Grenada 1974 (viii) Inter-Parliamentary Spring meeting, Sri Lanka 1975 as CPA Observer; attached to the office of Clerk, House of Commons, Westminster 1966.

Mr. L. M. Fowler, Assistant Secretary-General, General Council of CPA.—Born 1919; married, served World War II in North Africa, Italy and Greece 1940—46; Trustee and Secretary CPA and Associated Purposes Trust: attended (i) CPA Conferences: United Kingdom 1948, 1961 and 1973, Canada 1952 and 1966, South Africa 1954, India 1957, Australia 1959 and 1970, Nigeria 1962, Malaysia 1963 and 1971, Jamaica 1964, New Zealand 1965, Uganda 1967, The Bahamas 1968, Trinidad and Tobago 1969, Malawi 1972 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) General Council meetings: Jamaica 1956, Barbados 1959 and Uganda 1960 (iii) General Council Working Party, Malta 1967 (iv) meetings of Executive Committee of General Council: Mauritius 1968, Gibraltar 1969, Jersey 1970, Prince Edward Island 1971, Singapore 1972, Cayman Islands 1973, Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975.

Miss Betty May, Administrative Officer, General Council of CPA.—Born 1923; Secretary, Royal Naval Headquarters, Durban 1942—46; attended (i) CPA Conferences: India 1957, Australia 1959 and 1970, United Kingdom 1961 and 1973, Nigeria 1962, Malaysia 1963 and 1971, Jamaica 1964, New Zealand 1965, Canada 1966, Uganda 1967, The Bahamas 1968, Malawi 1972 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) General Council meetings: Jamaica 1956, Barbados 1959 and Uganda 1960 (iii) General Council Working Party, Malta 1967 (iv) Meetings of Executive Committee of General Council: Mauritius 1968, Gibraltar 1969, Jersey 1970, Prince Edward Island 1971, Singapore 1972, Cayman Islands 1972, Western Samoa 1974 and Isle of Man 1975 (v) Second U.K. and Mediterranean Regional Conference, Gibraltar 1970, Tenth Caribbean Regional Conference, Jamaica 1973 and Sixth African Regional Conference, Botswana 1974.

Mrs. Susan Burchett, Assistant Editor of Publications, General Council of CPA.—Born 1944; Publications Secretary General Council of CPA 1965—70; Private Secretary to the Colonial Secretary, Bermuda 1970-71; Liaison Officer (Bedouin Tribes) attached to H.R.H. Prince Mohammed of Jordan 1971-72; Assistant Editor since 1973; attended CPA Conferences: Uganda 1967, The Bahamas 1968, Trinidad and Tobago 1969, United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974.

Special interests. history, tennis, reading.

Miss Helen Somerville, Secretary to Secretary-General, General Council of CPA.—Born 1941; Secretary, Ministry of Defence,

1960—66 (1963—65 seconded to British High Commission, Kingston, Jamaica); Secretary to Company Director, 1966-67; Careers Inc. London and New York, 1967—70; attended (i) CPA Conferences Australia 1970, Malaysia 1971, Malawi 1972, United Kingdom 1973 and Sri Lanka 1974 (ii) meetings of Executive Committee of General Council: Jersey 1970 and Prince Edward Island 1971 (iii) Eleventh Caribbean Regional Conference, The Bahamas 1974 and Seventh African Regional Conference, Lesotho 1975.

HOST BRANCHES SECRETARIAT

Shri S. L. Shukdher, Secretary-General of Lok Sabha and Secretary-General of India Branch of CPA.—Born 1918; Secretary-General, Lok Sabha since 1973; Secretary-General of the Indian Parliamentary Group which is affiliated to the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Secretary-General of the Indian Parliamentary Association; President of the Association of Secretaries-General of Parliaments since October 1973.

Travels abroad: U.K., Ireland, France, Italy, Switzerland, U.S.A., Canada, Malaysia, China, Hungary, West Germany, U.S.S.R., Philippines, Iran, Kenya, Zambia, Nepal, Australia, Peru, Japan, Hong Kong, Bahamas, Gibraltar, Norway, Yugoslavia, A.R.E., Jersey, Poland, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, Republic of Korea, Western Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Isle of Man, Bermuda, Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica; Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden, Finland and Denmark.

Publications: Report on the Budgetary Systems of the various Parliaments; Process of Legislation; Inter-Parliamentary Relations; Budget in Parliament; Comptroller and Auditor-General in India and U.K.—A Comparison: Two Estimates Committees; Administrative Accountability to Parliament; Practice and Procedure of Parliament.

Shri B. N. Banerjee, Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha.—Born 1916; LL.M. (London), Barrister-at-Law; Member of Judicial Service (Bengal) 1942—50; Assistant Solicitor, Ministry of Law, Government of India 1950—52; Assistant Legal Adviser and Legal Adviser to the High Commissioner for India in London 1952—56; Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Law, Government of India, 1956; Deputy-Secretary, Rajya Sabha, 1956, Joint Secretary 1960, Secretary 1963, and Secretary-General since November 1973; attended (i) Inter-Parliamentary Union Conferences: Belgrade 1963; Copenhagen 1964, Tokyo 1974 and London 1975 (ii) CPA Conferences: Canada 1966, Uganda 1967, Port of Spain 1969, Australia 1970, Malaysia 1971 and Malawi 1972 (iii) IPU Meetings: Ivory Coast 1973, Bucharest (Romania) 1974 and Colombo (Sri Lanka) 1975.

Travels abroad: U.K., U.S.A., Canada, France, Switzerland, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, U.A.R., Italy, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Uganda, Kenya, U.S.S.R., Hungary, East Germany, Trinidad and Tobago, Australia, Indonesia, Fiji, Malaysia, Singapore, Czechoslovakia, Hong Kong, Ivory Coast, Romania, Malawi, Japan and Sri Lanka.

Biographical sketches of the following Delegates who attended the Conference have not been received and therefore it has not been possible to include them in this Souvenir:

Hon. Santosh Kumar Biswas, M.P. (Bangladesh), Hon. Deighton Griffith, M.P. (Barbados), Hon. Gordon Mathews, M.P. (Barbados), Hon. W. C. B. Hinds, M.P. (Barbados), Hon. Joseph Casey, M.L.A., Deputy Speaker (Nova Scotia), Hon. Tridib Kumar Chowdhury, M.P. (India), Hon. Chandra Sekhar Singh, M.L.A. (India—Bihar), Hon. A. G. Goni, M.L.A., Speaker, (India—Jammu and Kashmir), Hon. Gulam Rasool Kar, M.L.A. (India—Jammu and Kashmir), Hon. P. P. George, M.L.A. (India—Kerala), Hon. K. Narayana Kurup, M.L.A. (India—Kerala), Shri B. B. Lyngdoh, Minister of Meghalaya (India—Meghalaya), Hon. S. Mullings, M.P. (Jamaica), Hon. W. J. Cheddesingh, M.P. (Jamaica), Hon. L. G. Newland, M.P. (Jamaica), Mr. Edley L. Deans, Secretary to the Delegation (Jamaica), Hon. K. T. J. Rakhotala, Minister of Agriculture, Co-operation and Marketing (Lesotho), Mr. I. P. Gontse, Clerk of the National Assembly and Branch Secretary (Botswana), Mr. Joe Caffery, Clerk of Legislative Assembly and Branch Secretary (Cook Islands), Hon. Encilk Mohd. Saleh bin Hj Hashim, M.L.A. (Malaysia—Negeri Sembilan), Encik Hamzah Bin Abas, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly and Branch Secretary (Malaysia—Pahang), Hon. Noel St. Germain, M.L.A. (Canada—Quebec), Senator Kaur Battan Singh (Fiji).

Appendix III

DATE-WISE AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

28th October, 1975 (Tuesday)

Morning Session

- (i) Inauguration of the Conference by the President of India in the Central Hall, Parliament House.
- (ii) Release of the special Commemorative stamp by the Vice-President of India in the Auditorium of the Parliament House Annexe.

Afternoon Session

- (i) Discussion on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.
- (ii) Discussion on the developments in South East Asia.

29th October, 1975 (Wednesday)

Morning Session

- (i) Address by the Commonwealth Secretary-General H.E., S. S. Ramphal to the Delegates.
- (ii) Discussions on Africa South of the Sahara and relationship with Rhodesia and South Africa (to be continued).

Afternoon Session

- (i) Discussion on Africa South of the Sahara and relationship with Rhodesia and South Africa (concluded).
- (ii) Discussion on Europe and the countries around the Mediterranean.
- (iii) Discussion on World Energy Crisis.

30th October, 1975 (Thursday)

(i) *Panel Discussion on Building a New International Economic Order*

Morning Session

Panel I: Discussion on World Population Growth and Food Resources (to be continued).

Panel II: Discussion on Multinational Corporations.

Afternoon Session

Panel I: Discussion on World Population Growth and Food Resources (concluded).

Panel III: Discussion on Commodity Prices, Terms of Trade and Indexation.

Panel IV: Discussion on Educational and Technological Aid.

(ii) *Committee Discussion on Social Problems*

Morning Session

Committee under the Chairmanship of Hon. M. C. Cham, M.P. (Gambia).

Discussion on Social Effects of unemployment, the Growth of Violence, Unrest among Youth and Drug Problems (to be continued).

Afternoon Session

Committee under the Chairmanship of Hon. M. C. Cham, M.P. (Gambia).

Discussion on Social Effects of Unemployment, the Growth of Violence, Unrest among Youth and Drug Problems, (concluded).

Committee under the Chairmanship of Hon. Hilton Cheong-Leen (Hong Kong).

Discussion on Preservation of the Environment, the control of Pollution and Protection of Wild Life. (to be continued).

31st October, 1975 (Friday)

(i) *Panel Discussion on Building a New International Economic Order*

Morning Session

Panel V: Discussion on Producer or Consumer Country Cartels and Regional Economic Groupings.

Panel VI: Discussion on Problems of Debt Repayment for Developing countries.

(ii) *Committee Discussion on Social Problems*

Committee under the Chairmanship of Hon. Hilton Cheong-Leen (Hong Kong).

Discussion on Preservation of the Environment, the Control of Pollution and Protection of Wild Life (concluded).

(There was no afternoon session)

1st November, 1975 (Saturday)

Morning Session

Discussion on Challenges to Parliament: Internal and External Threat to the Authority and Prestige of Parliament.

Afternoon Session

Discussion on Internal and External Threats to the Authority and Prestige of Parliament (concluded).

Discussion on Ministers, Members and Conflicts of Interest.

4th November, 1975 (Tuesday)

Morning Session

Discussion on Commonwealth as an Instrument of Social Political and Economic Transformation.

Afternoon Session

Concluding session.

Appendix IV

PROGRAMME OF LUNCHES/DINNERS, RECEPTIONS AND OTHER FUNCTIONS HELD IN HONOUR OF THE DELEGATES

26th October, 1975

1.15 P.M.: Lunch by the Speaker Lok Sabha, to the Executive Committee Members and their wives/daughters.

6.30 P.M.: Reception by the Speaker, Lok Sabha, to the Executive Committee Members.

27th October, 1975

11.00 A.M.: Documentary film show.

12.05 P.M.: Get-together Reception.

28th October, 1975

4.30 P.M.: Reception by the President of India.

8.00 P.M.: Dinner by C.P.A. President for Secretary-General and Executive Committee Members.

29th October, 1975

8.00 P.M.: Dinner by the Speaker of Lok Sabha and President of C.P.A.

30th October, 1975

1.15 P.M.: Lunch by Speaker in honour of Presiding Officers.

6.30 P.M.: Joint Reception by Commonwealth High Commissioners.

8.30 P.M.: Music and Dance Programme.

31st October, 1975

1.15 P.M.: Lunch for Leaders of Delegations by the Minister of Works and Housing and Parliamentary Affairs.

8.00 P.M.: Dinner by the Vice-President of India.

1st November, 1975

7.00 P.M.: Citizens Reception in honour of the Delegates.

8.00 P.M.: Sound and Light show at the Red Fort.

9.00 P.M.: Dinner by the Lt. Governor of Delhi.

2nd November, 1975

9.00 A.M. to 4.30 P.M.: Visit to Agra.

9.00 P.M.: Dinner for Members of the Society of Clerks-at-the-Table and Secretaries of Delegations.

3rd November, 1975

9.00 A.M. to 4.00 P.M.: Visit to Agra by General Councillors and Secretaries of Delegations.

10.00 A.M. to 1.00 P.M.: Sight seeing in Delhi.

6.00 P.M. to 8.15 P.M.: Sight seeing in Delhi on Diwali day.

4th November, 1975

8.00 P.M.: Dinner by the Prime Minister.

26th October to 4th November, 1975

9.30 A.M. to 6.00 P.M.: Exhibition on India at the Parliament House Annexe.

5th November to 9th November, 1975

Post-Conference Tours.

Appendix V

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THE CONFERENCE

Accommodation

Accommodation for the foreign delegates in New Delhi was reserved in the Ashoka Hotel. Liaison Officers were provided to give the delegates necessary guidance and assistance.

Display of News

Latest news received on the teleprinter were displayed on the Daily News Board set up alongside the India Information Desk at the Parliament House Annexe.

Food and Refreshments

Arrangements were made for serving lunch, on reasonable rates in the Banquet Hall of

the Parliament House Annexe to the delegates. Coffee and tea were served free of charge to the delegates during the days of the Conference. A bar was opened at the Parliament House Annexe for the duration of the Conference from where delegates could get alcoholic drinks, cigarettes and cigars against cash payment.

Reception, Postal and Banking Facilities

Besides, the services of a Reception and Information Counter were available throughout the day to the delegates. Postal, Banking and air-travel booking facilities were also provided at the Parliament House Annexe.

Medical Services

A medical post was functioning at the Parliament House Annexe daily from 9.30 A.M. to 6.30 P.M. to render free medical aid to the delegates and others.

Transport Services

Special transport arrangements for the delegates had been made during their stay in Delhi. Buses were arranged to take the delegates to and from Ashoka Hotel to the Parliament House Annexe and also to take them to various social functions and on sight seeing tours.

Other Facilities

The other facilities available to the delegates at the Conference were the following:—

(i) A sales counter for the sale of publications.

(ii) A Photo Sales Counter where delegates could buy photographs pertaining to the Conference at fixed prices.

(iii) Stenographic and typing assistance to the delegates during the days of the Conference.

(iv) Electronic stencil-cutting and Gestetner duplicating facilities, and photocopying arrangements for documents and materials relating to the Conference.

(v) Arrangements for booking internal and international trunk telephone and telex calls and telegrams.

Appendix VI

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE CONFERENCE

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held at New Delhi was a special one in many ways. The specialities of the Conference were the following:—

1. *Supply of Conference Documents*

A Conference Handbook giving detailed information about Conference arrangements and programme, a volume containing biographical sketches of Delegates, Invitation Cards for various functions, etc. were supplied to the Delegates, at their Ashoka Hotel rooms, before the Conference began.

2. *Daily Bulletins*

Bulletins were issued daily to keep the Delegates informed about their engagements for each day the business before the Conference, changes, if any, in the pro-

gramme, transport arrangements, tour programmes and the like. They also provided the latest information about the facilities and services being made available at the venue of the Conference. Copies of the Bulletin were made available to the Delegates in their respective pigeon holes at the Ashoka Hotel Reception. Spare copies were available at the Reception and Information Counters both at the Conference venue, and at the Ashoka Hotel. In all 11 bulletins were issued starting from October 26, 1975. These bulletins proved very popular with the Delegates and were in great demand.

3. *Volume on Commonwealth Parliaments*

An authoritative and comprehensive study on "The Commonwealth Parliaments" was released on the inaugural day by the President of India. This was the first time in the history of Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference that such a volume was thought of and prepared specially for the occasion. This volume contains valuable contributions from distinguished Presiding Officers, Members of overseas Parliaments and learned Clerks/Secretaries-General of the various Commonwealth Parliaments and Senior Officers of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

4. *Release of a Commemorative Stamp*

A special postage stamp was brought out by the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department to commemorate the holding of the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in India. The stamp bearing the facsimile of the Parliament House Annexe was released by the Vice-Presi-

dent of India on the inaugural day of the Conference.

5. India-Information Desk

An India-Information Desk was set up near the Conference venue where information materials about India were on display. A number of Parliamentary publications as also publications of the Department of Advertising and Visual Publicity and the Publications Division were supplied to the Delegates on request. The Delegates evinced keen interest in the periodicals, pamphlets, booklets, fact sheets, background notes, etc. prepared by the LARRDI Service and which were on display for free distribution and sale.

6. The Press Room

The Press Room in the Parliament House Annexe manned by the Press and Public Relations Unit of the Parliament Library and Reference, Research, Documentation and Information Service was extensively used by correspondents of daily newspapers, the Press Information Bureau, News Agencies, Radio and Television.

7. CPA Room

All literature concerning the Commonwealth and Commonwealth Parliaments, latest issues of Journals and Newspapers from Commonwealth countries received in the Parliament Library, materials of and about the CPA including papers and proceedings of the previous conferences were kept in the CPA room for reference and consultation by the Delegates. A set of leading daily newspapers was also made

available for reference and consultation. 38 rare books on India, its culture and its art, available in the Parliament Library were displayed for the perusal of the Delegates and these evoked special interest among them.

8. Photocopying Room

The services rendered by the Photocopying and Stencilling Unit were popular with the Delegates. Photocopies of articles and the like required by the Delegates were made and supplied at short notice.

9. Verbatim proceedings

The verbatim proceedings of the Conference were recorded. Transcripts of the Delegates' speeches were shown to them on the same day for correction. Besides taking down the verbatim proceedings, printed copies of the synopsis of each day's proceedings were made available at the Documents Counter the next morning.

10. Special programmes for ladies

While the Delegates were busy with the discussions at the Conference the ladies accompanying them were provided with interesting programmes like shopping, sight-seeing, visit to schools, etc.

Appendix VII

THE POST-CONFERENCE TOURS OF THE DELEGATES AND THE OFFICERS OF THE CPA GENERAL COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

Delegates were divided into four convenient groups, formed, as far as possible,

in accordance with the preferences indicated by them in advance and were taken on tours to four different regions of the country to enable them to see the important places and achievements in India. A party of the officers of the CPA General Council Secretariat was taken on tour to Kashmir from the 12th to the 15th November, 1975.

