CHAPTER IV

FOURTH PARLIAMENT
I  PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The President (March 18, 1967):—

Our fourth General Elections have once again demonstrated the vigour and validity of our democracy. There was a large turn of voters than on any previous occasion, as well as substantial increase in the number of women who cast their vote. Despite a few unfortunate incidents of violence and disturbance which have been universally condemned, the elections were orderly and peaceful. So do the people, for the enthusiasm, maturity and dignity with which they have reaffirmed their faith in democracy and representative institutions.

For the First time since independence, Governments of political complexes different formed in several states. In a federal democratic polity, this is to be expected. Our constitution has provisions defining and regulating the relationship between the Union and the States and their mutual obligations. The National Development Council, Zonal Councils, and periodic conferences of Governors and Chief Ministers are the more conspicuous examples of this nature.

The Union Government will respect the constitutional provisions in letter and spirit with a any discrimination and endeavour to strengthen the arrangements for a co-operative approach of our national problems. We are sure that all States will extend their co-operation in preserving these institution and in making their deliberations increasingly fruitful and beneficial both to the Union and to themselves.
Our Government have decided upon our major objectives in the economic sphere.

(1) They have resolved the end our dependence on food assistance from abroad by the end of 1971.

(2) They have resolved to do all that is possible to ensure that the rising trend in the prices of the basic necessities of life is halted and conditions of stability achieved in the shortest possible time.

(3) They have resolved to attain and sustain an adequate rate of economic growth so as to eliminate the need for external economic assistance by 1976.

(4) And they have resolved to pursue the national programme of family planning with the objective or reducing the birth rate from forty per thousand to twenty-five percent per thousand as expeditiously as possible.

These tasks were of such magnitude that they can be accomplished only with the action support, participation and involvement of the people and the co-operation of all parties.

The food situation will be dealt with on an emergency basis. The measures already set to fight the drought will be strengthened. The Government is already in touch with the State Governments seeking their views and their co-operation in regard to the further steps that have to be taken on the food front.

Our food import requirements must be reduced in a each successive year. Towards this end, Government will pay
special attention to the adequate availability of fertilizers and improved seeds and to the credit needs of the farmers.

The upsurge in prices, particularly the last two years, was primarily the result of the shortfall in agriculture productions due to the failure of monsoons. Industrial production is affected by the failure of the monsoons and the shortage of foreign exchange to import necessary raw materials. Deficit financing and overdrafts by the State Governments on the Reserve Bank further aggravated the inflationary pressures. Economy is not inconsistent with efficiency and we must seek genuine economy in every field and in every sector of public expenditure.

Our Five Year Plans have the objective of making the economy self-reliant and capable to further development. The greatest emphasis will have to be laid on higher efficiency in both the public and private sectors. The draft outline of the fourth plan is being reviewed in the light of adverse effects of the drought; the latest price trend, and the prospects of mobilising additional resources, internal and external, and it is proposed to take an early opportunity to discuss the Plan fully in the National Development Council and thereafter is Parliament.

Family Planning will be strengthen at all levels with the co-operation of the states.

The new generations which has grow up since Independence has new aspiration and new ideas. We must respond to them. The Education system needs reshaping in the light of the recommendation of the Education Commission.
To maintain efficiency in performance changes will be made in the administrative set up. The Planning Commission will be reorganised. The Administrative Reform Commission is expected to submit its recommendation on the re-organisation of the Central Government fairly soon.

A National Commission on labour has been set up under the Chairmanship of Sri Gajendragadkar. The Commission will review and make appropriate recommendations on the whole field of the working and living conditions of the labour including rural labour, since independence. Legislation to introduce statutory recognition to the assurance given in regard to the official language of the Union, will be shortly introduced in Parliament.

Our membership of the security council casts on us onerous responsibility which we shall do our best to discharge.

The concept of peaceful co-existence is now accepted by the leaders of the two groups. With both the United States and Soviet Union we have the friendliest of relations.

There are two dangers which confront humanity today. One is the widening gulf between the poor nations and the rich nations. The other is the rejection of the people of peaceful existence by some countries.

Government's foreign policy will serve the twin objectives of furthering our national interests—economic, political and strategic—and of promoting international co-operation.
Shri M. R. Jasani (S. P.): It is one of economic collapse. It is a gloomy picture and the speech of the Finance Minister has nothing to enlighten the gloom. There is first basic factor of food shortage. The second very fact is of rising prices. Assurance has been given on the floor that there will no deficit financing and yet each of them has been senselessly broken.

On the other hand the fruits of the devolution have been denied to us. We have used foreign aid as a convenient crutch for our own efficiency. In spite of devolution and foreign aid, the rupee is going down. Even after devolution the rupee has shunk.

On the moral side, perhaps the biggest casualty has been public morality. Craft and Chicanery have become a part of our way of life. Jockeying for position is something that faces us everyday everywhere.

On the international Plane, we are isolated and without any friend. We are humiliated because our self-righteous postures are accompanied by economic machinery.

In regard to election, no party has won but the Congress has lost. I say the people of India have won because they have shown a capacity successfully to exercise their freedom of choice.

It is against this background, it is extremely disappointing. It would appear from the Address that the lessons of elections have not been learnt.
We will not allow this country to be dragged into chaos. There is a very great danger of this because if you have economic distress on the one side and unrepresentative Government like this, which is a minority Government on the other, there is a very real danger that people might forget the constitutional path and might take dangerous and un-constitutional channels.

In this context my party will act as a vigilant but constructive opposition. Our entire political system is on trial – the system of parliamentary democracy in which we believe.