Details regarding the composition of each of the Groups and the programmes of their visits are given below—

TOUR GROUP 'A'

Tour Group 'A' of the delegates visited the States of Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan and the Union Territory of Chandigarh from 5th November to 9th November, 1975. The group consisted of 63 delegates excluding the 4 Liaison Officers of Lok Sabha Secretariat, as per list in the *Annexure*.

The programme schedules and highlights of their visits to these States were as follows—

I. SRINAGAR (JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE)

Wednesday, the 5th November, 1975

Reception at Srinagar Airport by Speaker, Vidhan Sabha, Chairman, Vidhan Parishad of Jammu and Kashmir State, Members of the State Legislature and Officers of Government and Legislature Secretariats.

Lunch at Oberoi Palace Hotel hosted by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chief Minister, Jammu & Kashmir.

Visit to Shalimar Garden.

Dinner at Nagin Club hosted by the Speaker, Legislative Assembly and President of the Jammu & Kashmir State Branch of CPA.

Thursday, the 6th November, 1975.

Visit to Council/Assembly Halls.

Coffee at the Assembly Lobby.

Visit to H. M. T. Watch Factory.

Visit to Gulmarg.

Tea at Exhibition Grounds and visit to shops at the Exhibition Grounds.

Cultural Programme at Tagore Hall.

Friday, the 7th November, 1975.

Visit to Kashmir Government Arts Emporium.

Lunch at Hotel Broadway hosted by the Chairman, Legislative Council, Vice-President of the Jammu & Kashmir State Branch of CPA.

The Delegates were accommodated in house-boats in Nagin Lake at Srinagar. The Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Shri A. G. Goni, the Chairman, Legislative Council, Shri Syed Hussain and Secretaries of both the Houses personally looked after the Delegates throughout the tour. A token gift was presented to each member of the Group on behalf of the Speaker and the Chairman. The Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was also present at the Dinner

hosted on 5th November by the Speaker, Legislative Assembly and the Lunch hosted by the Chairman, Legislative Council on November 7.

II. CHANDIGARH (PUNJAB, HARYANA AND THE UNION TERRITORY OF CHANDIGARH).

Friday, the 7th November, 1975

Reception at the Chandigarh Airport by Speakers of Punjab and Haryana Legislative Assemblies, Members and Officers of the Legislatures of the States and Officers of the State Governments.

Light refreshment in the Members' Lounge, Vidhan Bhavan.

Visit to Punjab and Haryana Vidhan Sabha Halls in the Vidhan Bhavan.

Visit to Panjab University Campus.

Visit to Post-Graduate Institute of Medical Education and Research.

Cultural Programme in Tagore Theatre.

Dinner at Yadavendra Gardens, Pinjore, hosted by the Speaker, Haryana Vidhan Sabha, as President of the Haryana Branch of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Saturday, the 8th November, 1975.

Visit to Museum.

Visit to Sukhna Lake.

Visit to Hindustan Machine Tools Factory, Pinjore.

Lunch in the Union Territory Guest House, Chandigarh, hosted by the Speaker, Punjab Vidhan Sabha, as President of the Punjab Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Visit to Government Emporia in Sector 17, Chandigarh.

The Chief Minister of Haryana was present at the Dinner hosted by the Speaker, Haryana Assembly at Pinjore on November 7, and at the time of departure of the Delegates at the Airport. The Presiding Officers of the two States and Secretaries to Legislatures personally looked after the Delegates throughout the visit. Token gifts were presented to each member of the Group on behalf of the Presiding Officers.

III. JAIPUR (RAJASTHAN STATE)

8th November, 1975

Reception at Jaipur Airport by Chief Minister and Ministers of Rajasthan Government, Speaker and Members of Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, Officers of Vidhan Sabha and Government.

Cultural Programme at Ravindra Manch.

Dinner at Sisodia Rani Garden hosted by the Speaker, Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha and President, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, (Rajasthan Branch).

9th November, 1975.

Sight-seeing visit to Hawa Mahal, Observatory, Museum, Amber Fort.

Lunch at Raj Bhavan hosted by Governor of Rajasthan.

Visit to the plant of National Ball-bearing Company, Tea-party hosted by the Chief Minister of Rajasthan at his residence.

Reception at Vidhan Sabha Bhavan organised by the President, the Vice-President, and members of Executive Committee of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (Rajasthan Branch)—attended among others by Governor and Chief Minister of Rajasthan and Minister of State for Defence Production of Government of India.

At a number of places the delegates were welcomed with traditional 'tilak ceremony' and Shehnai and brass bands were played in their honour. At Amber Fort they had the thrill of elephant rides. On their way back to Airport, the coaches of the delegates were mobbed by applauding crowds who raised slogans "Commonwealth Zindabad". At one place, the coaches were stopped and each member of the group was presented with a scented handkerchief by some shopkeepers.

The Speaker and Secretary of the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha looked after the delegates throughout their stay at Jaipur. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan was also present at the airport at the time of send-off to the delegates. Token gifts were given to each member of the Group on behalf of the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, the President and Executive Committee of Commonwealth Parliamentary Associations (Ra-

jasthan Branch) and National Ball-bearing Company.

ANNEXURE

TOUR GROUP A

LIST OF DELEGATES AND THEIR LADIES

Dr. the Hon. G. S. Dhillon, M.P., Speaker of Lok Sabha, Parliament of India and President of the CPA.

Mrs. Dhillon.

Mrs. Arvinder K. Dhillon.

Shri S. Seshadri.

Hon. G. A. Regan, QC, MLA, Premier of Nova Scotia, Canada, Chairman of the Executive Committee of CPA.

Mrs. Regan.

Hon. Bernard Soysa, M.P., Sri Lanka, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Senator the Hon. Allister Grosart, Canada, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Hon. Sia Kah Hui, M.P., Minister of State for Labour and Government Whip, Singapore, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Mrs. Sia.

Hon. Paul Dean, M.P., United Kingdom, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Mrs. Dean.

Hon. J. M. G. Adams, M. P., Leader of Opposition, Barbados, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Hon. J. R. Ford, M.P., Bahamas, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Hon. J. H. Taylor, MLA (Australia).

Mrs. Taylor.

Hon. R. F. Anthony Roberts, M.P., Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Local Government (Bahamas).

Mrs. Roberts.

Hon. Mohammad Baitullah, M.P., Deputy Speaker of Parliament (Bangladesh).

Senator the Hon. D. Griffith (Barbados).

Hon. Maurice Dupras, M.P. (Canada).

Senator the Hon. M. Lorne Bonnell, MDCM (Canada).

Mrs. Bonnell.

Mr. Ian Imrie, Secretary to the Delegation (Canada).

Hon. Joseph Casey, M.L.A., Deputy Speaker, Nova Scotia (Canada).

Mrs. Casey.

Hon. P. K. Bhindi, MHR, Assistant Minister of Finance (Fiji).

Mrs. Bhindi.

Hon. John R. Forster, M.P., Leader of Opposition (The Gambia).

Hon. B. Ramsaroop, M.P., Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Leader of the House (Guyana).

Mrs. Ramsaroop.

Hon. H. C. Wariithi, M.P., Assistant Minister of State, President's Office (Kenya).

Hon. Dato Kurnia Budinan Mohd. Khairuddin bin Mohd. Kawi, AMN, MLA, Speaker of Legislative Assembly (Malaysia).

Mrs. Khairuddin.

Miss Khairuddin.

Hon. Raouf Bundhun, M.L.A., Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Youth and Sports (Mauritius).

Mrs. Bundhun.

Mr. Maurice Bru, Clerk-Assistant of Legislative Assembly (Mauritius).

Hon. Jek Yeun Thong, M.P., Minister for Culture (Singapore).

Mr. S. S. Wijesinha, Clerk of the National State Assembly (Sri Lanka).

Mrs. Wijesinha.

Mr. Wijesinha.

Miss. Wijesinha.

Lady Shepherd (United Kingdom).

Rt. Hon. William Whitelaw, CH, MC, M.P. (United Kingdom).

Mrs. Whitelaw.

Hon. Neil Marten, M.P. (United Kingdom).

Mrs. Marten.

Mr. P. G. Molloy, OBE, MC Secretary of U.K. Branch of CPA.

Mrs. Molloy.

Hon. J. B. A. Siyomunji, M.P. Minister for Central Province (Zambia).

Hon. Isaac Abecasis, MHA, Minister for Housing and Postal Services (Gibraltar).

Hon. James Bell, MHK (Isle of Man).

Mrs. Bell.

Sir David Lidderdale, Clerk of British House of Commons (United Kingdom).

Lady Lidderdale.

Sir Robin Vanderfelt, Secretary-General of CPA.

Lady Vanderfelt.

Mr. S. L. Shakdher, Secretary-General of Lok Sabha and Secretary-General of India Branch of CPA.

Mrs. Shakdher.

Mr. V. K. Shakdher.

Mrs. V. K. Shakdher.

Mr. H. C. Batra.

LIAISON OFFICERS

Mr. K. S. Bhalla.

Mr. G. L. Bhatt.

Mr. R. L. Chopra.

Mr. Som Sharma.

TOUR GROUP 'B'

Tour Group 'B' visited the States of Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam and Meghalaya from the 5th to 9th November, 1975. The group consisted of 47 delegates and five Liaison Officers of Lok Sabha Secretariat, as listed in the *Annexure*.

The programme schedules and highlights of their visits to these States were as under:—

I. LUCKNOW (UTTAR PRADESH)

Wednesday, the 5th November, 1975

Reception at Amausi Airport (Lucknow) by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Speaker, Vidhan Sabha, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Members of State Legislature and Officers of Government

and Legislature Secretariats of Uttar Pradesh.

Breakfast at Hotel Clarks Avadh by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

Visit to the Scooters India Limited.

Visit to both Houses of U.P. Legislature and Legislature Library.

Lunch at Hotel Clarks Avadh by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

Visit to the Residency, Bara Imambara, Chhota Imambara and U.P. Government Handicraft Emporium.

At Home by the Governor of Uttar Pradesh at the Government House.

Cultural programme at Ravindralaya.

Dinner at Hotel Clarks Avadh by the Speaker, U.P. Vidhan Sabha.

A token gift was presented to each member of the Group by the Governor at the Government House during the At Home.

II. CALCUTTA (WEST BENGAL)

Thursday, the 6th November, 1975

Reception at Calcutta Airport by the Deputy Speaker and Officers of the Government and Legislature Secretariats.

Visit to the Bata Shoe Factory and Garden Reach Workshops.

Tea-party by the Governor of West Bengal at Raj Bhawan.

Cultural programme at Rabindra Sadan. Dinner by the Chief Minister of West Bengal at the Grand Hotel.

Sunday, the 9th November, 1975

Visit to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Lunch by the Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly at Tollygunge Club.

Visit to the Victoria Memorial, National Library and Agri-Horticultural Gardens.

Tea-party by the Minister of Information and Public Relations.

A token gift was presented to each member of the Group on behalf of the West Bengal Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

III. GAUHATI (ASSAM)

Friday, the 7th November, 1975

Reception at the Gauhati Airport by the Speaker, Ministers and Members of Assam Legislative Assembly.

Visit to the State Museum and Emporium.

Lunch by the Government of Assam at Hotel Belle Vue. A token gift was presented to each member of the Group.

IV. SHILLONG (MEGHALAYA)

Friday, the 7th November, 1975

Tea-party by the Minister of Power of Government of Meghalaya.

Cultural show at Pinewood Hotel.

Dinner by the Chief Minister of Meghalaya at Pinewood Hotel.

Saturday, the 8th November, 1975

Visit to Cherrapunjee and Mawsmai Falls.

Lunch by the Speaker, Meghalaya Legislative Assembly.

Visit to the Meghalaya Legislative Assembly.

Tea-party by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

Cultural show at Pinewood Hotel.

Dinner by the Governor of Meghalaya at Pinewood Hotel.

The Speaker of Meghalaya Legislative Assembly accompanied the delegates throughout their tour in Meghalaya. The Governor of Meghalaya also attended the dinner and lunch given by the Chief Minister and the Speaker respectively in honour of the delegates. Token gifts were presented to each member of the Group on behalf of the Chief Minister, Speaker and Governor of Meghalaya respectively. Lady delegates and wives of delegates were also presented shawls on behalf of the Chief Minister of Meghalaya.

At a number of places, the delegates were welcomed with traditional customs and gateways and arches were erected in their honour for welcoming them.

ANNEXURE

TOUR GROUP B

LIST OF DELEGATES AND THEIR LADIES

Hon. M. B. Dawkins, M.L.C. (Australia).

Mrs. Dawkins.
 Hon. D. E. Kent, M.L.C. (Australia).
 Hon. H. W. Gayfer, M.L.C. (Australia).
 Mrs. Gayfer.
 Senator the Hon. L.H. Lockhart, Vice-President of the Senate (Bahamas).
 Hon. Sheikh Abdur Rahman, M.P. (Bangladesh).
 Hon. Alan Martin, M.P. (Canada).
 Hon. Robert Wenman, M.P. (Canada).
 Mrs. Wenman.
 Hon. N. Jean Parreault, M.L.A. (Canada).
 Hon. George F. Hosten, FIBA, JP, MP, Minister for Finance, Trade and Industry and Leader of Government business in the House of Representatives (Grenada).
 Hon. R. C. P. Moore, OBE, J.P. M.P., Speaker of the House of Representatives (Grenada).
 Hon. (Miss) M. M. Ackman, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister and Government Chief Whip (Guyana).
 Hon. (Mrs.) E. DaSilva, M.P. (Guyana).
 Mr. M. B. Henry, Secretary to the delegation (Guyana).
 Hon. M. K. Arap Keino, M.P. (Kenya).
 Mr. B. A. Tlealase, Clerk to the National Assembly (Lesotho).
 Hon. Lim Cho Hock, M.P. (Malaysia).
 Hon. Encik Thong Hiang, Kim, JP, PJK, MLA (Malaysia).
 Hon. S. P. Chelliah, JP, MLA (Malaysia).
 Mrs. Chelliah.
 Hon. Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Ismail, SMT, PJK, MLA, (Malaysia).
 Hon. Emanuel Attard Bezzina, M.P. Speaker of House of Representative (Malta).
 Mr. Dennis Cauchi, Secretary to the Delegation (Malta).
 Hon. (Mrs.) Mary Dorothy Batchelor, M.P. (New Zealand).
 Mr. C. P. Littlejohn, Secretary to the Delegation (New Zealand).
 Hon. Roy Richardson, M.P., Leader of Opposition (Trinidad & Tobago).
 Hon. Maurice Edelman, M.P. (United Kingdom).
 Mrs. Edelman.
 Hon. Julius Silverman, M.P. (United Kingdom).
 Mrs. Silverman.
 Hon. R. K. Banda, M.P. (Zambia).
 Dr. the Hon. W.H.C. Masters, OBE, M.P. (Bermuda).
 Mrs. Masters.
 Hon. L. G. Blake, JP, MLC (Falkland Islands).
 Mrs. Blake.
 Hon. Sir John Loveridge, Kt. CBF, Baliff and President of the States (Guernsey).
 Lady Loveridge.
 Hon. Nicholson Dondas, MLA (Northern Territory).
 Mrs. Nicholson Dondas.
 Hon. Nicholson Stravens, MLA (Seychelles).

Mr. K. H. Wheeler, Clerk to Legislative Council of Hong Kong, Secretary of Auxiliary Branches.

Hon. (Mrs.) Tekarei Russel, Minister for Health and Welfare (Gilbert Islands).

Mr. Palitha Weerasinghe, Assistant Secretary-General of CPA.

Mr. B. N. Banerjee, Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha.

Mrs. Banerjee.

LIAISON OFFICERS

Mr. J. R. Kapur.

Mr. A. S. Sarin.

Mr. S. N. Banerjee.

Mr. S. K. Sengupta.

Mr. T. N. Kaul.

TOUR GROUP 'C'

Tour Group 'C' (Southern Region) comprising 66 persons, (57 foreign delegates, 4 other delegates and 5 Liaison Officers) as listed in the *Annexure*, left Delhi (Palam) by air on 5-11-75 at 09.00 hrs. for Hyderabad, Bangalore and Madras. Programme schedules and a brief account of the tour are given below:

I. HYDERABAD (ANDHRA PRADESH)

Reception & Accommodation:

On arrival at Hyderabad on 5-11-75 at 10.55 hrs., the party was received at the airport by the Speaker, Legislative Assembly and other State dignitaries, with 'Zari' garlands. The party was accom-

modated in two hotels—Ritz and Blue Moon.

Places visited:

The delegates were shown round the following places:

- (1) Salarjung Museum.
- (2) Drive around Charminar.
- (3) Nehru Zoological Park and Safari Park
- (4) Arts Emporium.

Entertainments:

The following entertainment programmes were arranged in honour of the delegates:

(1) Lunch by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Chairman of the Legislative Council at Jubilee Hall on 5th November, 1975. The Speaker made a welcome speech, to which Senator C.S. Dupre (Jersey) replied.

(2) On the same day Shri J. B. Muthyal Rao, former Dy. Minister at the Centre and lately Ambassador of India to Somalia, gave a reception at his residence.

(3) Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh gave a dinner at Jubilee Hall on 5th November. He made a welcome speech. Mr. W. C. B. Hinds (Barbados) thanked and gave a token present on behalf of CPA to the Secretary of the State Assembly. The Chief Minister also gave presents to the delegates, and others accompanying them.

(4) Cultural Programme at Indira Priyadarsini Auditorium, in the evening.

The party left Hyderabad for Bangalore by air on 6-11-75 at 11.35 hrs.

II. BANGALORE (KARNATAKA)

The party reached Bangalore on 6th November, 1975 at 12.25 hrs. and was received at the airport by the Presiding Officers of the State Legislature, some Ministers and other dignitaries. The delegates and others were accommodated at Hotel Ashoka.

Places visited:

(1) Immediately on landing at Bangalore on 6-11-75, the delegates were taken to Vidhana Soudha which was decorated with buntings and a warm reception was accorded. They were presented sandalwood garlands and shown round the Assembly and the Council Chambers.

(2) HMT Watch Factory.

(3) Karnataka Government Soap Factory. (Packets of soaps etc. manufactured in the factory were presented to the delegates.)

(4) Karnataka Govt. Sandal Oil Factory. (Sandalwood boxes containing small bottles of sandalwood oil were presented to the delegates.)

(5) Drive round the city.

(6) Vidhana Soudha which was specially illuminated.

[The party left Bangalore by coaches at 08.30 hrs. on 7-11-75 for Mysore and came back to Bangalore at 01.00 hrs. on 8-11-76].

(7) Monuments at Somanathpur.

(8) Monuments at Srirangapatna.

(9) Chamarajendra Technical Institute.

(10) Karnataka Government Silk Filatures.

(11) Karnataka Government Silk Weaving Factory. (Packets containing some token gifts were presented to the delegates).

(12) Karnataka State Arts & Crafts Emporium.

(13) Krishnarajasagar Dam and Brindavan Gardens. (The gardens were richly illuminated on the occasion).

(14) Maharaja's Palace at Mysore which was also specially illuminated in honour of the Delegates.

Entertainments:

The delegates were entertained at the following functions:

(1) Lunch by the Chief Minister at Hotel Ashoka on 6th November, 1975. He made a welcome speech, to which Hon. E. R. Schreyer (Canada) replied.

(2) Tea by the Governor at Raj Bhawan on 6th November.

(3) Cultural Programme at Hotel Ashoka on 6th November, Mrs. Brenda Robertson (Canada) thanked the artistes and the organisers for this function.

(4) Dinner by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Karnataka Branch at Hotel Ashoka on 6th November. The

Speaker of the Assembly welcomed the delegates. Hon. James Johnson (U.K.) presented a token gift from CPA to the Secretary of the State Legislature.

(5) Lunch by the Chairman of the Legislative Council at Lalitha Mahal Palace Hotel, Mysore, on 7th November. The Chairman welcomed the delegates. One of the delegates [Senator T. S. Gabriel (Malaysia)] thanked on behalf of the delegates.

(6) Tea at the premises of the Government Silk Weaving Factory, Mysore on 7th November.

(7) Dinner by Speaker of Assembly at Hotel Krishnaraj Sagar, Mysore, on 7th November. The Speaker made a welcome speech to which Hon. A. R. Thomas (Bermuda) replied. He was so pleased with the arrangements and the way the delegates were looked after that he started singing "She (referring to the Speaker of Assembly) is a jolly good fellow" in which all the other delegates joined.

All the arrangements made and the functions held in honour of the delegates were very well-planned. The Speaker and Chairman of the Legislature were present at every function held or place visited. The Secretary of the Legislature was always available with the delegates. Deluxe coaches and cars were placed at the disposal of delegates during their stay at Bangalore and visits to Mysore and the various places there.

The party left Bangalore for Madras by air on 8-11-75 at 09.00 hrs.

III. MADRAS (TAMIL NADU)

Reception and Accommodation:

The party reached Madras on 8th November, at 09.35 hrs. by chartered flight from Bangalore. The delegates were received at Meenambakkam airport by Speaker and Dy. Chairman of the State Legislature. They were accommodated at Con-nemara Hotel.

Places visited:

Visits to the following places were organised for the delegates:

- (1) Integral Coach Factory at Perambur.
- (2) Legislative Assembly, which was in session. (Special arrangements were made for taking photographs).
- (3) Legislative Council Chamber.
- (4) Monuments at Mahabalipuram and Sea-bathing.
- (5) Sculpture Training School and Val-luvar Kottam Work Centre at Mahabali-puram.

Entertainments:

The delegates were entertained at the following functions:

- (1) Lunch by the Chairman and the Speaker of the State Legislature at Con-nemara Hotel on 8th November. The Governor and the Chief Minister and Members of the State Legislature were present. Bronze images of Nataraja were presented to the delegates.

(2) Tea by the Governor at Raj Bhawan on 8th November.

(3) Dinner by the Chief Minister at Rajaji Hall on 8th November, itself. The Governor was also present. The Chief Minister presented to the delegates a set of books on Tamil Nadu and Sandalwood garlands as mementos.

(4) Cultural Programme on 8th November which also contained an item regarding exhibition of a movie film taken from the time of landing of delegates at Meenam-bakkam airport.

(5) Lunch by the Minister of Education & Tourism at 'Temple Bay' Mahabalipuram on 9th November. The Minister made a welcome speech to which Hon. Noel St. Germain (Canada) replied. The Minister also presented a sculpture of lion in soft stone to the male delegates and engraving of lotus flower in soft stone to the ladies.

De-luxe coaches were used for taking the party from airport to the hotel and other places. Adequate guides and police arrangements were made. Secretary of the Legislative Council was always available with the delegates.

Departure from Madras:

Foreign Delegates left Madras as noted under:—

Delegates started leaving Madras on the 8th November, 1975. The maximum number of Delegates, 30, left Madras on 9th November for Bombay and 13 to Delhi. Necessary assistance as well as transport

facilities were provided at the airport to the Delegates.

ANNEXURE

TOUR GROUP C

LIST OF DELEGATES AND THEIR LADIES

Hon. F. A. Dewhurst, MLA, Speaker of Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, Canada, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Senator the Hon. S. S. Dupre, MC, President of Tourism Committee, Jersey, Member of Executive Committee of CPA.

Mrs. Dupre.

Hon. S. V. Ward, MHA (Australia).

Mrs. Ward.

Mr. R. E. Ward, Secretary to the Australian State Branches delegation (Australia).

Mrs. Ward.

Hon. Santosh Kumar Biswas, M.P., Minister (Bangladesh).

Hon. W. C. B. Hinds, M.P. (Barbados).

Hon. William Scott (Canada).

Hon. E. R. Schreyer, MLA, Premier of Manitoba (Canada).

Mrs. Schreyer.

Hon. (Mrs.) Brenda Robertson (Canada).

Mr. Robertson.

Senator the Hon. Chrysler Thomas, JP, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary (Grenada).

Hon. S. A. Thakalekoala, MP (Lesotho).

Senator the Hon. T. S. Gabriel (Malaysia).
 Mrs. Gabriel.
 Tuan Hj. Ahmad Hasmuni bin Hi. Hussein, Secretary to the delegation (Malaysia).
 Hon. Tuan Haji Redzuan bin Hj, Salim, AMN, PIS, MLA (Malaysia).
 Hon. Tuan Haji Safirol bin Haji Hashim, PJK, MLA (Malaysia).
 Hon. Mohd. Bashir B. Haji Bahari (Malaysia).
 Mrs. Bashir.
 Hon. D. Ramdin, MLA (Mauritius).
 Mrs. Ramdin.
 Hon. M. C. Gopallawa, MP (Sri Lanka).
 Mrs. Gopallawa.
 Hon. K. Jeyakkody, MP (Sri Lanka).
 Mrs. Jeyakkody.
 Senator the Hon. John Daniel (Trinidad & Tobago).
 Hon. George Williams, MP (Trinidad & Tobago).
 Hon. Leo Abse, MP (U.K.).
 Mrs. Abse.
 Hon. James Johnson, MP (U.K.).
 Mrs. Johnson.
 Hon. Laurie Pavitt, MP (U.K.).
 Mrs. Pavitt.
 Hon. P. R. Chanshi, MP (Zambia).
 Hon. A. R. Thomas (Bermuda).
 Mrs. Thomas.
 Hon. H. F. C. Ereaut, President of the States Parliament (Jersey).
 Mrs. Ereaut.
 Senator the Hon. Reginald Robert Jeune (Jersey).
 Mrs. Jeune.
 Hon. Sergius Arek MHA (Papua New Guinea).
 Hon. William Bichhorn, MHA (Papua New Guinea).
 Hon. Kieran Crotty, Deputy (Republic of Ireland).
 Mrs. Crotty.
 Hon. Michael Noonan, Deputy (Republic of Ireland).
 Mr. K. A. Bradshaw, Clerk of the Overseas Office House of Commons and Secretary of Society of Clerks-at-the Table (U.K.).
 Mr. Ian Grey, Deputy Secretary-General of CPA.
 Miss Fowler, Assistant Secretary-General, General Council of CPA.
 Miss Betty May, Administrative Officer of CPA.
 Mrs. Susan Burchett, Assistant Editor of Publications of CPA.
 Shri J. K. Shakhder.
 Mrs. J. K. Shakhder.
 Miss. Koli Banerjee.
 Miss. Rashmi Mehta.
 Encik Hamzah bin Abas, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly and CPA Branch Secretary Pahang (Malaysia).
 Hon. Noel St. Germain, MNA Quebec (Canada).
 Mrs. St. Germain.

LIAISON OFFICERS

Shri K. K. Saxena.

Shri P. N. Dhar.

Shri B. R. Goyal.

Shri B. K. Puri.

Shri M. K. Mookhrejee.

TOUR GROUP 'D'

Tour Group 'D' (Western Region) comprising 42 Delegates and 4 Liaison Officers (as per list given in the *Annexure*) left Delhi (Palam) by air on 5th November at 06.35 hours for Bhopal by IAC chartered flight. One delegate and one observer (Kaur Battan Singh) joined the Group at Bombay.

Salient features of the tour

I. VISIT TO BHOPAL (MADHYA PRADESH)

On arrival at Bhopal at 08.20 hours, the Delegates were received at the airport by the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of Madhya Pradesh Assembly, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Secretary and other officers of the State Assembly and a few members of the State Legislative Assembly.

The Group was taken straight from the airport to the Vidhan Sabha Bhavan. The Delegates were shown round the Assembly Hall and other places in the building and thereafter taken to a specially erected shamiana where breakfast was served. After the breakfast, the Speaker and the

Chief Minister made short speeches welcoming the Delegates and enlightening them about some important features about Madhya Pradesh, its people and industries. The Speaker introduced Hon. K. C. Ramrakha from Fiji as the Leader of the Delegation and the latter replied to the speeches made by the Chief Minister and the Speaker. On behalf of the State, the Speaker presented to the Delegates a replica of one of the statues from Khajuraho.

The Delegates visited the State Co-operative Bank building, from where they could have a panoramic view of the entire Bhopal city. Thereafter the Delegates were taken to Chinar Swimming Pool. The Delegates were also shown round the Bharat Heavy Electricals Factory. The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker were present at the airport to see off the Delegates to Ahmedabad.

II. VISIT TO AHMEDABAD (GUJARAT)

The Group reached Ahmedabad Airport at 5 p.m. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, the Gujarat Chief Minister, Leader of Opposition and Sri P. G. Mavalankar and Kumari Maniben Vallabh-bhai Patel, M.Ps. were present at the airport to receive the Delegates.

Accommodation

The Assembly Secretariat had arranged accommodation in two hotels viz. Cama Hotel and Roopali Hotel which are at a distance of about one kilometre from each other.

Programmes at Ahmedabad

(1) Dinner by Speaker

At 8.30 p.m. on 5th November, the Speaker of the Gujarat Assembly hosted a dinner for the Delegates in Sports Club of Gujarat, Sardar Stadium. At the dinner, apart from the Presiding Officers of the State Assembly, Chief Minister and a few other Ministers, S/Shri P. G. Mavalankar, H.M. Patel, S. M. Solanki, and Kumari Maniben Vallabhbhai Patel, M.Ps. were also present. After the dinner the Speaker made a speech giving facts about Gujarat and welcoming the Delegates. Hon. E. E. Isbey of New Zealand replied on behalf of the Delegates.

(2) Film show

The dinner was followed by a short film show of two documentaries on the folk dances of Gujarat.

(3) Sight seeing at Ahmedabad

On the 6th November the Delegates visited places like Hatheesingh Temple, Siddi Sayyid's Mosque, Shaking Minarets, the Zoo and the Zoo Museum.

(4) Visit to Assembly Building

After sight-seeing the Delegates were taken to Legislative Assembly building in Gandhinagar and shown the Assembly Hall.

(5) Lunch by Chief Minister

The Delegates were then taken to V.I.P. Guest House at Gandhinagar where the Chief Minister of Gujarat hosted a purely

vegetarian lunch consisting *inter alia* of some typical Gujarati dishes.

During the lunch the Chief Minister addressed the Delegates and thanked them for their visit. Hon. Michael Marshall, M.P. from U.K. replied on behalf of the Delegates.

(6) Visit to Adalaj Step-Well

After lunch, the Delegates visited the Adalaj Step-Well. There the villagers welcomed the Delegates and offered them flowers.

(7) Satellite Centre and T.V. Station

The Delegates were then taken to Satellite Centre, Jodhpur Tekra. There they were shown round the Satellite Centre and the TV studios.

(8) Calico Mills Museum

A visit to Calico Mills Museum was the next programme of the Delegates. The mills authorities presented to the Delegates packets containing gents and ladies handkerchiefs.

(9) Sabarmati Ashram

From there the Delegates were taken to Sabarmati Ashram and shown round. A framed photograph of Mahatma Gandhi and also some literature about Gandhiji were presented to the Delegates.

(10) Dinner by Governor

At 8 p.m. Delegates were given dinner at the Raj Bhavan by the Governor. At the

end of the dinner, the Governor made a short speech welcoming the Delegates. Dr. Brincat, M.P. from Malta replied on behalf of the Delegates and Hon. Cham presented a gift to the Secretary to the Gujarat Legislative Assembly on behalf of the Delegates.

(11) *Cultural Programme*

Later, at the Tagore Theatre a cultural programme of folk dances was arranged for the delegates. During the interval the Speaker made a brief speech and Hon. Cham replied. A group photograph of the delegates with the artists was also taken. Delegates liked the programme very much. It was well past midnight when the Delegates reached back their hotel rooms.

(12) *Visit to Nal Lake*

On the 7th November, 1975 at about 9 a.m. the Delegates went for a visit to the Nal Lake. At the lake they were also taken in boats to an island in the centre of the lake. Later all the Delegates had their lunch in the Cama Hotel.

(13) *Departure for Bombay*

The Delegates left for Bombay at 4 p.m. At the time of departure from Ahmedabad, a handloom table cloth was presented to the Delegates by the Secretary of the Assembly.

The Speaker, Deputy Speaker and the Chief Minister of Gujarat and some M.Ps. were present at the airport to bid farewell to the Delegates.

III. *VICIT TO BOMBAY (MAHARASHTRA)*

Reception

On arrival at Bombay at 6 p.m., the Delegates were received at the airport by the Presiding Officers of the Two Houses, the Chief Minister, the Secretary to the Legislature and some other dignitaries.

Accommodation

From the airport, the Delegates were taken in Deluxe Coaches to Taj Mahal Hotel, where accommodation was arranged for them.

Receptions and Sight Seeing

(1) *Dinner by Maharashtra Branch of C.P.A.*

At 8.30 p.m. the Delegates were taken to Wankhede Stadium where the Maharashtra Branch of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association hosted a dinner in their honour. At the end of the dinner, the Chairman of the Maharashtra Legislative Council made a brief speech welcoming the Delegates. Hon. Henry E. Giraudy replied on behalf of the Delegates.

(2) *Visit to Elephanta Caves*

On the 8th November, 1975 after breakfast at Taj Mahal Hotel, the Delegates were taken to Elephanta Caves in two steamers. They returned to the hotel at about 12.30 p.m.

(3) Lunch by Chief Minister

At 1 p.m. the Chief Minister of Maharashtra hosted an official lunch in honour of the Delegates at the Oberoi Sheraton Hotel. At the end of the lunch, the Chief Minister made a brief speech welcoming the Delegates. Hon. M. C. Cham replied on behalf of the Delegates.

(4) Sight-seeing of Bombay

In the evening, the Delegates went on a city sight-seeing tour to Marine Lines, Hanging Gardens, Kamla Nehru Park, etc

(5) Dinner by Governor and Cultural Programme

At 8.30 p.m. the Delegates were taken to Raj Bhavan where the Governor of Maharashtra hosted an official dinner in their honour. At the end of the dinner, the Governor made a brief speech welcoming the Delegates. Hon. L. F. Sloane replied on behalf of the Delegates. After the dinner the Delegates witnessed a cultural programme at Raj Bhavan arranged in their honour. The programme included a Sitar recital and a dance by Miss Hema Malini, the famous film star.

(6) Visit to Aarey Milk Colony

On 9-11-75, after the breakfast at the hotel, the delegates visited the Aarey Milk Colony. After the visit was over the Delegates were served lunch at New-Zealand Hostel.

(7) Reception at Assembly Hall

At 4.15 p.m., the Delegates were taken to the Council Hall where a reception was held in their honour by the Maharashtra Branch of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Before the reception the Delegates went round the Assembly and Council Halls. At the end of the reception, the Chairman of the Legislative Council made a brief speech. Hon. (Mrs.) Grace Onyango, M.P. replied to the speech and Hon. Cham presented a gift to the Secretary of the Maharashtra Legislature on behalf of the Delegates. Thereafter the Delegates visited the Wankhede Stadium, from where they returned to the Taj Mahal Hotel and had their dinner in their suites.

In the course of the tour 3 Delegates were taken ill. They were Hon. M. Mason from Mauritius, Hon. Marcel Roy from Canada and Hon. D. P. Wickreme Singhe from Sri Lanka. All of them were given the best available medical treatment.

Departure of Delegates

Delegates started leaving Bombay on the 8th November, 1975 and the process continued almost round-the-clock till the night between 10th and 11th November, 1975. The maximum number of Delegates left by AI-101 at 3 a.m. on the 10th November, 1975. Necessary assistance as well as transport facilities were provided to the Delegates at the airport. The Air India, Airport and Customs authorities extended their full cooperation in ensuring that the Delegates were not inconvenienced at any stage. In fact the Air India went to the

extent of exempting the Delegates from paying for extra baggage and the travel tax.

ANNEXURE

TOUR GROUP D

LIST OF DELEGATES AND THEIR LADIES

Hon. M. C. Cham, M.P.,
The Gambia, Member of the Executive
Committee of CPA.

Mr. Perey Oswald Saunders, Secretary to
the delegation (Bahamas).

Mr. Aminullah, Secretary to the delegation
(Bangladesh).

Hon. Marcel Roy, M.P. (Canada).

Hon. L. G. Young, MLA (Canada).

Mrs. Young.

Hon. T. Earle Hickey, FCA, MLA,
Minister of Finance (Prince Edward Island
—Canada).

Mrs. Hickey.

Mr. Jacques Lessard, Secretary to the
Canadian Provincial Branches delegation.

Hon. K. C. Ramrakha, MHR (Fiji).

Mrs. Ramrakha.