Our party stands for the values the value of democracy and individual liberty and the values of nationalism. We are prepared to join hands with all parties in safeguarding the values of democracy.2

बलाजी बर्थिनि: (मो तो) हमारे देश में आम जनाव सम्पन्न हुए। ऐसे मी जनता ने दर जनावृं में जित परिशोधता का परिचय दिया, उनके लिये वचार का पान है। जनता ने तो लोकतंत्र की शात दुनिया में जनावृं है, मारत में लोकतंत्र की बड़ी सेती गठरी है, उसे यह चिंता कर दिया है परंतु उसके लिये वचार की पान जनता है, सरकार नहीं। सरकार ने उसको श्रद्धा भुगतान-लियाँ की बोर बड़ाहर खाप्ती जरुर सरकार में हुई है। मेरे समकाल हूँ जब इस मामले में कार्य गर नेता जो कुछ किया उसके लिये एवं ही शब्द है, वह गठरी।

केशरी बार्थिनि समस्या मूल तिथि: तीन है केशरी एक अ प्रकाश, वेशी, कीकर का शुरू। सरकार की तरफ से कुछ पर ध्यान नहीं किया जाता है हरलिये जब यदि आम समाजवाद का गर्दा लगाती है तब तक अम थायक का जो सही सब तक अम राजकीय की नहीं बन सकते। कह तक अम अपनी परिस्थितियों के अवगार, अपनी समस्याओं के अवगार, अपनी नीतियां निधारित नहीं करते, एवं तब देश अपनी बार्थिनि समस्या
Shri H. N. Mukerjee (C.P.I.)

President's Address as an indicator of Government ideas is concerned, it gives no satisfaction either to the House nor to the country. This Address does not make one single announcement of something which would go to the heart of the matter and tackles the problems of our country. There is no announcement of a more to nationalise banks and general assurance, import-export trade and that sort of thing.  

Shri A. K. Gopalan (C.P.I.(M))

The President's Address, as I see it, does not contain anything new that will enthuse the people in the country. It only shows and reflects the refusal of the ruling party to go into in the root
causes of the plight of our people and to a way out of the present bungling of the entire economy.

The President has given a pious hopes. As far as the present situation is concerned, and as far as the policy that is pursued to day in concerned, it is very clear that these are only pious hopes. 6

Shrimati Indira Gandhi; (The Prime Minister): I did listen to almost all the speeches from my room. I was disappointed. I thought new ideas would emerge, ideas which will help to strengthen our democracy and our country, But I did not see much evidence of this.

The most important question which we face today is the question of food and of drought in certain parts of the country. There is need of national sharing of the distress, the need to mobilise all our energies and all our resources, to cut our leviseness and waste. This is something which we can only do with the full co-operation of the States. It is something which we must sit down and discuss and formulate a plan which can be carried out and implemented in all parts of the country.

The elections have thrown up certain political challenges. But the real challenge is, and it remains, the economic challenge of prices and production.

National problem require a national outlook and a national effort. Many member's opposite feel that they have suggested a national Government. But if we can not even got together on these problems and form a basis of working policy, I do not
see how National Government can function in the present circumstances. As it is, in a debate many points are expressed. But most people go in different directions and the net result of it is not the kind of action that can have meaning for the people.

In the President's Address, it was not possible to outline more clearly certain aspects of policy. That will be clearer in next session. My plea to honorable members is that through what it has outlined we should be able to take at least one step forward in the right direction.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel (E. P.) : Twenty years of planning has resulted in hunger and high prices. And the note of the people is because of this total failure. When the country needs planning, if at all you want it, with a new outlook, planning which plans for higher production because it is only through higher production that the prices can be reduced. No amount of control or regulation of prices will bring down the prices. It is only through better production, and in this our Government has been failing repeatedly.

Shri Mulka Govind Reddy (P.S.P.) : The President's Address is an insipid, odourless, and colourless document. It does not come out with any concrete solutions for solving the burning problems of the country, for eliminating poverty in this land and providing a better life to the suppressed and oppressed humanity in this country.

After nineteen years of Congress rule the position in the country has changed. In as many as eight states the
Congress has been voted out of power and in the Centre too it has secured less number of seats than in 1962.\footnote{9}

Shri Z. A. Ahmed (C.P.I.) This document should have clearly enunciated the policies, clearly, and in a very precise manner, which the Government is going to pursue in the next one year. It should have laid the proper accent on the proper things. It should give a general picture of the shape of things to come unfortunately far from doing all this, this document is full of general enunciation of objectives, in an expression, faltering promises and without any reference to what they have done in past. No picture emerges therefore as to what it is going to do in the future.\footnote{10}

Shri Sunanda Singh Mandari (C.P.I.) This Address or the President does not reflect the change in the correlations of the forces in India because the people of India have

Shri Niren Ghosh (C.P.I. (M)) The entire Address of the President does not reflect the change in the correlations of the forces in India because the people of India have
rejected this reactionary Congress caucus that has been ruling India for the last 20 years, a reactionary caucus that did not and do not serve the interests of the people, a reactionary caucus that serves and wants to serve the interests of the narrow stratum only, a section of bourgeois landlords and the foreign imperialists. It has been in their service. In rejecting the Congress, the people have not yet found the democratic forces and a democratic path; a portion of the electorate has gone over to the Swatantra Party or to the Jan Sangh.

The President Address is petty; philistine regurgitation containing nothing new.13

_Shrimati Indira Gandhi:_ The nation consensus which used to be achieved within an all-embracing Congress is now being institutionalised, in Governments of various hues and persuasions which are attempting a working relationship with the Centre. In fact there is no other way in federal India, and I think that there is health in this kind of political competition, which is at the base of all democratic activity. The very nature of this experiment demands from every party a total devotion to common national tasks and objectives. These can be worked out in free and frank exchanges between the parties, for only then can we cement and enrich our unity. The Congress has always worked for unity and we will continue to do so.14
The past year has been challenging and difficult. The country passed through the second successive year of unprecedented drought and scarcity. Considering the disastrous that accompanied famines in the past, we can take justifiable pride at the manner in which the entire nation arose to meet the grave threat posed to the very lives of millions of our countrymen. This was possible because of timely and sustained action by the Central and State Governments.

The production of foodgrains is expected to be better this year than at any time in the past. To bring stability to the food situation, it is essential to build up a sufficiently large buffer stock. It is also necessary to maintain a requisite level of public distribution of food grains at controlled rates. All these requires mobilisation of domestic production.

While favorable weather conditions have contributed to the increase in production, there is no doubt that a substantial break through has been achieved in the field of agricultural production by the use of improved techniques. The increased agricultural production has resulted in a national income, which is expected to be about 10.8 percent higher in the current year than in 1966-67.

The persistent upward movement of costs and prices together with the sharp decline in agricultural production, during the last two years adversely affected the competitiveness of our exports.
Government continues to help producers and manufacturers to increase and diversify production and develop marketing skills and competence. The Agreements reached with the socialist countries will help to sustain the expansion which has been achieved in our trade with them. The successful completion of the Kennedy Round of negotiations will bring to our exporters new opportunities for the export of some of our goods to Market economic. The expansion of exports remains a national objective of the highest priority and will be pursued with vigour.

The adverse balance of trade and the substantial burden of debt servicing, combined with unavoidable imports of foodgrains and raw materials for export production, have continued to make our foreign exchange position difficult over the year. Government have sought to co-operation of friendly countries and international institutions in finding a solution of the debt service problem. There was a decline in the foreign exchange reserves and it became necessary to obtain further short term assistance from the International Monetary Fund.

No annual survey will be complete without reference to the vitally important programme of family planning. This programme made rapid strides during the year.

The Planning commission is engaged in the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan which will now commence from April 1969. Meanwhile planning of development has been on the basis of Annual plans. In order to stimulate effective mobilisation of resources, Government are considering various
measures to simplify tax laws, rationalise taxation procedures and streamline the collection machinery.

Government are conscious of the need for urgently raising the efficiency of the public sector.

Unemployment, specially amongst educated and technically qualified youth, is naturally a matter of disquiet. However there is no easy short term solutions.

It is a matter of concern that there has been a recrudescence of divisive for us causing conflicts and violence either in the name of region or language or community. This is a matter for deep national concern transcending party affiliations.

Government are convinced that co-operation and understanding between the central and State Governments will continue to serve and advance the larger national interest. On their part, they reaffirm their desire to work in harmony with State Governments irrespective of party affiliations.¹⁵

Shri Ranga (S. P.) : Sir, the Address that has been presented to us, that has been vouchsafed to us, by the President is the gloomist one and the most dissonant one of all the Address that have been delivered ever since this Republic was born. The picture of India that is painted by the President is one which can not be said even by the hard boiled Government enthusiasts, to be an inspiring or a hopeful one. It does not hold out any hope of quick recovery or inspired action or patriotic or unselfish role to be played by this Government in the spirit of self denial or the
readiness to discharge their responsibilities these are his
words— with deep national concern transcending party affiliations.16

Shri Indrajit Gupta (C.P.I.): We totally oppose the ideas
and sentiments which is expressed in the President's Address
and that is why, I say in conclusion, we are forced to regist-
er our protest the other day by disassociating ourselves
from the function which was addressed by the Rashtrapati.18

Shrimati Sushila Gopalan: The President in his Address
attempted to point a rosy picture of the present situation.

There are two prices in this country, the speculat-
or's price and the consumer's price. Our Parliament is
concerned more about the consumer's price and not about the speculator's price. The basic policy of not attacking the vested interest continues. More and more patronage is given to the vested interests. 20

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: It is quite evident from the trend of the debate that our friends opposite have lost the gusto they had last year. This is understandable because whatever the year might have been like for this Government's, it has been a year of disenchantment and disillusionment for our friends opposite and their colleagues in the States. Hurriedly got together. United fronts of all kinds of parties, all manners of ideologies, have crumbled one by one, perhaps under the weight of their unity. It is alright to fasten the blame again and again on the Central Government or on the Congress party, but the fact of the matter is that this disenchantment is born out of the inherent contradictions and weakness of the patterns which were involved.

Today there are many grave issues before the country. Despite all the cynicism expressed by hon. Members opposite, we are going to get over these problems.

There are some grave issues which are not merely issues of the moment. They involve our long term interest; they involve higher stakes and they deal with matters of lasting and abiding importance. They involve the question of the very survival of this nation. Two of these issues or democracy and secularism. They are the pillars on which we have sought to build our society, I firmly believe that we
must make them secure.

It set exactly a year ago that the election results were coming in and they set the world wondering about India's stability. If there is stability in India, it is not due to odd combination of Opposition Parties but because the Centre is strong and stable and fully capable of balancing the stability of the States. I had hoped that the opportunity to be in power and to bear responsibility would also give the opportunity to the opposition parties to be more responsible. But our hopes have, unfortunately, been belied. I am saying this in sorrow - these parties set about furthering their own ends and did not hesitate to work against their own colleagues in the various Governments. For some parties, it has become a pastime to make the centre a kind of bogey man.²¹

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Madam, I am sorry, with the greatest respect to the personality of the President, I have to say that the President's Address unduly long, reads like a wall of an old widow's woe. It is true, and no body denies it, that there are some improvements, perhaps a little in irrigation, for which the Government, can not take any credit. It is nature's mercy to savex the sufferings of our people.

Inspite of all this boast of so much progress under the development plans we have come to be classed among the countries that are very very far behind. And if our bureaucrats can not manage the public sector projects, why do you want to go on expending them and burden this country, burden posterity with debts which perhaps you will never be able to pay at this rate? It is necessary to clean the Augeans stables.
I do not think we are making any progress and I am utterly disappointed at the Address of the President.22

Shri Miren Ghosh: This Address as usual is an attempt to cover up by deceitful phrases, all the misdeeds, the black deeds and the acts of Government which are contrary to the interests of the nations. As such we can not approve of it. 23

Shri Mulkaravindra Gupta: ये छत्र के अंत में उठा है कि इस लक्ष्याधारण में संहारित कारण विविध है और व्यक्तिवादित चरण काम है। 24

Shri Mulka Govind Reddy: Sir, the President's Address was a very monotonous one, a distressing, depressing document. He has catalogued so many ills that have happened and so many problems that are facing this country. 25

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, as far as the language problem is concerned, we would all like this problem to be tackled peacefully and through national consensus, in the spirit of good will and accord through mutual respect. We expected that the Government should take some initiative in this Address for calling a meeting of different sections involved in this matter for working out through discussion an national consensus.

As we look at the political situation in the country, we have entered, whether we like it or not, a period of uncertainty and instability following the fourth general elections, and that instability has arisen because the Congress party, which has been the ruling party enjoying a monopoly of power all these twenty years, is morally
and politically disintegrating before the eyes of the nation.