Captain V. Vijay Singh, Secy. to the
Delegation (Fiji).

Mr. Curtis V. Strachan, Secretary to the
delegation (Grenada).

Hon. (Mrs.) Grace Onyango, M.P.
(Kenya).

Mr. H. B. N. Gicheru, Secretary to the
delegation (Kenya).

Hon. Yang Berhormat Datuk Haji Ahmad
bin Haji Manap, DKSJ, PPN, JP, MLA
(Malaysia).

Tuan Syed Ali bin Syed Idrus Alhabshi,
PJK, Secretary to Malaysian State
Branches delegation.

Dr. the Hon. Joseph Brincat, MP (Malta).

Dr. the Hon. Albert Borg Olivier De Puget,
M.P. (Malta).

Hon. M. Mason MLA (Mauritius).

Hon. E. E. Isbey M.P. (New Zealand).

Hon. L. F. Sloane, M.P. (New Zealand).

Mrs. Sloane.

Hon. F. S. Macauley, JP, M.P. (Sierra
Leone).

Hon. Lai Tha Chai, M.P. (Singapore).

Hon. Lee Yiok Seng, M.P. (Singapore).

Hon. D. P. Wickreme Singhe, M.P. Dy.
Minister of Shipping Tourism and Aviation
(Sri Lanka).

Mrs. Wickreme Singhe.

Mr. J. E. Carter, Secretary to the Delegation
(Trinidad and Tobago).

Hon. Michael Marshal, M.P. (United
Kingdom).

Hon. Kenneth Clarke, M.P. (United
Kingdom).

Mrs. Clarke.

Mr. A. C. Yumba, Secretary to the Delegation
(Zambia).

Hon. Trevor Ewan Foster, MLA (Cayman
Islands).

Mrs. Foster.

Hon. John Callister Clucas, MHK (Isle
of Man).

Mrs. Clucas.

Hon. Henry E. Giraudy, MHA (St. Lucia).

Hon. N. B. Saunders, MSC (Turks and Caicos Islands).

Hon. C. N. Misick, MSC (Turks and Caicos Islands).

Mr. D. H. Bramble, Secretary of Ausiliary Branches delegation.

Mr. Xavier Deniau, Observer Association Internationale, Des Parlementaires de Langue Francaise.

Miss. Helen Somerville, Secretary to Secretary-General of CPA.

LIAISON OFFICERS

Shri N. N. Mehra.

Shri J. C. Malhotra.

Shri K. M. L. Verma.

Shri M. L. Bhandari.

TOUR PROGRAMME OF OFSFICERS OF CPA GENERAL COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

A party consisting of the following Officers of the CPA General Council Secretariat accompanied by the Liaison Officer participated in the tour programme in Kashmir from 12th to 15th November, 1975:—

Mr. Ian Grey

Mr. L. M. Fowler

Miss. Fowler

Miss. Betty May

Mr. Palitha Weerasinghe

Mrs. Susan Burchett

Miss Helen Somerville

Liaison Officer (Shri K. D. Chatterjee)

2. The party arrived at Srinagar Airport by IAC Flight No. 423 at 12.30 in the morning of 12th November, 1975 and was received by the Secretary, CPA State Branch Kashmir Assembly and by the Secretary of the Council, Director of Tourism, J&K and others. As the Legislature Secretariat had shifted to Jammu for the winter, the Speaker had conveyed his apologies through the Secretary of the Assembly Secretariat for not being able to be present.

3. The party was accommodated in two House Boats on the Nagin Lake.

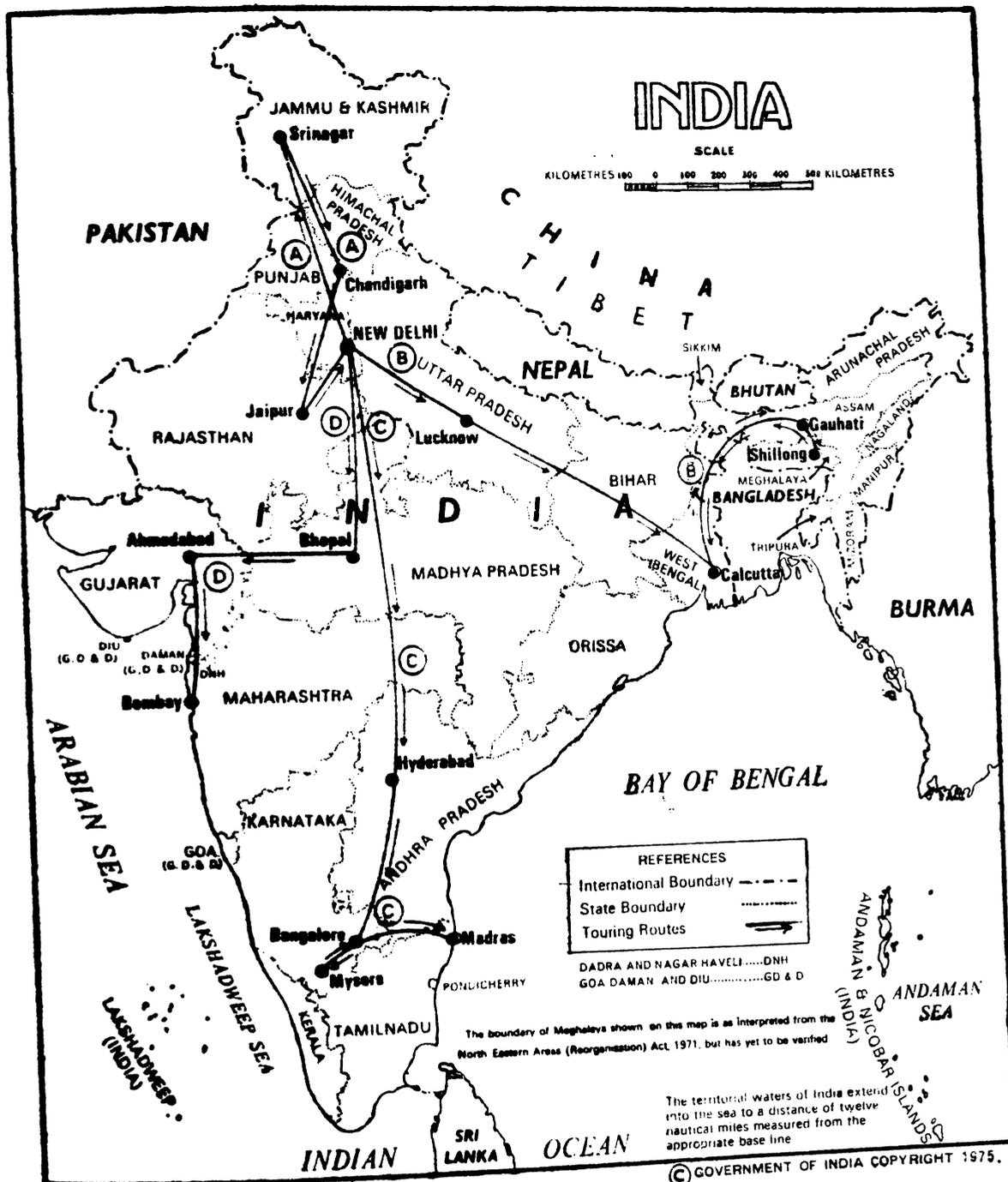
4. After lunch, the party was taken to Government Arts Emporium and shown around. After a walk around the markets and shops, the party returned to the House Boats.

5. On the 13th November, 1975, the party was taken to the Assembly and Council Secretariat on the river Jhelum and thereafter to Gulmarg by road. At Gulmarg they were given lunch at Highlands Park Hotel. Secretary of the Upper House of J&K Legislature was also present. Then the party returned to the House Boats from Gulmarg.

21st COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMETARY CONFERENCE,
NEW DELHI

Post-Conference Tours

(5th to 9th November, 1975)



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

Tour Group

- A New Delhi|Srinagar|Chandigarh|Jaipur|New Delhi.
B New Delhi|Lucknow|Calcutta|Gauhati|Shillong|Gauhati|Calcutta.
C New Delhi|Hyderabad|Bangalore|Mysore|Bangalore|Madras.
D New Delhi|Bhopal|Ahmedabad|Bombay.

6. On the 14th November, 1975, the party was given lunch at Broadway Hotel, Srinagar, hosted by Mr. Shah, Minister of Food & Civil Supplies and his wife (daughter of the Chief Minister of J&K). Then the party was taken to the TV Centre and received by the Director. The Officers and staff of the CPA General Council Secretariat had a TV interview for about 22 minutes relating to their visit to different places and their reactions. After that, the party was shown Chasma Shahi and Shalimar Gardens. Then the party returned to the House Boats.

The same day the party was given a dinner at Oberoi Palace Hotel by the Chairman of the Upper House of Kashmir Legislature. The *ex*-Chief Minister and *ex*-Speaker Shri Shamshuddin, some M.L.As. and the Food & Civil Supplies Minister, Mr. Shah, were also present together with some senior officers of the Council/Assembly Secretariat and of the Tourism Department.

7. On the 15th morning, the party was introduced to Shri Sheikh Abdullah, Chief Minister of J&K, at his residence at Srinagar at 9.30 a.m. The Chief Minister welcomed them, conversed with them for about 15 minutes and, after a group photograph, the party took leave of him.

During the stay of the party in Kashmir, the Secretary of the Kashmir Assembly, Secretary of the Council and Under Secretary of the Assembly looked after the needs and comforts of the party.

The party returned to New Delhi the same day at 4.30 p.m.

Appendix VIII

GLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS

(Select Editorials, Articles and Radio Broadcasts)

I. EDITORIALS

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

It is not without justification that the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference is being held in Delhi. No country perhaps, has been more anxious than India for the preservation of the concept of Commonwealth. But there was also need for holding the conference in New Delhi to enable the delegates of 35 nations to know the truth about the wild allegations made against Indian democracy by interested papers and politicians in the Western world. There is no need for India to explain her problems to all and sundry. How other countries are faring is not unknown to the Indian people. But the Commonwealth countries are members of one family. They must sit together to discuss in depth the threats and challenges that may be coming to them from one or many quarters. The basic thing to understand is that it is bunkum to make any generalisation about democracy or even about Parliamentary system which can exist without democracy. The position differs from country to country depending on local conditions.

Inaugurating the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed has declared that the Indian

Constitution commits this country to the Parliamentary system and the ideal of building up an egalitarian system based on social and economic justice and on recognition of individual liberty and freedom. In the face of such a categorical declaration, should there be any doubt about the intentions of the government? In fact, almost every day, the Prime Minister has been saying that India can't do without democracy. It is common sense that no other system would work in a vast country like India.

But the commitment of India is not only to the form. The goal, as stressed by President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is establishment of an egalitarian system based on social and economic justice. Side by side, there is also a commitment for protecting and preserving individual liberty and freedom. What should a democratic government do when one commitment comes in conflict with another, when for instance, individual freedom obstructs establishment of an egalitarian system? The answer to the aforesaid question is not easy. But India's endeavour has been to fulfil all the commitments to establish democratic socialism as visualised by Jawaharlal Nehru and the founding fathers of the Constitution. It is no small credit to the ruling party that even three decades after freedom, the country has not gone to one or another extreme. This state of affairs, however, can't continue if there is no realisation that democratic socialism can't be achieved without patience and restraint. There is need for a code of conduct for political parties if democracy is to survive.

Short cut methods are incompatible with democracy.

The Indian Nation (Patna)

October 30, 1975.

CHALLENGES TO PARLIAMENTS

Churchill proclaimed from house-tops that he had not become the first Minister of Her Majesty to preside over the liquidation of the empire. The empire over which the sun never set was however liquidated and he lived to see the liquidation. But the liquidation led to its re-emergence as a new 'avatar', the Commonwealth. The empire underwent a sea change into something rich and wonderful. The British Empire became slowly and imperceptibly but inevitably the British Commonwealth of Nations. Then as years rolled by the British Commonwealth quietly dropped its "British" and became Commonwealth of Nations in which form it has acquired new importance and significance. To Jawaharlal Nehru must go the distinction of being the builder of the modern Commonwealth. If India had chosen to drop out of it the Commonwealth today will not be Commonwealth; but something much less. Mr. Attlee helped in the evolution of a formula that kept a Republic like India in the Commonwealth which has a Queen at its head. The decision was wise and well conceived and today the Commonwealth stands before the world as an outstanding example of constructive multi-national approach to problems which is so vital for peace and prosperity in the world and as Mrs. Gandhi said, "a child of history".

The President in his inaugural address to the twentyfirst Commonwealth conference that began on Tuesday stressed the silken bonds that bound nations together and asked for strengthening of those ties in the interests of their progress and also in the interests of the world in general. This conference which is being held here for the second time is being held on an occasion which is of deep significance to all concerned. The emergency here has given a handle to those who have never said anything good about us, to cry hoarse that democracy has been murdered in India and that India has gone the way of dictatorship. The nearly three hundred parliamentarians who have assembled here will not only hear the President and the Vice-President and the Prime Minister but will also see for themselves the temper and the tempo in the country. No political party has been banned. Only a handful of members of the legislature have been arrested. True indeed there are restrictions but the restrictions are imposed under the emergency which itself is declared under the powers given by the Constitution. When the delegates go back they will tell numerous audiences about the real situation in India. This will be one of the side benefits of the conference.

One of the subjects inscribed in the agenda relates to internal and external threats to the prestige and authority of parliament. Mrs. Gandhi, on the basis of India's experience, said that the inability to accede to power by democratic means might lead some parties to offer unconstitutional or extraconstitutional challenges. "For young democracies, it is imperative to guard

against such developments. It then becomes an onerous or painful duty to counter them with constitutional remedies". The President in his address said that this conference may give deep insights into the working of parliamentary institutions and throw up useful ideas for strengthening them for their better and effective working. Parliamentary institutions all over the world are under constant review and reappraisal. Conscious reforms in the constitutional framework and institutional modalities of parliamentary government are undertaken. India along with many other countries has experienced this threat to Parliament's authority. Here there was an attempt to upset democratically elected Governments and legislatures through undemocratic methods. Here there was a call to the Police and the Army to revolt against a democratically elected Government. These and other challenges to parliamentary institutions will be studied at this meeting. It is to be hoped concrete ideas to safeguard these institutions will emerge out of the deliberations at this conference.

Madhya Pradesh Chronicle (Bhopal),
October 30, 1975.

DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

If change is the order of nature, any reform that is effected to a system of government, necessitated by the developing circumstances, does not mean that the system has been given up. This is the keynote of the addresses of President Ahmed and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and aptly mirrors the current trends

not only in India but the Commonwealth and other democratic countries. India's founding fathers chose the parliamentary system of democracy because it provided the motive power for its functioning according to our own will and spirit, not with a view to emulating Britain. The Prime Minister's view is that it is the "participatory democracy" that is best suited to the Indian reality.

The Commonwealth concept itself changed thanks to Nehru and Lord Attlee and as such it came to be accepted by more countries than before. And this change has come to be regarded for the better for the Commonwealth as well as the countries that go to make the Commonwealth. The flexibility and resilience have made it stronger and popular. The purpose of the reform is therefore to keep pace with the changing conditions and to enable the tackling of people's problems. Such reform, which relates to institutional framework and procedural modalities, does not change the basic character of the system.

Maybe some countries have been successful in evolving a polarisation in which a two-party system has become effective. This may not have been possible in the case of new democracies where multi-party system has come into vogue and is equally effective. Also in the case of countries like India, regional loyalties and urges which arise frequently need to be balanced in order to maintain and strengthen national unity. The success of the democratic system lies in facing these problems with slight changes here and there based on necessities in order to help the

people. If democracy is to be considered as a part of political culture of human societies, as rightly highlighted by President Ahmed, such reforms are inevitable.

It is a wrong notion that persists with some sections of the people that it is the sole responsibility of the ruling party, to preserve democracy by following democratic ways. This has been responsible for the Opposition parties behaving in a reckless manner with the least care for democratic principles. What had been obtaining in India prior to the proclamation of the emergency provides a typical example of this erratic approach. They resorted to all sorts of unconstitutional means to challenge the authority of a duly established democratic government, rather revelled in them at the same time professing that they were for democracy. It is the duty of the Government in such circumstances to check through constitutional methods undesirable activities, which violate democratic norms. It may be a painful duty, as Mrs. Gandhi has said several times, but it has to be performed in the interests of the people and in order to safeguard democracy.

The working of democratic constitutions has thrown up the weaknesses in the modalities, which call for a change. Just because the Constitution has been adopted by the Constituent Assembly, it is not sacrosanct for ever. It should have the impact of the changes thrown up by its working and suitable reforms have to be made. Nehru's remarks when India's Constitution was framed show that changes are not ruled out. He said then that con-

stitutions were made for the people, not the other way round, and that democracy is not a rigid, immutable concept. How farsighted he was. If Prime Minister Indira Gandhi therefore stresses today the need for reform and changes in the Constitution it is in line with the tradition set up by Nehru. The age old concept of democracy as the "Government of the people, by the people for the people" does admit changes according to the needs of the times, for society is never static.

The Mail (Madras),
October 30, 1975.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in her address to the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference on Tuesday, has rightly pointed out that democracy is a generic term. Generic means belonging to a genus or class. Democracy is a system of parliamentary government with a Constitution written or unwritten (as in the case of Britain). There is no set or uniform pattern of democracy, for it has evolved in different countries through the historic processes of change. In a big country like India with diversity of population and languages and regional cultures it cannot be the same as in Britain where the parliamentary system has originated. Britain made a rapid advance through Democracy and Industrialism—it was in that country that the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century began. Despite its prosperity and, not so long ago a vast empire in which the sun never set, there were changes in the system. Universal

franchise in that country was established only after World War I. India has incorporated many of the features of the British system of parliamentary democracy. But there are important features of the American system too in it. It has, however, relied more and more on its innate political genius. It has established its own parliamentary precedents. As a developing country its problems too are quite different.

As President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed has observed India is committed to the ideal of building up an egalitarian society based on social and economic justice and on recognition of individual liberty and freedom. If the process of change is too slow and cumbersome, people will lose faith in parliamentary democracy which has been of recent growth. It has to face challenges of poverty, social injustice and inequalities which have prevailed over centuries and strive to bring about the necessary changes. The forces of reaction which have entrenched themselves have to be countered.

The Prime Minister is very right when she says that parliamentary democracy enjoins responsibilities on both the ruling and the opposition parties and the people as a whole. Democratic solution to problems has to be found and as such no unconstitutional methods can be countenanced. Indeed, the very framework of democracy will be imperilled if the necessary discipline in political behaviour is not observed. It is a matter of satisfaction that democracy has taken roots in this country. As in the advanced western countries too a welfare state is being looked forward to. It is an

expansion of the democratic process. In this context no Constitution can remain static. It must reflect the need for change. Jawaharlal Nehru looking at the future had made a very wise observation that in future Indian people could not be bound down to the Constitution as framed. Democracy, going back to the generic term, derives from the Greek 'demos' which means the people. It draws its strength essentially from the nonprivileged class. If it does not protect their interests and improve their lot it would not be performing its function properly.

The Search Light (Patna),
October 30, 1975.

A DIFFICULT SITUATION

The balance of payments crisis faced by developing countries like India, naturally figured most prominently at the Commonwealth Parliamentary conference. There was, however nothing novel in the suggestion for setting up a special fund to help these countries. As a matter of fact, such suggestions had been seriously discussed at the last Fund-Bank meeting. But the decisions so far taken fall far short of the requirements of developing countries. On the other hand, it is these countries which have been hit the hardest by the hike in crude prices and the consequent global inflation. The developed countries are in a more advantageous position in this respect. Because the prices of their own exports, too, have gone up simultaneously. But the developing countries find themselves in a more difficult position in this matter; while their import bills have re-

gistered an unprecedented increase, there has been no corresponding rise in the prices of their exports.

Their main problem now is how to meet this widening gap in their balance of payments. This may be partially covered by bilateral aid from industrialised countries. But as they are themselves experiencing similar difficulties the assistance till now offered by them has not gone far enough. Again, because of the recession which has hit their economies, they can hardly be expected to step up their imports from developing countries—on the contrary, there is every possibility of a drop in the latter's foreign—exchange earnings as the commodity boom would appear to be on its way out.

As such, they have been left with no alternative to looking increasingly to international credit institutions for aid. But the terms and conditions on which the IMF lends from the oil facility set up to help the developing countries can by no means be considered very helpful. Moreover, whether the facility would continue in the coming year when their balance of payments gap is likely to go up further still remains uncertain. The resources earmarked for distribution through the third window proposed to be opened by the World Bank are also utterly inadequate. It is quite true in this context that the oil-exporting Arab countries are discussing a proposal for setting up a special fund to help the developing countries. But much would depend on the size of the fund as also the terms on which

loans would be offered. Their attitude has not, however, been very cooperative so far.

Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta),
October 31, 1975.

FOR A COMMON CAUSE

The concept of the Commonwealth has to change with changing times or it will become obsolete. Nearly thirty years ago when the Commonwealth was making its first attempts to achieve some coherence, the world was different. The principal motivating force in international affairs was then the cold war between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. India was the first country to move out of the rigidities of the cold war and to adopt a flexible and meaningful policy of non-alignment between military blocs. Despite considerable misunderstanding, this policy has found a steadily increasing number of adherents and today a vast majority of nations are its protagonists. It is only latterly that nations that are themselves members of military pacts have begun to appreciate its virtues.

In the current climate of detente, the emphasis in world affairs has shifted to the problems of economic advancement, to the re-arrangement of priorities for social and economic reform, to the need to provide employment, health and security for the masses, to secure alternate sources of energy, for the conservation of nature so as not to disturb the ecological balance, for additional food production and its more equitable distribution and all the other pressing tasks of peaceful progress.

The Commonwealth must now evolve a policy in conformity with these tasks. Mr. Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth was perfectly right when he said in Delhi recently that international poverty and how to overcome it were the most urgent problems of the day. Despite his optimism that the Commonwealth is now in a position to approach these problems with confidence, there is regrettably no cohesive pattern in the work of the Commonwealth countries.

This is not entirely the fault of the member nations. The hangover of the cold war continues and in some areas political tensions remain acute. These stresses make for the adoption of short-term adjustments that are not in tune with the broad purposes of the Commonwealth. Colour remains an obsession with some nations as the debate on Rhodesia and South Africa at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference revealed. There are in addition geopolitical compulsions that make one Commonwealth country adopt a position opposite to that taken by another. Until world peace is built on a more secure foundation than it is today, these stresses will remain.

But the Commonwealth countries can go ahead and devise a machinery for closer economic cooperation. The Prime Minister's remark earlier in the conference on the different interpretations of economic coping in the developed and the less-developed countries should not be treated lightly as satire. When hungry and overcrowded nations see food being destroyed to keep prices at a particular level, all

talk of international co-operation and the rest sound like sentimental platitudes. The Commonwealth can survive as a recognisable unit in the international community only if its members can bring themselves to help one another in a concrete manner. Mere verbiage will hardly help.

The Hindustan Times (New Delhi),
October 31, 1975.

A DEPLORABLE MISTAKE

The littoral States of the Indian Ocean carried their case against the Diego Garcia base a stage further by highlighting the issue at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. It is now clear from the statements at the conference that the initial mistake was made by Britain in agreeing to lease out the base to the U.S.A. making in the bargain £2 million. The Mauritian delegate, who made the charge, also accused Britain of arm-twisting to get this done during the negotiations for the independence of his country. It is unfortunate that Britain, which has been responsible as a former big colonial power to set the pace for the freedom of the countries in the region, should have also been a party to an arrangement that will fetter the freedom of those countries.

The developments made and sought to be made in Diego Garcia are such as will cause serious concern to the 28 nations of the Indian Ocean area, which still retain fresh memories of colonial occupation by external maritime powers. They know to their cost that it was the competition and rivalry among the Western Powers in the

eighteenth century and thereafter that led to the establishment of the colonies. These nations therefore have been trying to disentangle themselves from the conflicts among the big powers. It was for this very reason that they took to the policy of non-alignment. Conflict and confrontation will only hinder development, stability and the spirit of cooperation and regional understanding. There is need to control the presence therefore of the big rival powers before their presence escalates to such levels which will complicate further the task of control and increase the risk of intervention in local disputes. The way the big powers are trying to entrench themselves does make the countries of the region see the possibility of some sinister move or other.

Of course since the American debacle in Vietnam any sinister move by the big powers will prove a flop. The mood and spirit of Asia and Africa are now totally changed. Whether they have one or one hundred bases as pointed out by India's M.P., Dr. Henry Austin, if the motive is political, it will not be achieved. The suspicion about the base is all the more when it is considered as a link in the global network of satellite and under-water fleet communications of the U.S.A. The development of the base is such that "no site or industry in the littoral or hinterland countries will be beyond the reach of the long-range ballistic missiles of nuclear-powered U.S. submarines operating from Diego Garcia." How does Britain or any other country expect the littoral States to keep quiet and not be concerned about this sort of development?

By saying that nothing worthwhile could be achieved by pointing the accusing finger at Britain, the delegate of the country does not absolve her of blame. She supported no doubt an Australian proposal to the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Indian Ocean region. Her determination to exert her influence on the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union to achieve this aim may be at best an attempt to atone for her past deeds. Whether in their present moods will the two big powers heed this appeal is doubtful. Equally so is the hope on Helsinki Conference with its stress on detente in Europe. Unless there is a change of heart on the part of both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. nothing tangible can be done. It is towards effecting this change of heart that the littoral and other States of Asia and Africa should exert themselves. In this task, the UN support should also be enlisted. May be, all this is an uphill task but should be continued with vigour and earnestness in order to create world opinion in favour of the littoral States which could in turn bring pressure on the big powers to see reason.

The Mail (Madras),
October 31, 1975.

THE DEMOCRACY OF NEW DELHI

New Delhi is a capital only too appropriate for the current meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. With five general elections behind the country in twenty-eight years of independence parliamentary democracy might be thought to have germinated healthily in the Indian

soil. Yet four months ago measures taken under Mrs. Gandhi's declaration of an emergency were certainly not in keeping with the spirit of parliamentary government and at the very least cast a shadow over its future. Mrs. Gandhi does not hesitate in rebutting these fears. She told the conference that revolutionary changes in the Indian Constitution might be necessary to meet Indian conditions, but that "participatory democracy on the broadest base" would remain India's mode of government. The only doubt is what that means.

There is no reason to doubt the support she has won from the mass of the population in India that expects no improvement in its condition from political change. In most levels of society a new sense of discipline is observed. The business world is glad that strikes are restricted (by a trades union body under the thumb of Congress); that workers arrive on time; that absenteeism has notably declined. Furthermore that government has reduced from eight to four per cent the annual bonus payable to workers. Unpopular decisions of this kind are now easier to put through. According to some the changed social atmosphere has in itself been enough to curb corruption or put an end to black market hoarding.

To such changes the government has added hopes of more. Land reform will be pressed. The ending of rural indebtedness and the total abolition of bonded labour to discharge debts will ease the peasants' burden. Thanks to measures taken long before last June's emergency there has also

been a welcome fall in retail prices. To top it all, India has this year enjoyed more timely and adequate monsoon rains than for many years past. With so much to be thankful for who is going to agitate about arrested politicians or a muzzled press?

For a country where half the population lives below the poverty level it is always easy to argue that economic progress matters more than political freedom. That is the ready excuse for the dictatorial ruler but it is not one that Mrs. Gandhi has adopted. Politicians have been released. The press censorship is not quite as onerous or stupid as it was in the first weeks of the emergency. Once the shock has been administered—and has it not been bracing for everyone?—the political health of the country, she insists, will allow of a return to normal democratic freedoms. It is therefore too soon to judge Mrs. Gandhi's actions or to doubt her purpose. At most there is the sour comment of some balanced Indian observers that the national catharsis has not yet noticeably purged the Congress Party itself.

Mrs. Gandhi can nevertheless look forward to the general election due within the next four or five months with every confidence of winning it handsomely. There is no opposition party of any substance nor any sign that any amalgamation of opposition forces of the kind Mr. J. P. Narayan was accused of plotting could produce such a body. Mrs. Gandhi may be expected to call for elections of conditions of normal political freedom.

The truth is that in a country of India's size and complexity only the simple struggle

for national independence can give shape and substance to a national political movement. A lapse of half a century or even more may be needed before a new political consensus can emerge. So Mrs. Gandhi is in power for some time yet and she hardly needs to use dictatorial means to keep herself there. The question that remains is whether the untrammled power of the Congress Party under Mrs. Gandhi's continued leadership will lower even further its poor reputation. Without any political debate in the country there is not much hope of improvement.

The Times (London),
October 31, 1975.

WIDER ISSUE

It is difficult for any fair-minded person to disagree with the broad consensus that has emerged at the 21st Commonwealth parliamentary conference in New Delhi on the question of foreign bases in the Indian Ocean. By definition they constitute an interference in the affairs of the region. There can be differences of opinion on the nature and magnitude of the threat they represent to the freedom and security of littoral states. But there can be no question that bases abroad increase the capacity of the great powers to pursue their interests at the cost of others. That is in fact why the countries in question establish and maintain these facilities at considerable expense. The issue is however, much wider. For, interference can and does take many forms. The massive sale of weapons by the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France to oil-rich

countries in the Persian Gulf and others in West Asia is doubtless the most significant of these. This is so not only because with the weapons come hundreds and thousands of trainers and technicians but also because the recipients become critically dependent on the producers of the hardware for spares, servicing, overhauling and replacements. And since more and more sophisticated weapons continue to be manufactured year after year, the dependence becomes a continuous and growing one. The tragedy is that even if an Asian leader tries, as Mr. Nehru did, to avoid being trapped in this senseless and dangerous game, the neighbour does not reciprocate and one or the other super-power is only too willing to provide him the necessary hardware. The countries concerned are, of course, sovereign and they can do what they like with their resources. But without regional co-operation on a fairly extensive basis and willingness to settle all disputes through peaceful negotiations, the concept of a peace zone remains rather ineffectual.

While all foreign bases are dangerous, those on islands and atolls owned by outside powers are in a sense more so in that they cannot be abrogated. Thus in the context of the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia cannot be equated with the facilities which the West insists, despite denials by the concerned governments, the Soviet Union enjoys in Berbera (Somalia) and Aden (South Yemen). This distinction will stand irrespective of whether nuclear weapons would be stockpiled on Diego Garcia or not. That is a different issue, though it may be relevant to recall that the

United States has deployed submarines carrying missiles tipped with nuclear warheads for some years in the region as part of its overall strategic deference against the Soviet Union. But when all this has been said it needs to be added that a military alliance between a major power and a developing Asian or African country is also a form of interference and not only in the life of the latter. It adversely affects its neighbours. No one can, for instance, deny that America's alliance with Pakistan hurt India from the mid-fifties to the mid-sixties. And there is no dearth of similar examples. Incidentally, Pakistan's case is also pertinent to illustrate the point that the stronger country can build, maintain and use base facilities on the territory of the weaker ally without this fact being acknowledged in the published treaty document.

—*The Times of India*, (New Delhi),
October 31, 1975.

COMMONWEALTH

It is useless to debate whether or not India's membership of the Commonwealth has been beneficial to the country's interests. As a free association of former British colonies and dominions it did enable member states to so order their trade relations as to reduce unhealthy competition among themselves. A common language of Government, traditions of administration and jurisprudence etc. also helped. But with regard to international conflicts arising out of Big Power rivalries and the cold war, economic disequilibrium or even racism, the Common-

wealth could not achieve anything positive even where member countries were involved. This has once again been confirmed by the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in New Delhi. The failure of the Conference to take a more positive or indeed unanimous stand on the question of Diego Garcia, goes to prove this. The littoral states of the Indian Ocean which are members of the Commonwealth have of course, expressed their strong opposition to the Diego Garcia base. Their interests demand that the Indian Ocean be left out of the power conflict. But the developed nations within the Commonwealth led by Britain have apparently other ideas. The Commonwealth is divided also along the north-south, rich-nations poor-nations line.

The harmless academic discussions about the nature of the parliamentary system and the future of democratic institutions have certainly helped to keep the delegates busy. And as if to add some punch to the debate an M.P. from New Zealand raised the debate-raising topic that China had achieved an economic breakthrough while India had not, though both the countries had similar set of problems and circumstances to start with 25 years ago. This did give an opportunity to Mr. Gaure Murahari to draw a distinction between authoritarianism and democracy. But this itself is no new subject. Anyway strengthening parliamentary institutions is in the vital interests of the developing countries and the President of India has taken the opportunity while inaugurating the session to stress India's resolve to remain democratic. But even here a meaningful debate

about the efficacy of the British democratic system in India's conditions, though raised in the Prime Minister's address, was not developed.

Certainly, India's membership of the Commonwealth has not done any harm to this country or anyone else. The trade preferences that still exist benefit it, though one cannot say what the future holds in view of Britain's membership of the EEC. Yet it is a very tentative, almost accidental, grouping together of nations whose future does not promise to be as bright as its past.

—*Free Press Journal* (Bombay),
November 1, 1975.

THE COMMONWEALTH CONNECTION

The wisdom of India to opt out of the Imperial diadem and be a republic with the Commonwealth connection has been amply borne out by the wide range of deliberations at the 21st Commonwealth Conference now in session at New Delhi. This is for the second time that we have played host to the Commonwealth Parliamentarians—after an interval of 18 years.

During the last two decades much has happened in the world but the Commonwealth has endured as "a remarkable experiment in international living and free and voluntary association among nations", as President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed observed in his inaugural address. The 34 independent, member-states spread all over the globe, accounting for a quarter of

the world's population, have shown a remarkable capacity to work as "a useful forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences" without being bound by "any stated or unstated political obligations" and without being dominated by any particular system, individual or nation, as noted by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The Prime Minister's observations on aspects of democratic functioning have been well received by the multi-racial representatives of parliamentary democracy gathered here. The new Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, has made a fervent plea for consolidating the Commonwealth further to fulfil its responsibilities to the people belonging to the Commonwealth countries.

The earnestness and the fervour of the speeches made so far give reasonable hope that the 21st Conference will be a watershed. The vast problems affecting the member-states—especially in regard to poverty of the masses, the liberation of African territories, Apartheid, fuel crisis. The menace of the multi-national firms and bases in the Indian Ocean—have provoked candid remarks from the participants. Without mincing words, the parliamentarians have expressed views which have been very identical with the majority view point of the Third World countries, several of which have been also represented at this Conference.

As such the resolutions and declarations of this Conference can go a long way in strengthening the position of the developing countries in the United Nations, which

is considered by some powers as their preserve.

Another aspect is that serious thought is being given to the new dimensions of democratic functioning and mores. Our Prime Minister has done well in focussing attention to the steadily evolving concepts of democracy. As the pertinently remarked, "democracy is not a rigid and immutable concept." And she added, "it is a method through which a country tries to manage its affairs," fulfilling the aspirations of the people.

The Conference in New Delhi should go a long way in demolishing the myths and slanders about the India of today given currency in Anglo-American press. The parliamentarians during their stay in India can see for themselves the breakthrough in national progress achieved since the promulgation of Emergency. As in the past centuries, word of mouth personal testimony can undo the damage of powerful propaganda of vested interests. Mr. Ramphal has made a specific reference to the mischief played by the Western mass media. It is sincerely hoped that his Secretariat with the co-operation of the member-states will energetically counter the insidious propaganda drive of some Western countries.

Socialist India (New Delhi),
November 1, 1975.

CONSENSUS ON MULTINATIONALS

The Panel Discussion and the consensus reached at the Commonwealth Parliamen-

tary Conference in New Delhi on the role of multinational corporations in developing countries have helped to place the controversial issue in perspective. Some 300 of the giant multinationals are said to control three-quarters of the production machinery of the non-communist world. They have the latest technology and talent, not to speak of vast financial resources to speed up the growth of wealth in the backward regions of the world. They are in fact playing a big part already in bringing new technology and expertise to India, with their assets (with those of their branches and over 200 Indian subsidiaries) amounting to some Rs. 2,500 odd crores.

What scares the developing countries, big and small, is the bad reputation that some of these international giants have acquired, for interference in the politics of the countries they operate in. They have been linked with the overthrow of some host governments not to their liking. Another charge against them is that they siphon off the wealth of the poor countries they are supposed to assist, through unduly large repatriation of incomes by way of dividends, by under-invoicing their exports and other devices. How widely prevalent these fears are may be indicated by the prominence given in the Commonwealth panel's consensus to the stipulation that the multinationals should recognise the sovereignty of the countries where they are operating and "honestly conform to their laws." The further suggestion made by Mr. Roy Richardson of Trinidad for the setting up of a Commonwealth pool of experts to negotiate with the multinationals for the continuous transfer of technology to host

countries may also imply that such transfer is not being effected now.