Sir, the fact that the Congress has not reconciled itself to the existence of non-Congress Ministries shows that it is not ready to accept the verdict of the people, much less respect it. 26

Shrimati Indira Gandhi:— As usual hon. Members from the opposite side have offered various criticisms. It is their right to do so and I always welcome it even more if those criticisms were accompanied by certain positive solutions and suggestions which could be carried out or alternative programmes of action. We have to think of what we stand for. We stand for and we are striving for a firm democratic base for country.

It is also a matter of distress that volunteer organisations are being built up which are drilled and dragooned. Most of them say that they are not doing anything against anybody. If it is so, I am glad.
This Government, which I have the honour to represent and I say this in all sincerity, is always willing to work with other parties for the solution of all our major national problems. I think, there is no greater challenge or worth while task before the nation as whole than to make our democracy secure, for I believe that this is the very base of our survival.

According to the constitution, the Centre is designed to make for maximum unity, while making the fullest allowance for diversity. It is very fine balance and we can not disturb this balance only of our peril. I am convinced that all those, who, because of regional preoccupations, assail the Centre today, are acting in a very shortsighted manner and are pursuing a temporary political advantage over the long term interest of their own States as well as the country as a whole. 28

...
The President (Feb. 17, 1969):

It is an appropriate occasion for Government to present a realistic appraisal of the year under review and to delineate the broad features of Government's policies and purposes in the coming year.

2. A year ago, we were just emerging from the worst period of economic setback in the history of our Republic. The manner in which our people faced the difficulties with courage and fortitude is a matter for pride.

3. The milestones passed on the road to our economic recovery can be easily identified. These are: a decisive upward turn in agriculture, a recovery in a large segment of industry, the relative price stability and a striking improvement in the balance of payments.

4. The harvest of 1967-68 has been the turning point in our agricultural production. Food-grains reached a record figure of 95.6 million tonnes which has 6 million tonnes higher than the previous peak of 1964-65.

5. Government are supporting the enthusiasm of the farmer by providing sufficient fertilizers even by large-scale imports. A buffer stock of 3 million tonnes will be reached in the course of the coming months.

6. In Government's strategy of development, the family planning programme continues to occupy pivotal importance.

7. The striking improvement in agriculture during 1967-68 raised national income by 3.1 percent over the previous year.
9. A modest start has been made with the Programme for employment of qualified engineers in a self-employment programme.

10. The improvement in agricultural production has raised the problem of maintenance of reasonable prices for agriculture.

11. The performance in the field of exports and in the drive for reduction in imports has been even more encouraging.

15. The demand for irrigation schemes and pour schemes in the country is large. It is proposed to set up an All India Irrigation Commission to review the development of irrigation in the country and to report on the best programme of integrated development of surface and ground water resources for maximising agricultural production.

16. The Planning Commission is finalising the Fourth Five Year Plan which will begin its term next April.

17. The recommendation of the Administrative Reform Commission made in their report on "Public Sector Undertakings" have been considered. Various decisions have been to delegate more power to the management of these enterprises with the object of improving their efficiency and profitability.

18. There is a considerable uncertainty with regard to external assistance.

19. As defections from organised political parties contributed to political instability, a Committee was
appointed to examine this problem in pursuance of resolution passed by the Lok Sabha. The Committee has completed its work. Its recommendations will now be considered by Parliament.

21. The key to success lies in fostering the concept of Indian Nationalism and secularism in the minds and hearts of our people.

22. The country faces the danger of violence from certain extremist political groups. There is no place in a democratic society for groups which seek to change the social and political structure by armed insurrection.

24. After years of patient deliberations, a formula was evolved last year for the reorganisation of Assam. A constitution amendment Bill for conferring necessary within the powers of Parliament to set up an autonomous state within the State of Assam in already before the House.

26. It is our firm belief that the stimulated distrust and suspicion of India assiduously spread by Pakistan, and the distorted image of our country which China projects through its ideological prism, will both succumb to the realities of the situation.

27. Government's stand on Vietnam, which was always based on realistic appraisal of the interplay of forces, has stood vindicated.

Shri Kanga She must enjoy this luxury notwithstanding the fact that her party had faced discredit not once but twice, once in 1967 and again now, on both the
occasions, the people have rejected them in so many places. Yet she wants to continue to be the Prime Minister, and she wants her to share her responsibility, and then share the balance also for all the horrors that are going on. Now, we are not prepared to share this kind of responsibility's and this is a dangerous responsibility. 

Shri Balraj Mahindra: 

This situation is worse because 22 years of a Rajya Sabha in the hands of the Opposition. The Opposition has rejected them in so many places. Yet she wants to continue to be the Prime Minister, and she wants her to share her responsibility, and then share the balance also for all the horrors that are going on. Now, we are not prepared to share this kind of responsibility's and this is a dangerous responsibility.

Shri Mahatma Gandhi: (March 30, 1940) 

Now, we are not prepared to share this kind of responsibility and this is a dangerous responsibility.
Shri A. K. Gopalan: The Government is blind because it is not able to see what is happening around. It is also not able to understand what the people say.

As far as the economic or political situation is concerned, it is one of unrest and turmoil.

When the Government say that the growth in agriculture and industry is having salutary effect on the unemployment problem, I would submit that is also not correct and not real, I feel that the Government is minimising the seriousness of the problem of unemployment. 32

Shri Hem Barua (P.S.P.): I do not understand why there should be a ritual like this President Addressing the Parliament. This has become a ritual and we have maintained this ritual because tradition sanctifies it. That particular provision in the constitution that enables the President
to address Parliament should be amended and eliminated from the constitution altogether. Only it is a dry catalogue of the events. Nothing more than that.35

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Sir, there is poverty, I do not know anybody could have imagined that poverty could possibly be wiped out in a period of twenty years. No country of this size and population with the problems which we faced has done this. The situation has improved in some respects and in other respects because of increase in population and other problems, difficulties remain.36

Shri Dahaya Hari V. Patel: On the side of industrial production unfortunately the situation is not so happy. It is not that there are not enough industries. It is not that we have not enough manpower. On the contrary, the large number of unemployed, qualified and unqualified engineers is a matter that is causing all anxiety.37