Small countries may not also be able to deal with the multinationals, whose assistance they need badly for their development, on equal terms and thus stand to be exploited unfairly. The U.N. Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, in fact proposed recently a U.N. machinery to help the small nations to get a fair deal from the global Corporations, through the formulation of "a code of conduct" for relations between governments and transnationals. It is something that a working group of 24 Western industrialised nations (OECD countries) has actually drafted a code for the multinationals calling on them to publish more information about themselves and avoid practices that will concentrate their economic power. How far such a code can be enforced is open to question but the blare of adverse publicity in world forums like the U.N. and in the global press, of the occasional subversive and malodorous activities of some of the multinationals should serve to check the evil. But to block altogether the entry of the capital and technical know-how of the multinationals just because of a few black sheep among them may be no better than throwing the baby out with the bath water. That is why, even the Soviet Union, with its ideological abhorrence of capitalist corporations, has made no bones about doing business with a number of American corporations and inviting them to set up production facilities in Russia.

If the way for such worthwhile collaboration was paved by the Joint Commercial

Commission set up by the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission should similarly help enlarge the participation of the American corporations in the economic development of our country. The Indian approach to the question of inviting foreign capital was well set out by Mr. Kultar Chand Rana during the Commonwealth panel discussions, as being restricted to certain fields of sophisticated technology not available within the country and for export-oriented industries. He has also referred to "the nefarious practices" of some multinationals, but as far as India is concerned, it has shown that it can take care of itself in this regard.

The Finance Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam's recently expressed confidence in controlling multinational participation in selected areas to speed up our economic growth, will therefore be shared by many who can take an objective view of what is enlightened self-interest for us.

The Hindu (Mardas),
November 1, 1975.

CARTELS IN WORLD TRADE

The panel discussion on cartels in world trade in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was on familiar lines. Such discussions have become a conventional feature of all such gatherings after the oil-exporting countries sharply increased the price of oil two years ago and created the so-called energy crisis.

But such discussions rarely help to clarify issues or arrive at worthwhile conclusions.

The developed countries have managed to so contrive matters that the real problems in the global exchange in goods and services are clouded by a one-sided concern with the oil crisis and the alleged responsibility of the OPEC in disrupting "free" trade flows by introducing the cartel principle. From this point onwards, the developing countries as a whole are cautioned with great righteousness against adopting the OPEC practice in the export of other primary commodities.

Even a liberal parliamentarian from Britain, Mr. Silverman, could go only so far as to concede that the cartels were nothing new. But he maintained that what was new was that present cartels in world trade "like the OPEC were in primary commodities." The problem, however, is quite different. It is closely connected with the struggle that the developing countries have been waging and have still to wage to free their economies from exploitation of the developed countries after gaining political independence.

The very idea that the OPEC and producers' organisations to protect exports of jute, tea, rubber or iron ore from wide price fluctuations and adverse terms of exchange amount to cartelisation is wrong and misleading. These organisations indeed represent efforts to loosen the stranglehold of the powerful cartels of the developed countries on these commodities and the natural resources in general of the developing countries. The OPEC was created by the oil-producing countries in the fifties as a defensive reaction against price rigging by the cartel of international oil companies.

Powerful cartels of the developed countries still exercise formidable control over trade arrangements for primary commodities. The export of India's tea, for instance, barring what goes to rupee payment area under bilateral arrangements, is still governed, both as regards volume and prices, by trading interests based in London. This state of affairs must be ended decisively if fair value is to be secured for developing countries. The setting up of producers' organisations in these commodities are, therefore, not new cartels but are directed against the cartelisation imposed by vested interests in the developed countries on world trade. Their success will make for freer flow and more equitable terms in international trade.

—*The Indian Express* (New Delhi)
November 3, 1975.

FOREIGN AID

It is but proper that the question of aid by advanced countries to the developing States was highlighted at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference which has just concluded in New Delhi. The Commonwealth comprises developed and developing countries, the latter more in number. The problem agitating the latter countries is that unless there is a change in the concept of aid, they stand to suffer. The suggestion for the change therefore stems from the desire to make the aid more meaningful. Of course, the aid, so graciously extended to the developing countries, has helped them to a great extent. There is recognition that in the development that has been

possible, the aid has been a contributing factor.

The crux of the problem now is that repayment of the debt is proving a restricting factor in further development. By large repayments, which the developing countries are forced to make, their resources position is seriously affected. The resources now seem to move towards the developing countries instead of the other way about. It has reached such a stage that unless this trend is stopped, the economy of the developing countries will be affected.

Unless the aid-receiving countries step up their exports appreciably, they would not be in a safe position to repay the debts. In the case of India, the foreign debt is assessed at Rs. 7,000 crores by the end of the financial year. She has at the same time Rs. 1,000 crores adverse balance of trade, caused mainly by imports of food, fuel and fertilisers. She finds it difficult to cope with repayments of external debts, which comes to 25 per cent of India's export earnings, which amounts to seven per cent of the foreign aid received by the country.

The suggestions of the Indian delegate at the conference, shared by several other Commonwealth countries, need to be heeded. These are that project aid should be done away with and assistance towards purchase of food, fuel and fertilisers be made interest-free. If this is done, it will afford immense relief to the aid-receiving countries and they will be able to manage their repayments comfortably. If aid is to be meaningful, it has to help the receiving

countries in managing their affairs so as to help their advancement. It is time therefore that the advanced countries gave particular attention to the proposal.

The aid-giving countries, at the same time, may have their own problems to reckon with. As the British delegate pointed out, the electorate has to be persuaded about the need to continue extending aid. The new generation that is coming to grips with the problems in that country may not be fully conversant with the genesis of the aid concept of which its forbears were aware. This new generation has to be convinced. The suggestion therefore to convince them especially the youths, through advertisements require to be considered by the aid-receiving countries. The aim should be towards a clear understanding of each other's problems which can be ironed out by mutual discussions. The aid should serve the purpose, and to achieve it cooperation of the aid-receiving countries in whatever direction called for should be extended without at the same time sacrificing self-respect, dignity, decorum and principles. Where the aid is with strings attached and with political motive tending to affect the sovereignty and integrity of the receiving countries, it should be spurned.

The Mail (Madras),
November 6, 1976.

AN OPPORTUNITY MISSED

The Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, which concluded its week-long session in New Delhi on Tues-

day, has helped highlight certain issues which have been aired before. It would be tempting but inaccurate to say that some of these were taken a step forward. On the whole, the discussions were pitched in a low key. Partly, this was because strictly speaking, political, economic or social problems fall outside the purview of a parliamentary forum, and partly because unlike the Kingston meet, the conference was not at the heads of Government level, so that pronouncements lacked authority and, of course, no commitments could be made. One of the political issues raised in some detail was the transfer by Britain of the island of Diego Garcia to the U.S.A. for conversion into an air and naval base—in direct contravention not only of the explicit desire of the littoral states to keep the Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace but also of a U.N. resolution on the subject. A British delegate contradicted the allegation that his country made money in the transaction. This surely is hardly the point: what is at issue is Britain's guilt in enabling the U.S.A. to militarise an area that has until recently been free of big power tensions, and treating the inhabitants of the island as so much chattel to be flung around in furtherance of the arrangement. Rhodesia was discussed but it is doubtful whether the very practical suggestion that Mozambique which handles 75 per cent of that country's foreign trade, be financially helped to enable her to cut this off, would go forward.

On the economic front, the importance of the developed nations of the Commonwealth extending help to the developing members was underlined. Mr. Laurie

Pavitt of Britain put the problem picturesquely when he said: "We cannot think of an affluent society when three-fourths of the world do not get a bowl of rice a day." A Commonwealth investment bank has been urged, but this, as more than one delegate pointed out, does not sound a feasible proposition in the midst of a multiplicity of international economic agencies already functioning or projected. While admitting the need for a larger effort by the developed nations in the matter of aiding the struggling countries, another delegate pleaded for a kind word for the former. In the Second Development Decade, during which the level of economic assistance has fallen to around half the 0.7 per cent of G.N.P. suggested by U.N., such a plea sounds very strange. On the other hand, the third world is not unaware of its friends and Britain, which has stepped up its assistance, and which now is coming in the shape of grants, is recognised as one.

The conference failed to develop a worthwhile discussion on parliamentary democracy in the third world—a subject that should have been topical in the context of recent developments in India. Perhaps the delegates were swayed by a desire, as they would possibly put it, not to tread on their hosts' toes. But the discussion should have been raised by Indian representatives themselves. This did not happen. With the exception of the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Om Mehta, and the Rajya Sabha Deputy Chairman, Mr. Gaure Murahari, who defended the Government's policies with considerable ability and force there does not appear to have been a worthwhile attempt in this direction. A

New Zealand delegate's comparison of the advances made by China with those in India is evidence of the fact that an excellent opportunity of putting forth India's case was lost. Nehru long ago pointed out that there were many drawbacks to parliamentary democracy and it required disciplined behaviour on the part of the Government, the opposition and the people and declared that if at any time the price turned out to be too great, we may have to amend the system; institutions were made for the people, not the other way round. It is a pity that the forceful lead along these lines provided by the Prime Minister in her inaugural address was not properly followed.

—*National Herald* (New Delhi),
November 6, 1975.

II ARTICLES

COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMEN- TARY CONFERENCE

The twenty-first Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in Delhi last month was one of the largest held anywhere in the Commonwealth in the recent years. Three hundred delegates from over 35 countries along with the largest number of women—over 60 women—attended the sessions. President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed inaugurated it.

An excellent speech was delivered by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. She said that "we won our freedom without arms, without money, and without any other substantial means except through non-violence." She

said that the population of all the delegates from countries outside India that attended the conference was one-third of the population of India itself.

Speaker Dhillon was the man of the hour in the sense that he was not only the President of the International Parliamentary Union but was also the Speaker of Indian Parliament. He presided over the conference. The last speaker who moved the vote of thanks was the able Deputy Speaker of Mauritius Parliament, Mr. Gujadhur. He specially thanked the Secretary-General of the Conference S. L. Shakhder and also P. K. Patnaik, Additional Secretary of the Lok Sabha for the arrangements at the Conference. Mr. Gujadhur is the new President of the Commonwealth Conference at Mauritius next year.

The President, Shri Ahmed, released on the inauguration day a valued book "*Commonwealth Parliament*" by S. L. Shakhder which contained articles by eminent Parliamentarians of the Commonwealth. It also contains useful information on salaries and allowances and facilities being enjoyed by Parliament members in various Commonwealth countries.

Expectation

Sir, Robin Vanderfelt, Secretary-General of CPA, and Mr. Malloy, Secretary of Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in London were among the other delegates who attended the conference. Mr. G. A. Regan of Canada's Nova Scotia who sat next to the Prime Minister on the platform later as the chairman of the executive com-

mittee, speaking to delegates acknowledged that they were very happy with the high quality of the facilities that had been afforded by the government of India and by the CPA branch in hosting this conference. They provided the delegates with facilities beyond anybody's expectations. One of Africa's youngest popular ministers—Gambia's Alhaji Cham—and a member of the executive took lively interest in the proceedings of the conference. The Lok Sabha Secretariat is run very efficiently. The tradition was laid down by the first Secretary M. N. Kaul, who was nominated as an M.P.

The British delegation was led by the leader of the House of Lords, Lord Shepherd. Mr. William Whitelaw, the Deputy Leader of Opposition in the House of Commons proved to be an outstanding speaker at the conference as he must be in the House of Commons.

The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Mr. Ramphal from Guyana created the most favourable impression when he addressed the conference. He found that the press in India had no restraint in reporting the conference. It was unlike London in which the Commonwealth Conference got no space at all. He was supported by Speaker Dhillon who admitted that the Indian Press was generous and liberal in reporting the proceedings of the conference. In last September, the Indian Press reported the debates of International Parliamentary Union held in London better than the entire press in Britain. Mr. Ramphal said that the majority of Com-

monwealth countries did not even publish what happened in their own countries about the conference. He advocated greater publicity for the efforts of the conference.

The Commonwealth and the world security and the internal and external threats to the authority and prestige of the parliament, multi-nationals and the Commonwealth were the subjects discussed at the conference at length. The Indian Ocean, especially Diego Garcia, won the major attention of the conference. Mr. Raghuramaiah as the leader of the Indian delegation moved the first resolution on the Indian Ocean. He declared that the great powers were parading their naval and air might across the Indian Ocean under the guise of alliances and regional exercises. They wanted to do so in the name of keeping the trade routes open but their real purpose was to give themselves a stake in the Indian Ocean so as to maintain a parity with the possible strategic enemies and control strategic points in order to weaken the littoral states of the Indian Ocean. The U.S.A. wanted to strengthen Diego Garcia as their base with marine weapons, aircraft carriers in addition to refuelling KC 135 aircraft. All this constituted the gunboat diplomacy of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

Two non-aligned nations conference twice discussed this matter at Cairo and Lusaka. But the big powers sabotaged it at the United Nations. India had enough experience of American 7th Fleet "Enterprise" which entered the Indian Ocean along Bangladesh in 1971. We wanted no bases

of any kind by any country in the Indian Ocean. We would never be forgiven if we overlooked this new kind of colonialism.

Mr. K. Jeyakkodi (Sri Lanka) said that the great powers ought not to use this area for their own political as well as military advantages. Everyone of the states adjoining the Indian Ocean wished to live in peace. Mr. Bernard Soysa from Sri Lanka pressed home the point that the manifestation of big power politics in the Indian Ocean spread its tentacles on a global scale. The littoral state should rely upon their own strength which would ultimately bring them victory in a long struggle.

Independent M.P., Mr. G. S. Swell, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, clinched the issue when he declared that the entire question centres round the presence of Super Powers in the Indian Ocean. The impartial documents of the U.N. indicate that the U.S.A. was the first to enter the Indian Ocean for military purposes and it was America who, over the last three decades, had been steadily increasing its profile. In contrast to this, the U.N. documents and reports said that Soviet naval presence came much after the American presence and it was largely of a responsible nature and there had not been sufficient evidence to substantiate that the Soviet Union had acquired bases in the Indian Ocean.

Delegation

The Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of Bangladesh and the leader of the delegation, Mr. Mohammad Baitullah, intervening asked why the states like Bangladesh and

others should not be left open in the Indian Ocean at peace by the great powers. His point was very much in conjunction with India and Sri Lanka. He was applauded when he spoke twice at the conference.

The Chairman of the India League in London, Labourite Julius Silverman said that the Diego Garcia base was morally wrong and a politically foolish act. People in the area had readily objected to it. It was ridiculous on the part of great powers whoever they were to say that they would introduce any race in the thick of such opposition by all the littoral powers.

Dr. Henry Austin of India felt that the big splash in the Ocean was the beginning of another Vietnam. The people of India and their littoral states felt that Diego Garcia was nothing but consolidation of military power. If a war started in this part of the world, the efforts being made for economic development and for ameliorating the lot of the millions would receive a serious set-back.

Mr. Wariithi of Kenya supported the idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The Kenyans had a common problem with all those countries which had their coast siding the Indian Ocean. The discussion on Commonwealth world security was opened up by Mr. S. Tillekeratne of Sri Lanka who stated the interest of the Commonwealth countries should be held high. The sale of arms to the racist regime of South Africa jeopardised the African countries' struggle for freedom. Mr. J. B. A. Siyomunji of Zambia held that South Africa and Rhodesia were a

threat to international security in Africa-- the danger to the South of Sahara was mainly due to minority racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. It was the duty of Commonwealth and all the bodies to see that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia came to an end.

The Organisation of African States was pledged to complete the unfinished African revolution--the liberation of those parts of the continent which were under minority rule.

Sore Thumb

Indrajit Gupta, leader of the Communist Party in the Lok Sabha, pinpointed that the question of South Africa and Rhodesia continued to stick out like a sore thumb at international gatherings year after year. He also said that India welcomed the U.K. government's recent decision to stop the sale of arms to South Africa and hoped that it would be implemented in letter and spirit. Political, economic and moral pressures against racial policies of South Africa and Rhodesia must be total.

Multinational corporations drew up a separate debate. Mr. Max Saltsman of Canada said that most of the multinational corporations operating in Canada were of U.S. origin and in some respect those were to the advantage of Canada. In the United States itself workers felt that the multinational corporations should withdraw their investments from other countries because the funds thus available would create more employment opportunities inside the U.S.A.

The reckless exploitation of fuel resources of the world countries was discussed. One of the best speeches of the conference was made by the deputy leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, V. B. Raju. His points were well appreciated by the conference. He stated that the U.S.A. was very conspicuous with its high living standards and undoubtedly the most profligate nation in the world in the wastage of energy. Raju said that the consumption of petroleum products in India per capita was 186 kg. The consumption of the U.S.A. is 11,241 k.g. The per capita consumption of the United States in petroleum products is more than 60 times that of India. This is a wide disparity in the energy consumption which is one of the root causes of tensions. Unfortunately what has happened is that the energy and food are being used as political levers. As long as there is no fair distribution of energy and food, humanity cannot look to a very happy and peaceful world.

Now the time has come when the nations have to take a decision whether the use of the private car which carries mostly only one person should be dispensed with yielding place to public transport.

Mr. A. R. Thomas from Bermuda declared himself to be a blackman and said that blacks suffered from utter poverty. He declared that unemployed youths were greatest curse to the country.

Mr. William Whitelaw, deputy leader of the Tory party was emphatic in emphasising the spirit of law and order. He did not want bully-boys and criminals on the

streets to defy Parliament. He gave instances of various threats to Parliament's authority all over the world. He did not mention Ireland but he had Ireland in the back of his mind. He had played an important part in the affairs of Ireland as the minister for Ireland.

Om Mehta said that the five general elections to the Lok Sabha and successive general elections to the state legislative assemblies held so far in India unmistakably demonstrated that the Parliamentary system in India had come to stay for ever. Another essential condition for the successful functioning of the Parliamentary system was the acceptance of the principle of majority rule and willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority.

In countries where the two-party system prevailed parliamentary government could be smooth and might follow a well laid out pattern.