महाराजाराजेंद्र : राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपना विवादणाथ नियुक्त किया। उससे में छात्र स्त्री पर पहुँच तक उन्हें केवल एक छोटा सा वाणिज्य कार्यालय बाहर चालिये जिसमें केवल एक मिस्ट्री लगा। वार के में उनकी जाया होता तो इस प्रार्थना का मार्ग नहीं है। में कौन तक सभी हालात को देखा हुआ लेना जरूरी समझता हूँ कि मेरी सरकार का रही है, जो वाने की कोई ! इसके लोकार्थ में, न बुद्धिमत्ता है, तो न अगे बढ़ते का दरांवा रखली है। पुरा जानकारी के लाभ। ज्यहिंदे 38

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: The Centre State question, is not knew. We had disagreements even when the Governments were of the same party ruling in the different States and we have them to day when parties are of different views
in the different States. But it is no use getting over-
obessed with the problem. There will be difficulties
and we have to try and find out a way.

When we have this frank and constructive discussions at political and official levels. It is possible to
remove misunderstanding and to reach agreement. The dif-
ferent really arises because it is not possible to solve
all problems magically.39

...
The President (February 20, 1970): This is the first Budget Session of new decade. This period has one of anxiety, of trials and tribulations and also of achievement. India had to face two wars and to years of unprecedented drought. All citizens stout-heartedly faced this period of trial. The wars brought home to us the inescapable necessity for self-reliance and the drought focussed our energies on augmentation of agricultural production.

5. The path of progress tends to be uneven and beset with reverses, frustrations and hardships.

7. Government are actually aware of the inequalities in the country which become glaring when contrasted with the prosperity of some sections of the community.

14. Government are deeply conscious of developing imbalances in the countryside and the resulting tensions which have regretfully led to violence in some parts of the country. These are no doubt problems of public order but they can not be divorced from their socio-economic setting.

32. The continuing trend towards violence in the country is, therefore, a cause of deep concern. The problem transcends political divisions and the Government seeks the co-operation of all political parties and indeed of all responsible citizens, in dealing with it.

33. If all the manifestations of violence the most disturbing, because it is destructive of all values of civilised life, is the one between different religious communities. After the meeting of the National Integration council in 1968, there was signs of improvement in communal relations, but
then came the shocking happenings in Ahmedabad, causing national humiliation and leaving a blot on our honour. Those happenings are a challenge to all who have faith in secularism and the dignity of the individual and respect for human life.

34. At a critical period in our history, the princes showed patriotism and imaginative understanding of the aspirations of the people and a major contribution to the smooth and peaceful unification of India under a democratic regime. I have every hope that in the same way they will recognise the social imperatives of the present times and in the wide interest of the country, once again exhibit a spirit of cooperation and good will. The concept of Rulership with privy purses and special privileges uncreated to any current functions and social purposes, is incompatible with the egalitarian social order. Government have therefore decided to abolish the Privy Purses and privileges of the Rulers of the former Indian states and legislation will be introduced to give effect to this decision.

42. We expect China to respect our right to pursue our own domestic affairs and foreign policy.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (I.N.C. (O)): I am grateful to the President for his Address but I am sorry that he took the trouble of reading out an Address which was prepared by the Government, is headed by a person and also contain persons whose words and signatures cannot be relied on. In my opinion this is most disappointing and disgusting. This is thoroughly contradictory. I say this is disappointing
because every where this Government has created insecurity and disorders by its decision. Here the measures that have been taken by this Government which has lost all credibility have increased the burden of the common man.

Shri Ranga:

I would appeal to all democratic parties to unite and not to be helpless spectators of a further degeneration of the social economy and degradation of the country. Let them hasten to work out and agree upon a minimum programme based upon national integration, respect to state's right, fundamental rights and good, beneficent governance and socio-economic planks of better and greater production, non exploitative type of distribution and honest and efficient administration—which this Government has failed to provide for this country—and a non discriminatory, non political employment policy.

राष्ट्रपति जी की वाजपेयी:

राष्ट्रपति महोदय का अभिमान

हैं। वह देश की दल्ला का अभूप भाषाविद, वक्तव्य तथा कुल मानता में विभूतित नै एंगेल है। उनके अभिमान के समान है मानव देश की वातिला में एक कुख्यत मुक्तवाना, सुन्दर और समृद्ध है। तैलिन परिस्थिति इसके प्रतिबद्ध है।

राष्ट्रपति की जिसे गतिशीलता कहते हैं, वह वराजत्व का रामण मानता है। वह राष्ट्रीयता के नाखे में खरोच्च न्यायवाल्य के प्रेमिकासिक रायकृष्ण के अन्धे देश में न्यायवाल्य की जनता की दृष्टि से गिराने का जो योजनाबद्ध प्रयास हुआ, वह तोर्क्ते को पक्षी नहीं खर सकता।

वह कुँज रक्तसुखा का सक्ता है, तैलिन संविधान का प्रस्तावना करने का कोई प्रारंभ नहीं हस्तिये हैं संविधान की मूल्य विभाजन को बनाने या उक्ते विभाजन को समाप्त करने के पश्चा गतिशील पूर्ण विचार अठार पेशा।
I have heard the roar of the heavy artillery trained on Government by the same syndicate - Swatantra- Sangh combine, and you know that my party which is poles apart from that which is held by that combine. But I am afraid as far as this Address is concerned, I find little to enthuse over it. There is certain elements of studied buoyancy, some talk of a new sense of direction and purpose as well as realisable goals, but it strikes me as somewhat phoney and futile.

The question of the Supreme Court striking down the Bank Nationalisation Act which to my mind, is not something quite unexpected as far as the Government is concerned. Yet, Government responded to it with a half-hearted ordinance. In spite of today’s faster changing political atmosphere, Government is inhibited from taking any action against the vested interests. This dilemma has got to be settled and it cannot wait upon some future contingency when the Supreme Court does or does not change its decision. Something has got to be done.
The abolition of the Privy Purse is a symbolic gesture. It does not involve a lot of money but even so it is important and, therefore, it can not be delayed.44

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I must confess my disappointment at the speech of the hon. leader of the opposition. His speech was short on vision, short on perspective, short on facts and short on temper. Frustration breaths through every word he uttered. A sense of defeat and utter helplessness which has enveloped him and his group.

The House and the country need have no feeling that anything wrong is done either in appreciating the historic role played by the princes when our country became independent or in asking them today to move with history in the same spirit which they had then displayed.

Whenever any group sets itself up to decide who is an Indian and who is not, there is bound to be trouble. May I ask the hon. Member as to who will judge the quantum or the quality of Indianness of any individual?

To me, every child who is born of mother India is a good Indian. There is a law of treason and there are competent courts to decide. This can be left to be decided of any political group party. No oratorical devices can hide the real intention of those who advocate the Indianisation of their fellow countrymen. 45

Shri S. N. Mishra (I.N.C.(O)): This Address, is completely lifeless, dull, dry and desiccated address
the like of which we have had very few in the past. And this was bound to be so because the Government has only tried to cover up its failure on the economic front. Its failure on the international front, its failure on defence front and also, most important of all, its failure on the political front.

I must tell you that the Fourth Five Year Plan has become completely out of date and the Government must not dupe the people about it. None of its objective whether on the investment front or on the production front or any important front is going to be achieved. That is clear enough.

The first and the most important fact, the most patent fact that could have been noted by the President was that there is now for the first time after independence a minority Government functioning at the Centre. It is a kind of United Front Government behind a purdah.

Now the Government which has been living constantly in close proximity of the exist door can not be expected to do better than what it has been doing.46
We have lost our case in Kutch because of the cloud of Krishna Menon cost on the Government of India, and we shut our eyes to this completely? There is nothing to be happy about the survey that the President gave us. On the contrary we have gone down economically as well politically. We have no friends; we are more or less isolated, economically we are not able to stand on our own legs. So it is very sad State of affairs.
The Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Finance:
Shri Morarji Desai (Budget (General, 1967-68)):

Economic Conditions: The initial year of the Fourth Plan which is now drawing to a close has proved disappointing in many ways. Economic conditions caused concern not only because output was low and the foreign exchange situation disconcerting but also because prices have continued to rise rapidly despite a slackening in the pace of monetary expansion. Our present difficulties should not obscure altogether the strength and resilience that the Indian economy has acquired over the three Plan periods.

The failure of the monsoons has wiped out incomes and purchasing power in large parts of the country and has created a serious supply problem not only in the respect of foodgrain but also many raw materials. Once again we have to step up imports at the expense of our slender foreign exchange reserves and with the help of food assistance from friendly countries. Meanwhile the programme to raise sharply the availability of fertilizers and high yielding seeds, to strengthen farm credit and to promote agricultural research is making reasonable progress.

The growth of industrial output had slowed down considerably in the final year of the Third Plan. In the current financial year also production has increased rather slowly. The failure of monsoons affected industry in many ways. First agricultural raw materials were scarce and their
prices were high. Secondly farms, incomes were low and consequently the effective demand for manufactured consumer goods was depressed. Thirdly high prices of food diverted urban purchasing power away from manufactured articles. Fourthly, economy measures introduced by Government designed to limit monetary expansion at a time when food was scare, created areas of depressed demand for certain categories of manufactures.

Partly as a result of low domestic production, our exports also have not farmed well during 1966-67. On the other hand, these losses were offset to some extent by gains secured by such items as leather goods, footwear, iron steel products and cashew kernels.

A deterioration in exports combined with rising debt service payments caused a depletion of our international reserves. The pace of price increasing is the most disturbing fact which Government will have to keep in focus in formulating its financial and economic policies. What we have witnessed essentially is a spiral of rising prices where shortages and budgetary deficits have led to higher prices and higher wage and dearness allowances. This in turn has accentuated budgetary difficulties and has led to a further rise in prices. This process has to be halted by concerted action on many fronts. 50

Shri P. K. Deo (S. P): The Finance Minister has completely failed to take lessons from the rejection of the Congress Party at the polls when the people have registered their vote of complete disapproval of the wrong economic policies. Persistently pursued since the last twenty
years, which have brought incalculable misery and hardship to the people and have taken this country to the abyss of economic collapse.

I am sorry that no indication has been given to review the economic health of the nation and to check the soaring prices which has broken all previous records. It has completely crushed the backbone of the masses. If you compare the prices prevailing before the Second World War, the rise in India is higher by times whereas in U. K. the prices have risen by 2½ times in U.S.A. If you compare the price rise with the prices prevailing in 1954-55 the Indian prices has risen by 30% while in U. K. they rose by 34% and Japan 8%.

This is due to discriminate deficit financing, excessive taxation, adoption of gaint plans with long gestation periods and seeking to invest non-existence resources in wrong priorities, in favour of slow and low returning public sector undertakings, whose average return is 0.6%; it is most distressing that this public sector is being utilised as a dumping ground for defeated Congressmen.
Shri Morarji Desai: All taxation does not go with inflation. It is true that some of the taxes do increase prices; that is quite true. Sometimes it becomes necessary to do so, when commodities are scarce, so there is no sun on them.

There are few friends who always think that his Government is responsible for everything that happens in his country. Well, that is paying a great tribute to the power of this Government to regulate everything. But it is not possible for Government to understand the natural conditions and to so adjust its operations that we benefit by the natural conditions and we overcome the end effect of the natural condition that may arise.

I can not say that there are no faults in our planning. We are certainly learning by experience and we are trying to proof by whatever mistakes may have been committed but those mistakes were committed honestly and not deliberately. Those out to be recognised by those who look into them. This what we can readily admit.

I have come to the conclusion that we must now work on balanced budgets and not on deficits budget. If we do not do so, we will come to grief.

Shri Dahnya Bhai V. Patel: The Union Interim Budget presented by the Finance Minister presents a grim picture of the general state of the economy of the country.
It is indeed unfortunate that despite the momentous step of devaluation taken in June last year, neither industrial production nor exports have shown any marked improvement.