K. C. Ramrakha (Fiji) said that the Constitution of Fiji on paper, was one of the most perfect constitutions devised. The reason why the British Parliamentary system had worked was this that they had the strongest parliamentary conscience in the world. In the last resort the security of Parliament depended upon an individual itself, the individual member in Parliament.

Ram Kishore Vyas of Rajasthan felt that there had been a deterioration in the standards of integrity in public life. In India within a decade after independence,

there were quite high standards of integrity. But afterwards there was expansion in the economic activities of the government, bringing in many rules and regulations, permits, licences and so many other things and there was deterioration in India also.

On the last day, India's Dinesh Singh addressed the conference on the Commonwealth. He was well cheered. The proceedings wound up with a dinner by Premier Indira Gandhi at Ashoka Hotel when all the delegates and their wives were guests of honour.

—JOACHIM ALVA

—*Economic Times* (New Delhi),
November 11, 1975.

FRUITFUL DELIBERATIONS AT COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

The twenty-first commonwealth parliamentary conference, which commenced in New Delhi on October 28 last with Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker of the Lok Sabha and President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in the chair, is coming to a close on November 4 after fruitful deliberations on a wide range of subjects of concern to the developing as well as developed nations of the commonwealth. The importance attaching to the conference is evident from the fact that it was ceremonially inaugurated by the President, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed in the historic Central Hall of Parliament House, and was addressed by the Prime

Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. About 300 delegates from the member-countries attended the session.

The main issues selected for discussion at the conference, such as, the commonwealth and world security, the world energy crisis, building a new international economic order, social problems and challenges to Parliament, marked a significant pointer to the concept and growing role of the commonwealth. The commonwealth is a voluntary association of independent sovereign states, each responsible for its own policies, consulting and cooperating in the common interests of their peoples and in the promotion of international understanding and world peace. The thirtyfour-member nations of the commonwealth, extending over six continents and five oceans, encompassing a rich variety of cultures, traditions and institutions, have a combined population of 900 million.

The evolution of the commonwealth began with the introduction of responsible Government in Canada in the 1840s. Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa followed along the road to complete independence from Britain. The modern commonwealth started taking shape in 1947, when India and Pakistan became members. Sri Lanka followed in 1948. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave a new form and complexion to the commonwealth concept and structure in 1949 when India decided to become a republic, and commonwealth heads of government decided that allegiance to the same monarch need no longer be a condition of membership.

Thus the pattern of the future was set. The queen remained the symbol of free association of independent member nations. In 1957 Ghana gained its independence, and the growth of the commonwealth gathered momentum. New nations in Africa, Asia, the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific were welcome as members. Of the present composition of the commonwealth, 19 members are republics, the Queen is the head of State of 11, and 4 members are monarchies with other sovereigns. Not all countries formerly under British rule have chosen to join the commonwealth. Thus Burma, Ireland and Sudan are outside the Commonwealth Association. In 1961 South Africa left the Commonwealth when other members expressed strong disapproval of its racial policies. In 1972 Pakistan withdrew from membership when a number of commonwealth countries recognised the new state of Bangladesh.

Adherence to Ideals

While each member of the commonwealth is responsible for its own policies, collectively all members subscribe to certain ideals set out in the declaration of commonwealth principles that was adopted by the commonwealth heads of government at the Singapore meeting in 1971. The members of the commonwealth, according to this declaration, subscribe to the belief that they can provide a constructive example of multinational approach, which is vital to peace and progress in the modern world. They further believe that international cooperation is essential to

remove causes of war, promote tolerance, combat injustice, and secure development among the peoples of the world. They declared that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated.

One of the most vital issues that figured on the agenda of the conference this year related to the building of a new international economic order. The commonwealth's contribution to the world debate on the need for general economic reform has taken a new dimension. At the Kingston meeting in May this year, the commonwealth heads of government discussed the urgent need for measures to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor countries. They set up a group of ten experts, which met in Ottawa in July last and drew up an interim report entitled "towards a new international economic order." The group, whose interim report received the general endorsement of the commonwealth Finance Ministers in August, has been asked to continue its work. Following the wide interest created by the interim report at the seventh special session of the U. N. General Assembly, it is hoped that the commonwealth experts group will be able to make a further contribution to the work of the fourth U. N. Conference on Trade and Development meeting at Nairobi in May, 1976.

A matter of outstanding importance, which engaged considerable attention at and was of immediate relevance for the commonwealth parliamentary conference, relates to the challenge to Parliament.

While the Parliamentary system and traditions differed from country to country and had been evolved and adapted according to the genius and circumstances of each country, faith in Parliamentary democracy was reiterated by all. Prof. G. G. Swell, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha observed that there was no substitute for parliamentary form of Government, and peaceful changes could be brought about only through parliamentary democracy. Initiating the discussion on the subject, the British delegate, Mr. William Whitelaw said that violence and intimidation taking place in several countries, particularly the recent happenings in Beirut and Portugal should cause concern to parliamentarians the world over.

Static Code

The leader of the Indian delegation, Mr. K. Raghuramaiah, Minister of Works, Housing and Parliamentary Affairs, said that the Parliamentary system was not a static code, although it was based on the principle of "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people." He stressed that parliamentarians should instinctively obey the chair. The parliamentarians should also follow the accepted code of discipline to ensure that unnecessary time was not wasted in raising points of order on flimsy grounds, except when it was absolutely essential. It should be accepted that in a parliamentary democracy the majority would rule, but at the same time it should ensure that proper representation was given to linguistic, religious and other minorities, and their feelings and aspirations were respected.

Under dictatorship the executive machinery might move faster, but in any decision taken under the democratic form of Government there was involvement of the people, which ensured general contentment.

Mr. Om Mehta, Union Minister of State for Home and Parliamentary Affairs pointed out that an irresponsible opposition could pose great threats or challenges to the prestige and authority of parliament. Such a possibility further increased if there was multiplicity of parties in opposition, and none too well organised or sufficiently strong to provide a stable alternative. An essential condition for the successful functioning of parliamentary democracy was that all problems should be resolved by discussions adjustment of views, and acceptance of consensus.

The views expressed by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi on the opening day of the conference itself on the role of opposition parties found wide support. Delegates from several countries agreed with her that the responsibility for preserving democracy was not confined to the ruling party alone but devolved equally on the opposition parties and the people as a whole.

A unique feature of this year's conference was the publication of a comprehensive study on "the commonwealth parliaments", which was released by President F. A. Ahmed at the inaugural ceremony of the conference. The volume contains many valuable contributions from distinguished presiding officers, members of overseas parliaments, learned clerks and secretaries-

general of various commonwealth parliaments and others, covering varied aspects of parliamentary processes and institutions. One of the illuminating contributions is by Speaker Dhillon, who has focussed attention on inter-parliamentary cooperation and traced the evolution and activities of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. In a brilliant exposition, the Vice-President of India and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Mr. B. D. Jatti has dealt with the relationship between the second chambers and the executive. The office of the Speaker has been discussed in two articles by the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons and the Deputy Speaker of the Mauritian Parliament.

The Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha and editor of the volume, Mr. S. L. Shakhder has very ably elucidated the distinctive features of parliamentary procedures and the notable innovations made in India, which stand apart from the Western system. Two distinguished members of the House of Commons and the Lord Chancellor have examined the question of British membership of the EEC and European Parliament. The Speakers of Bangladesh and Guyana have also made interesting contributions on various aspects of inter-parliamentary cooperation.

The position of the Rajya Sabha in the Indian Constitution has been analysed in a masterly way by Mr. B. N. Banerjee, Secretary-General of the Rajya Sabha. He has pinpointed certain exclusive jurisdictions conferred on the Rajya Sabha and has elaborated that except in regard to money bills and the power to pass a

motion of confidence in the council of Ministers, its powers and privileges are at par with those of the Lok Sabha, which are inconceivable with regard to upper houses in other commonwealth parliaments. While the Rajya Sabha is not as powerful as the Senate in the USA, it is certainly not comparable with the House of Lords in its role and functions as a second chamber.

—A. N. DAS, Special Representative
Northern India Patrika (Allahabad),
November 6, 1975.

COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE: MUTUAL INTERESTS AND PROBLEMS

THE New Delhi session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference did not perhaps achieve anything which its precursors had not. The subjects discussed were broadly the same—the energy crisis, Diego Garcia—and in between, the Commonwealth as an instrument of social, political and economic change.

As in other Commonwealth conferences no resolutions were adopted and no declarations made. There was not even a consensus on most issues like keeping the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, Rhodesia, and South Africa. Predictably, the United Kingdom delegation was at the receiving end.

There was a heavy concentration of economic issues on the agenda. Besides the energy crisis, the subjects brought up in-

cluded population growth and food resources, commodity prices, problems of debt repayment for developing countries and the role of multinational corporations. The level of debate was high and the medium of communication was English, which has been accepted by the Commonwealth countries as a link language among themselves and with the rest of the world. In the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, as it is constituted today, only a third of the delegates represent "white" countries. This by itself has radically changed the whole concept of the CPA and the debates reflected the transformation.

Important Subject

Happily for Britain, the conference did not discuss the racial issue except in the context of South Africa and Rhodesia. Not that the delegates were not aware that the United Kingdom has unilaterally transgressed one of the basic concepts of the Commonwealth which ensures free movement of migrants from the Commonwealth countries to the UK and *vice versa*. This issue could have brought Britain under heavy fire.

From India's point of view no subject was more important than the one sponsored by the Australian delegation on the internal and external threats to the authority and prestige of Parliament. If India was not criticised it was not because it happened to be the host country.

The hard fact is that almost every country represented at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference is beset with much the

same problems as India: of threats and challenges to the prestige and authority of Parliaments posed by extra-parliamentary methods. In this even the House of Commons in Britain, universally acknowledged as the mother of Parliaments, is no exception.

No wonder then that the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. K. Raghuramiah's speech in the debate on the challenges to Parliament was promptly acclaimed by a delegate from Britain as one of the best expositions of present day trends. The British delegate further suggested that his colleagues at home would do well to read it in full. The central theme of Mr. Raghuramiah's speech was that attempts by the Opposition to strangle all norms in a House by recourse to extra-constitutional methods was one of the factors which could endanger the working of the parliamentary system.

Real Leader

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in her inaugural speech had said much the same thing in stronger language. Without mentioning the Indian Parliament by name, Mrs. Gandhi referred to the tendency on the part of some parties to offer unconstitutional or extra-constitutional challenges when they failed to accede to power by democratic means. And, in defence of the constitutional remedies that her party has taken to counter such challenges, Mrs. Gandhi declared in unequivocal terms that "the responsibility for preserving democracy is not confined to the ruling party,

but devolves equally on the parties of the oppositions and the people as a whole.”

A majority of the delegates from the 34 Commonwealth countries found in Mrs. Gandhi a leader of a country representing three times the total population of all the other countries participating at the conference speak on the new challenges to Parliament in a tone which they could hardly improve upon.

“The subject concerns ourselves and our institution,” one delegate declared. The debate threw up two dominant views. First that there could be variations of democracy. The British system might not be suitable for all and second that sometimes rather strong action may have to be taken. Equally important seemed the common consensus that though there were both external and internal threats to Parliament the greater threat was from within and what was done in India represented the most legitimate and effective remedy.

The participants also identified four factors which have relevance to the question of loss of prestige of Parliaments: First at the time of elections, the election manifesto generally should not go in great detail to attract voters because of the obvious restrictions such pledges would involve for Government. Not all promises lavishly made at the election time could be fulfilled. In the upshot it was possible that the people could lose trust in politicians and consequently in the institution of Parliament.

Second, there was emphasis on the fact that members after election had to fulfil

their personal pledges made in campaigns. But in the event of members changing their minds it was generally felt they must go back to their constituents and explain why they had done so. Otherwise, a great deal of individual respect would be lost.

Common Concern

Third, it was widely held that members must not become mere rubber stamps or puppets of the party machine. It was emphasised, though that it was the job of members to keep their parties in power. But that could not be done at the cost of the prestige of Parliament. On occasions, it was conceded that members might have to vote against their own parties.

It was stressed all round that Parliament itself must dominate the Government and the executive. If Parliaments failed to do so, Parliaments themselves would be failing in their duty to their people.

In sum, the delegates showed a common concern for the preservation of the institution of Parliamentary democracy as under this system, involvement of the people ensures their acceptance of the decisions, by and large. But things have not always been smooth in any country.

—V. V. ESWARAN

—*The Hindustan Times* (New Delhi),
November 6, 1975.

A MEANINGFUL ASSOCIATION

In a way, there was nothing new in the deliberations that the Commonwealth Par-

liamentarians held in New Delhi. Most speeches had a familiar ring, most demands a worn-out strain. The developing countries once again refused to be mere hewers of wood or drawers of water and asked for a better price for their primary commodities like jute, rubber and tea. And the developed countries, as usual, turned a paternal ear to all that was said.

What differentiates this conference from the twenty odd held earlier, is the emphasis laid on the parliamentary system of government. All members, whatever their leanings, affirmed their faith in it. There was little doubt in anybody's mind that such a system meant free elections, individual freedom and the presence of opposition parties. Mrs. Gandhi herself spoke of her conviction that "the people must have a decisive voice."

Some members did say that the British parliamentary system was not an ideal one and that it had to be adopted to meet the "changing situations" in individual countries. But they too were against disturbing its essential features: a free vote, an independent judiciary and a free press.

On the press, some of the Commonwealth Parliamentarians were forthcoming. They wanted it to be free and untrammelled. They felt that the press could perform the healthy role of an opposition.

But what the parliamentarians have failed to realise once again is that the mere enunciation of platitudes does not help. They have to be backed up with something more. That something more is the economic well-being of the people.

If a parliamentary system is to survive, it has to have a content, the attributes of an egalitarian society. Even the best of systems is only a means to an end, not an end by itself. Once people find that a particular way of government does not improve their living conditions, they come to reject it. All other freedoms are academic when the stomach is empty.

To this aspect, the parliamentarians have paid only scant attention. No doubt, at every conference there are stock phrases like that there cannot be an affluent society when three-fourths of the world does not have a bowl of rice a day or that there has to be a war against poverty. But they are never implemented. Even when aid is given, donors have got more out of it than the recipients.

Take the suggestion of the establishment of a Commonwealth Development Bank for developing countries. This sounds impressive. But it will come to naught because the governments belonging to the developed nations were not consulted before this proposal was debated or accepted. A similar idea in some other form will come up again in a subsequent conference, with the same fate.

Probably, Commonwealth countries would gain more if they were to confine themselves to modest proposals. Their implementation will generate confidence, in any case, disappointments will be fewer than those today because the suggestions made will be less ambitious.

In fact, Commonwealth ties will acquire greater meaning without the carrot of economic gains dangled before the developing countries. Years ago when Nehru helped construct a new concept of the Commonwealth which could not find a place within it for an independent republic, he wrote to the Chief Ministers: "It (The Commonwealth) is completely informal and there is no commitment. It brings us certain advantages and there is no reason whatever, as far as I can see, why we should give it up. Where our policy differs from that of the U.K. or any other member of the Commonwealth, we pursue our policy." He further said that the Commonwealth "seemed to me advantageous, both from the national point of view and that of the world at large." That was the real purpose of the Commonwealth.

Strangely, the parliamentarians did not discuss this. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union may not be interlocked in a cold war as they were thirty years ago when Nehru had chalked out for the Commonwealth a role of a force on the side of peace. But both super powers have neither given up their military alliances, nor their ambitions to extend their area of influence. Worse still is the complicity of some Commonwealth members.

The parliamentarians do not absolve themselves of their responsibility by merely criticising the establishment of a military base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. They must take Britain to task for injecting the cold war in a peaceful area. Members from U.K. should raise the matter in their Parliament and see if they can undo an

action which endangers the security of other Commonwealth countries.

But members from Britain or elsewhere know that it will not be so. Political considerations outweigh pious hopes. All countries safeguard their own interests first, and it does not matter to them if someone else gets hurt in the process. Here small countries are no exception.

Therefore, the utility of the Commonwealth is only marginal. Whatever the pronouncements of member nations, they have to be interpreted against the backdrop of geo-political factors governing an area. This may make a mockery of the slogan—"we shall sink or swim together"—voiced at every parliamentary Commonwealth meet. But the fact that they say so is something.

As long as some countries come together and espouse the cause of peace, they do the service of keeping that ideal before the world alive. As long as they talk about economic well-being, they realise what difficulties the have-not nations face. Maybe, one day their conscience will prick them to rectify the wrongs which some of them have done in the past and still do.

Till then the very enunciation of basic values—liberty and individual freedom—is quite a gain. To that extent, the Commonwealth Association still has a meaning.

—KULDIP NAYAR

—*The Indian Express* (New Delhi),
November 6, 1975.

A COMMONWEALTH VIEW OF EMERGENCY

India has received here first major exposure to overseas view since the Emergency during the conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in Delhi and the current tour of the country by the visiting delegates. Several thousand tourists have come and gone since June 26, but tourists do not have the trained eye of the politicians. Nor are they interested in forming more than fleeting impressions of the people and places they see.

It may be safely assumed that all CPA delegates came with minds already influenced by mass media reports. Some, additionally, had the benefit of a Government briefing at home. Thus nearly 250 parliamentarians from political and social backgrounds as varied as British, Canadian and Australian on the one hand and Fijian and Botswanian on the other have had the opportunity of seeing for themselves what the Emergency is all about—the motivations behind the consequences of the steps which were taken four months ago and caused critical eyebrows to be raised in many parts of the world, including several countries of the Commonwealth.

For considerably more than 50 per cent of the delegates and their wives this has been their first visit to India. Over 90 per cent had not seen—leave alone met—Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Even fewer had ever heard her speak. Many were really taken aback by the brand new and elegantly

workmanlike, Parliament House Annexe and the spick and span furnishing and other appointments in the building. October 28, which was preceded by the President's ceremonial arrival, was an overwhelming experience.

A sample survey of the delegates' impressions become possible while they were still in Delhi. The impressions regarding the Emergency in particular were interesting and instructive. A common remark made to me by several delegates amounted to surprise over what some of them referred to as 'stable' and 'orderly' conditions in Delhi. Apparently many of the visitors had come prepared with the thought that the streets of Delhi would be full of uniformed soldiery. At least two confessed to me that they expected special armed force outside Parliament House during the inaugural session and subsequently round the new annexe where the business meetings took place. But they had seen no men in uniform except the Police on traffic duty.