Another aggravating feature of the economic malaise has been the financial indiscipline of the State Governments who have been living beyond their means and have resorted to discriminate and unauthorised over-drafts on the Reserve Bank of India. Time and again, the Union Governments' attention has been drawn to this unfortunate feature, but it seems that they have been a helpless witness to this practice that has in no small measure accentuated the inflationary condition.54

Shri Morarji Desai: The relations between the Centre and the States will, I am quite sure be healthy. They must be within the Constitution, there should be no fear on the past of anybody that anything wrong will be done by anybody. If the statements to remit or to do away with some of the taxes which they are levying. I have no desire to come into their way but they cannot do it by sending a draft on me that I must feel in the losses. They must find out alternative methods, alternative remedies.55
The Indian economy is emerging now from one of the most difficult periods since independence, successive droughts, shortage of food and raw materials, rising prices, subdued industrial demand, inadequacy of exports and savings and sluggishness in the capital market had combined to create a feeling of despondency which has affected us in the recent past. With the help of our own people, we have been able to avoid a major disaster and to impart at the same time a new sense of dynamism to our programmes of agricultural development.

2. I look upon the coming financial year with a certain degree of optimism and with the expectation that, given the right policies, it can become a year of revival. With the sharp increase in agricultural production and rising incomes, there would undoubtedly be some increase in the demand for industrial products. Recent trends in exports have been encouraging. The price level is registering a decline. The objective of policy in the coming year must be consolidate the gains so that major developmental programmes can be undertaken in our Fourth Five Year Plan which will be launched in the following Year.

4. Increased productivity per acre is essential, it adequate returns to the farmer are to be reconciled with reasonable prices to domestic consumer and competitiveness in export markets. The processing industries can make a valuable contribution in this regard.
5. Assurance of remunerative prices to the former for his products is an integral part of the new agricultural strategy.

8. A substantial part of increase in incomes would need to be ploughed back into further investment, if an adequate tempo of development is to be achieved and maintained. In part, investments will be under-taken directly by those who save out of larger incomes.

16. The working of public sector under takings has been engaging our earnest attention. The public sector has been particularly hit by recession because it is mostly engaged in the production of capital goods. The general recovery in the economy will undoubtedly help, but the basic problem of achieving a long term improvement and efficiency and yield will have to be tackled, urgently.

30. I trust on members will not take me to task if the proposals I unfold do not fulfill the expectations of dread. With resources available for the Plan next year of Rs. 1544 crores and the proposed Plan provision of Rs. 1853 crores, there is a gap in Center's Budget of Rs. 315 crores. A deficit of this kind is usually an invitation to a Finance Minister to sharpen his knife for a major operation for mobilisation of additional resources.57

Shri M. R. Hasani: If the Budget had been a good one, the hon. Minister could have expected my fullest support, but unfortunately, I think the view taken by business and industry is a very superficial and a short-sighted one.
most of the commentators saw this budget as a choice for the finance minister between additional taxation and deficit financing and left that he was bound to choose one or the other. as if one has to choose between plague and cancer, my answer is that i choose neither, because there was the way out of good health. there was a third alternative which would have made both deficit financing and added taxation unnecessary, and that was the way of cutting the bloated expenditure of the union government. if unnecessary and wasteful expenditure had been cut down, we could have balanced the budget without deficit finance and without additional taxation.

i come to the conclusion that this budget is yet one more example and one more testimony to the fact that this government had neither the courage nor the capability to solve this country's problem.

therefore, this budget is yet one more nail in the congress government's coffin. the only fear i have that by the process of drift and by this process of aggravating the economic situation, they are imperiling our young political democracy. 

मेरा व्याप्त है कि यह एक स्तोत्र टाउप भी बनमान है। जिस तरह की व्यवस्था आज देश की है, विशेषतः वार्षिक, उसके तंत्र जब तक कोई दिमागी छोड़े तो बनमान में नहीं होगी तब तक देश की अर्थव्यवस्था ठीक नहीं होगी।
Shri Hem Barua: This is a limping budget that Shri Morarji Desai has presented to Parliament on the heap year day. I call it a limping budget because our economy itself is limping to day. Our economy is in the doldrums: there is no doubt about it and that is due to the fact of the rise in prices, steep rise in prices and less production.

There is no attempt made to rejuvenate our ailing economy. The Budget proposals do not give any indication of it.

The budget proposal should have perspective. But unfortunately, the prespective which the Finance Minister presents, against the background of which he has formulated his budget proposals, is befogged and flurred, and there is the rub.  

नी रति राय (५०) : इस बजट में तथा पिछले पन्थर बीच साल से, अपार्दी के बाद के जितने पी बजट वेल होते रहे हैं उनमें होते पी सिद्धांतों के बावजूद पर अर्थ तीर्थ हमारे सामने नहीं रति गई है। नी वापसी के सिद्धांत को लेकर वोर उसके बावजूद वनाहार कोईं पी बजट हमारे सामने नहीं रति ह।

वह से लोग जो हैं उसके ऊपर देखाओं बो घटाया गया है और घरेलू जो हैं जो कि कृषि की तात्काल में उनके ऊपर देखाओं को घटाया गया है।
Shri P. Ramamurty (C.P.I (M)): Sir the Finance Minister has received applause from the big business press of this country for the Budget he has presented before the House.

Hopes of unemployments, hopes of deteriorating conditions of life. These are the hopes that are being held out by the present Budget itself because there is not going to be any more industries in the public sector.

The basic policy underlying this Budget, therefore, is this. Firstly you give in incentives to big business houses for everything, for our industrial development, for our agricultural development and even for exports nothing can be done in this country. Secondly, unless you are able to satisfy the foreign interests, you will not be able to achieve anything. These are the two fundamentals assumption behind Government policy.
In the matter of private sector, it is said that this is a budget which is taking notice of only the private sector, we have certainly given them certain concessions but those concessions are very vital if the economy is to be activated and if more production is to take place and recession is to be fought successfully, and I think it is being done.63

Madam, there are certainly several welcome provisions in the Finance Bill for rationalising the tax structure. At the same time, I must say that there are some drastic provisions which are bound to cause hardship.64

Sir, so far as this Budget is concerned, it is nothing but a kind of temporising and I must say that if you read the Budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister, you will find an admission to this extent at least that nothing can be expected from him as far as this Budget is concerned. And he has tried to plug the loopholes by certain kinds of taxes again fall heavily on the lower middle class, the working classes and the toiling peasants.