These comments were a measure of the scare stories about conditions in India which began to circulate immediately after the Emergency was proclaimed and which, in spite of a much reduced flow, continued to make the rounds for some time, especially in the White Commonwealth. Representatives of the latter group were careful about starting a discussion on the Emergency but were keen listeners if the subject came to be broached. Several had the impression that most if not the entire Opposition in Parliament was under deten-

tion. To their surprise, however, they met several members of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha even while they were still in Delhi.

At one Delhi reception hosted by a foreign diplomat I was witness to a fairly audible discussion on the Emergency between a well-known Opposition member of the Lok Sabha and a reputedly vocal member of the ruling party. Four foreign delegates who were keen listeners told me later that they were pleasantly surprised at this unagitated exchange of views. They would have been even more surprised if they had seen—as I did—the two ‘opponents’ embrace each other in a comradely hug before they left the reception.

Discreet questions about the next general election to the Lok Sabha were heard by me on a few occasions. Interestingly, the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. T. Swaminathan, announced during this period that, so far as his own organisation was concerned, he was ready for the poll early next year. His was obviously a quick reply to a loaded question by a representative of the Press. Nevertheless the statement came to be noticed as evidence that the normal electoral process was not being abandoned.

There is no doubt that the practice of Parliamentary democracy in India is of crucial interest to the rest of the Commonwealth. The white section would feel let down if Indian democracy was placed permanently under restrictive conditions. On the other hand, most of the rest of

the Commonwealth, especially African countries, appear to be anxious to find out how far we succeed in tackling some of the thorny problems which they had to face earlier.

According to a sizeable number of the foreign delegates the Prime Minister's inaugural address on October 28 was by far the outstanding feature of the conference. They found her exposition of the Indian view of Parliamentary democracy clear and convincing and her faith in democratic institutions firm and unambiguous. But some of them have formed the distinct impression that democratic institutions in this country are on the threshold of procedural and functional changes. They have read in the Prime Minister's reference to the need for adaptation an urge to make democracy work in India under identifiable ground rules which are traditionally taken for granted in the West.

One of the most distinguished delegates who met Mrs. Gandhi remarked: “She looked so relaxed and confident about the good which the Emergency has done that you wouldn't think she had any political worries. Of course, she does feel concerned about the country's economic future. But so do countries in the rest of the world about their own economic problems.”

By far the most noticed individual during the conference in Delhi was Mr. S. S. Ramphal who was not even a delegate but was present only as Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat. Mrs. Gandhi did him the unusual honour of

hosting a formal lunch for him. As a rule such formal meals are reserved by the Prime Minister only for visiting Heads of Government, and this pleasant departure from strict protocol showed the esteem in which Mr. Ramphal is held by the Indian Government.

PREM BHATIA

—*Free Press Journal* (Bombay),
November 7, 1975.

COMMONWEALTH NATIONS SUPPORT INDIA'S PLEA ON INDIAN OCEAN

It is perhaps in the fitness of the new reality that the first item considered at the plenary session of the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference should have been the Indian Ocean.

The Commonwealth complexion has changed so radically since it transformed itself from the empire to a voluntary association of independent nations that it is now almost a mini-grouping of non-aligned nations.

That is the reason why the Commonwealth parliamentarians are today more concerned about the problems confronting the Third World—the fear of big power rivalry, impinging on their security or the capacity of developed nations which continue to keep down their rate of economic growth.

Commonwealth Secretary-General, S. Ramphal underlined the agony of the develop-

ing world by drawing the parliamentarians' attention to the fact that nearly one billion of the world's population, "the wretched of the world", subsisted on incomes of less than Rs. 2 a day "in an environment of squalor, hunger and hopelessness".

The problem of poverty is inextricably linked with the economic and political exploitation of the "dominated areas" by the big powers. The United States Congressional hearings are an eye-opener in this regard. It was stressed during the hearings that the U.S. presence in Diego Garcia was meant to acquire capability to influence events in that area.

If the members of the Commonwealth were agitated over the big power rivalry in the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific it was largely due to their experience of colonial rule when military bases were symbols of imperialism and the fear that it could lead to a nuclear holocaust in future.

The US military base in Diego Garcia, as the leader of Indian delegation K. Raghuramaiah pointed out, "was a civilised form of gun diplomacy of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The nuclear fishes which would come out of Diego Garcia were capable of swallowing at the rate of one continent per day."

Mr. Bundhun, delegate from Mauritius, pointed out that the proposed investment of 1975 million dollars to extend to jet runway and to make other improvements on the island was to enable B-52 bombers

which carried nuclear weapons to operate from Diego Garcia. In fact, all the delegates from the developing nations expressed unanimous concern over proliferation of military bases in the Indian Ocean region.

It was not unexpected that the British delegation should attempt to sidetrack the basic issue but suggesting that the question of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace was primarily a manifestation of super power rivalry. There was also a subtle insinuation that the criticism of the U.S.A. was a projection of the Soviet propaganda line.

But this did not cut much ice because none of the critics of Washington were apologists of Moscow. The Indian delegation which initiated the discussion on the topic had anticipated the diversionary tactics of the British delegation. After all, it was London which took away the island of Diego Garcia from Mauritius to hand it over to Washington.

That is why Mr. Raghuramaiah did not, single out Washington and always mentioned "big powers". He reminded the conference that New Delhi had been long insisting that a useful purpose would be served if the great powers entered into a meaningful dialogue with the concerned littoral states for eliminating their military presence.

If he exhibited a tilt against Washington it was natural because the UK task force has been making its presence itself in periods of crisis in the region. Was it

not the US Seventh Fleet which entered the Bay of Bengal in 1971?

Another Indian delegate, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, G. G. Swell, was more specific about India's position which the U.S.A. and its allies try to misrepresent when he said "we wanted both the US and USSR to scale down their military presences to zero."

The debate was a clear demonstration of the fact that almost all the developing nations were interested in peace and economic stability. Guyanese delegate B. Ramsaroop rightly pointed out, "the present situation in Indian Ocean, revealed an interesting power struggle which could develop into a theatre of Sino-Soviet—US military rivalry which might eventually lead to confrontation and to global conflict."

As India is the biggest and most populous non-aligned nation and member of the Commonwealth, the insidious propaganda against it in the pro-US circles is that India is an outpost of Soviet foreign policy in Asia. The insinuation is that the Soviet Union is trying to sell its Asian Security Plan through India.

But Mrs. Gandhi's remarks in a recent interview with a news agency are considered an indirect reply to those who allege that she backs Brezhnev's Asian Security Plan. Western newspapers had commented after the Helsinki declaration on European security that Moscow was going to extend this idea to Asia. Mrs. Gandhi told the interviewer that while she wel-

comed the Helsinki declaration there had been no attempt at promoting such an understanding in Asia "except for our own initiative."

The Commonwealth with a majority of non-aligned nations has been able to project a dynamic image through the CPC. A qualitative shift is now discernible in the character of the Commonwealth particularly as the UK no longer dominates it. It broadly mirrors the hopes and aspirations of the emergent nations.—NPA Feature Service.

—D. K. JOSHI

—*Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta),
November 9, 1975.

CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS IMPRESSED

Bharat P. Mathur

Ottawa.—Members of the Canadian delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference recently concluded in New Delhi returned to Ottawa highly impressed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi's bold and firm leadership and direction.

Maurice Dupras, the ruling Liberal Party leader of the delegation, told me in an interview that from what he saw in India he was inclined to agree with Mrs. Gandhi that the Western Press had over-reacted to the developments in India following the proclamation of emergency.

In this context, he emphasised that it was the function of democracy to protect the

majority, and he was convinced that the restrictive measures Mrs. Gandhi took became necessary under the prevailing conditions of threatened anarchy and chaos. They were to the advantage of the majority, in the interest of the country's security and, above all, for the good of the people.

Mr. Dupras was greatly appreciative of the economic program launched by Mrs. Gandhi since the proclamation of emergency. This program, he added, had been received with spontaneous response from the people.

He concluded by saying that they had some very fruitful and interesting experience during their short stay in India, and spoke of the extremely well-organized arrangements made for the conference.

Bob Wenman, a Conservative Party member of the delegation, said that much to his surprise and amazement he found the standard of living in India much better than he had ever imagined. He was particularly impressed by the people's pride in their cultural heritage, the attitude of discipline that had developed and the new hope that had generated among them to resolve their internal problems, the traditional hospitality extended to them wherever they went and the absolute freedom of movement they were afforded. He praised India as a progressive nation destined to become a great Power one day. He said he saw more smiles in Shillong than he had ever seen in the Sparks Street of Ottawa.

Max Saltzman of the New Democratic Party said that he got the impression from his conversations with people from all walks

of life he had opportunities of meeting that there had been noticeable all-round improvement in the general situation in the country ever since the emergency clamp-down.

From: *The Canadian India Times*,
Jan. 1, 1976.

III. RADIO BROADCASTS

THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAM- ENTARY CONFERENCE

The white marble and the red sandstone of India hold within their beauty many tales of valour, romance and wisdom in statecraft. These have appropriately gone into the folklore of this country so rich in legend. In Delhi they have also gone into the making of edifices that have fostered and housed institutions of great importance to the country. The majestic sandstone dome of Parliament House is now joined in New Delhi skyline by a new, modern three and a half crore rupee white marble building which has for the many days been shimmering in the glow of the autumn sun, waiting for its first big event.

These two buildings, one overlooking the other, will be the setting for the twentyfirst Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference beginning tomorrow. The buildings symbolise the new and the old which make up the India of today. The conference of parliamentarians, which will bring together nearly 300 delegates from 34 countries, is yet another link in the association of free nations that is the Commonwealth.

Much water has flowed down the rivers of the six continents from where the members of the Commonwealth come since the first conference of its kind began its activities. It was then called the Empire Parliamentary Association which began its work in 1911 at the time of coronation of King George V. The Commonwealth has changed beyond recognition since then and landmarks in its history need no longer be remembered by crowning ceremonies. It has evolved into a voluntary association of sovereign countries each responsible for its own policies and as the declaration of principles adopted in Singapore in 1971 says, consulting and cooperating in the common interests of their peoples and international understanding and peace.

These principles have much to commend themselves. The declaration of 1971 recognises racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness. It says that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated. It wants the freest possible flow of international trade on terms fair and equitable to all. The members of the Commonwealth believe in the liberty of the individual, in equal rights for all citizens and in their inalienable right to participate, by means of free and democratic political processes, in framing the society in which they live. "We therefore strive to promote in each of our countries those representative institutions and guarantees for personal freedom under the law that are our common heritage," the declaration says.

The Commonwealth in its present form began to take shape in 1947 after India and Pakistan became independent. Commending the idea of the new Commonwealth, Mr. Nehru said in 1949 "alliance normally mean mutual commitments; the free association of sovereign Commonwealth nations does not involve such commitments. Its very strength lies in its flexibility and its complete freedom."

There is little by way of the spectacular in the Commonwealth connection. It does not generally go in for high sounding declaration. Many even say in criticism that it shies away from troublesome problems. Those who consider this criticism valid call it one of the world's most exclusive clubs.

This criticism can be judged by what is expected of the Commonwealth and what it strives to achieve. But there is also much to commend in the Commonwealth link. When the Commonwealth heads of Government meet, generally every two years, the aim is not to come together as a block against some other country. The aim is only to foster cooperation. The Commonwealth has particularly done well in economic matters. As Commonwealth officials say, about one-fifth of the total trade by Commonwealth members goes on with other members and some commodities are traded exclusively within the association. This admittedly may have historical reasons, but the present strong economic links cannot be ignored.

The meetings of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers, usually before the annual conference of the International Monetary

Fund and the World Bank, have proved to be useful. The non-Governmental Federation of Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce links over 350 organisations. The Commonwealth Science Council tries to promote collaboration between Government Science organisations. Over 2,000 individuals have been helped to travel outside their countries.

The range of topics that will come up for discussion during the next week shows the interest the members take in what goes on. One of the most interesting discussions should arise over the subject given notice of by Australia. It seeks to discuss the "internal and external threats to the authority and prestige of Parliament." The other topic equally interesting relates to the conflict of interest between Minister and members. These are topics of intimate interest to those who hear the drop of the Speaker's gavel. For the wider audience outside the cloistered chambers, are subjects like what is happening in Africa south of the Sahara, which Zambia wants to be discussed, or the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace of which India has given notice. The United Kingdom wants a discussion on the world energy crisis, a subject of interest to all.

The other topics which are likely to come up relate to the world population growth and the food resources, commodity prices, multinational corporations, educational aid, the social effects of unemployment and the protection of wild life. All these are a welcome reminder that parliamentarians all over are down-to-earth people, troubled by all that concerns Human society.

India should be happy to host the conference at this time. It had earlier been host in 1957 together with Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Pakistan has since dropped out of the Commonwealth community. The delegates will see India at an important phase in its history. They will have time to form their own impressions. The Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Mr. Dhillon, who is the President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, said that he wanted the delegates to know everything, meet anyone they like and to go anywhere. "We will hide nothing," he said. This was well said in the best traditions of this country.

—A. N. DAR (of *Indian Express*)

All India Radio "Spot Light",
October 27, 1975.

"THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAM- MENTARY CONFERENCE"

The 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference has just ended. Some 300 delegates, many of them with their spouses, attended the week-long deliberations. They hailed from practically all the Commonwealth countries and the still dependent territories.

What precisely did the conference accomplish? In terms of concrete results, there is nothing much to show except a great deal of paper work. But the purpose of these conferences is not to produce something concrete, either in terms of resolutions or solutions to international or bilateral problems.

As the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, put it: "The special feature of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is the voluntary coming together of countries of diverse continents and cultural, economic and social life-styles. It is not bound by any stated or unstated political obligations. It is neither confined to any particular system nor dominated by any one individual or nation. It has proved a useful forum for the exchange of ideas and experience."

For all the agony it caused—to quote Mrs. Indira Gandhi again—the Imperial connection brought us acquaintance with Europe's political and scientific ideas. India has always been known for her assimilative faculties—for the ability to transform the experience of others into her own. In framing India's Constitution, India may have drawn upon the experience of some Commonwealth countries and of other democracies. But what brought the Indian Constitution into being and provided the motive-power for its functioning was our own will and spirit.

It is fashionable to talk of the Commonwealth spirit. But what precisely is this spirit? The Commonwealth had three essential ingredients to it. The first was the Crown. But the Crown as the head of Commonwealth was inconsistent with a Republic like India. India's decision to continue in the Commonwealth after she became independent and a Republic had a decisive effect on the further history of the Commonwealth. It paved the way to Commonwealth membership of many Asian, African, Caribbean and other nations

which attained independence since 1947. To quote the President, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed: "Perhaps India also helped to keep the Commonwealth door open to the Republics in 1949 and for helping to devise the British Sovereign's new designation as the symbolic "Head of the Commonwealth"—a designation fully in accord with the changed complexion of the Commonwealth as a free association of independent and sovereign nations."

The second ingredient of the Commonwealth was the principle of free entry of Commonwealth citizens into Britain and of British nationals into the rest of the Commonwealth. For various reasons, the principle of free movement and entry has had to undergo modifications.

The third and most important ingredient is economic cooperation. It is in this sphere that the Commonwealth can and does perform its most effective role. And this was duly acknowledged by the participants in the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference.

Binding together these ingredients is the English language which all Commonwealth countries have accepted as the vehicle of expression among themselves and with the rest of the world.

The Parliamentary system of Government on a multi-party basis would appear to be a particular feature of Commonwealth countries. While this is by and large true, it is not universally so. For, within the Commonwealth, there are Presidential systems and one-party states.

India opted for the Parliamentary system on a multi-party basis because, as the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, put it: "It had to be participatory democracy on the broadest base. We opted for this system not to emulate Britain or because the framers of the Indian Constitution were unaware of other forms of democracy, but because it was best suited to the Indian reality. It was a deliberate choice and was determined by non-violent nature of our struggle, by our preference for peaceful and orderly change and by our conviction that the people must have the deciding voice."

Within this broad spectrum of the Commonwealth Association are countries and dependencies as large as India with a population of nearly 600 million and the tiny Falkland Islands which have a population of barely 12,000.

The subjects that came up for discussion ranged from the world energy crisis to challenges to Parliaments. The Indian delegate, Mr. V. B. Raju, rightly pointed out that the so called world energy crisis is actually a balance of payments crisis. While the industrialised countries have largely off-set their balance of payments deficits by raising the prices of their manufactured goods, the developing countries without their own oil resources are the worst sufferers.

There were no two opinions within the Conference about the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. They rightly got their due share of condemnation.

An interesting subject discussed in one of the panels was commodity prices and terms of trade. Members, particularly from the developing countries were quick to point out how international cartels and buyers' associations manipulate the prices of primary products and push up the prices of manufactured goods. Mr. Barnard Soysa of Sri Lanka pointed out how four big buyers of tea kept down the prices of tea at the London tea auctions. This is the case with other products such as cocoa. One does not have to stretch one's memory too far back to recall how, during Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's days cocoa prices were deliberately brought down to levels below the 1933 prices. And a country like Ghana, whose principal export is cocoa, was the worst sufferer.

These are economic aspects of the Commonwealth association which could usefully be taken up for follow-up action either through the Commonwealth Secretariat or on a bilateral or multilateral basis.

One might be tempted to ask whether economic issues completely dominated the discussions at the Commonwealth parliamentary conference. Certainly not. Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean as a Zone of

Peace, as also threats to Parliaments—internal and external—figured during the deliberations.

The consensus in the Parliamentary gathering was that the greater threat to parliaments is internal than external. While it is true that a dictator might sweep away or pervert parliamentary institutions, the greater danger is from within.

In this context, India's Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, who headed this country's delegation underscored the point that the responsibility for preserving and strengthening parliamentary institutions is not merely that of majority party. The minority also has a role to play, and this role cannot be and should not be a negative or destructive one.

Judging from the valedictory speeches of the delegates, they are going home with renewed faith in this country's parliamentary institutions, and well satisfied with traditional Indian hospitality.

SUDHAKAR BHAT,

(Special Correspondent, Times of India)

All India Radio "Spot Light",
November 4, 1975.