As far as our economy is concerned, that economy is an economy based on foreign loans, and an economy in which you are spending huge amounts on police, are economy on which you have given the go-by to planning, where you are living from hand to mouth, where you are taking about yearly planning and you have scuttled and given up the Five Year Plans. It is at the instance of the Government's
monitors who sit outside the country, and these monitors do not want our economy to develop do not want the Five Year Plans to be properly formulated and properly put through.65

Shri Banka Behary Das: I would say that there are three aspects of a fiscal policy. Firstly the taxation structure should be such that the incidence of the taxation is equitably distributed. Secondly the administration of the taxes should be such that it will give the least scope for invasion. Thirdly, before imposing any further or new tax all possible steps should be taken to see that the resources collected through the taxes are properly utilised. If you consider the taxation structure in India in the light of these three criteria that I have mentioned just now you will find that it falls far short of the standard that has been laid down in the various countries of the world. It is high time that a new Taxation Enquiry Commission be established in India to go into details of the taxation structure in the country.66

Shri Morarji Desai: I have been patiently hearing the debate on the Finance Bill with great attention and have come to this feeling that almost all the remarks offered proceed from the attitude that each Member takes in view of the ideology in which he believes. That is natural because ultimately all economics flow from the political theory in which one believes.67
Shri Morarji Desai: (Budget (General 1969-70):-

The expectation in my last Budget speech that, given the right policies, 1968-69 could become a year of revival has been largely fulfilled. There are distinct sign of an industrial revival and industrial production should register on increase of almost 6 percent. The general price level is now somewhat lower than last year. There has been remarkable increase in exports.

3. We have still a long way to go before we can assure satisfactory levels of consumptions for our growing population. Imports of agricultural raw materials and food grains are still sizeable.

6. On the external front, the improvement has been notable as it is welcome; yet, export earnings amount only two thirds of our correct import requirements. There can not, be therefore be any complacency in regard to export promotion or import substitution. 1

11. The budgetary deficit this year is now estimated at Rs.260 crores as against Rs.230 crores in the Budget Estimates. 68

Shri K. R. Masani: A recent National Sample Survey came to the conclusion that only one out of three Indians has one rupee a day to spend himself. If he lives in a village, his average income is 50 paisa per day. If he lives in a town, it rises to 80 paisa per day. While 35 percent of the people in the town can afford to spend a rupee a day, only 15 percent of the rural population can
afford to do so.

For generations, under the British and under our own independent Government, the rural population has been ground down, neglected and drained of what Karl Marx would have called the "Surplus value" of their labour, for the benefit of the urban people Gandhi used to say. "We of the towns and cities will do everything for the man in the villages—except get off his back". If may say so, even under the slogans of "socialism" today, we of the cities have not got off the back of the rural population. While their prices are artificially controlled, restricted and held down by Zonal barriers, compulsory procurement and other controls, the prices the agriculturist had to pay in the market were not similarly controlled. He had to pay more and more for the needs of life and for against there.

Now it seems that the Finance Minister has evidently yielded to the pressure of those mad men in the Planning Commission who have ruined our economy during the last decade. I have no hesitation in saying that the duties on both fertilizer and pumping sets are wicked, and we shall oppose both of them to the end. Broadly similar conditions apply to impose the wealth tax on agricultural land. When the peasantry is trying to get on his feet, you clobber him on the head with one blow of danda after another. The levy on petrol and inhabitants is another wicked impost in the Budget.
There is the their measure of taxation which is also against the development of this country and that is the series that have been levied on the budget.

We do not consider that there is legitimate need for a single rupee of deficit financing which has been going on all along. We oppose this Budget as a whole.69

Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedy (P.S.P.): There is sterility and lack of courage and I think, they have no connection on anything at all. There is no plan before the country, not only today but for the last several years. Therefore the Budget itself represents planlessness and polity-lessness. There is nothing in it. Even there he has failed because it is a deficit Budget and he has not be able to balance it.

70 Shri H. N. Mukerjee: The Finance Minister is perhaps conscious of unsavory nature of his budget, has tried to embellish it with some feable humor, but it remains a poor thing, little more than the usual petty book keeping and, in the matter of taxation, the characteristics of jumble of crafty concessions to the very rich and imposts which
irritate and injure the generality of the people.

After paying court of Big Money, the Finance Minister has dipped his hand into the pockets of the poor. He is collecting Rs. 127 crores in additional excise duties. We oppose all the new taxes on the basic ground that the new burdens are being laid on the people while big business gets relief. And as far as the foreign capital is concerned, it is ruling the roost in a such happier condition than ever before.

In this bedevilled situation, my party is in favour of forthwith transferring this subject of taxation on agricultural wealth to the States by suitable amendment of the Constitution.72

Shri Morarji Desai :- Taking the criticism that has been made here as the basis, it has been said that budget is not revolutionary, I have never claimed that. It is a continuing budget. It has also to grow. It can not be said that this budget is a static budget which provide for growth. It was also said that this was a vindictive budget of vengeance. Those who thinks in the terms of vindictiveness and
vengeance cannot see anything else. When it is said that it is war against the States I am not encroaching upon the States. As a matter of fact, the Government of India shares with the States some of its revenue. The Finance Commission does it in every five years. It was said that I am still having deficit financing. Because of compulsion of circumstances, because of compulsion of conditions with country and requirement based on a very realistic assessment and realistic approach. One can not go by theories only in these matters. 74

Shri Raja Ram: What is the working of the Finance Commission, may I ask? It does not go by theories only. It goes by realistic approach. One cannot go by theories only. 75

Shri Nato K. Shukla: The Finance Commission does it in every five years. It is not going by theories only, it is based on the budget deficit, the condition of the country, and other factors. 76

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Shri Morarji Desai: Under conditions of recession and inflation Government had to work for the last two years on the Budgets. Therefore, we are trying to see that recession was installed and inflation was stopped. I believe it is the admission of every body that recession is now receding. I can not say that recession has completely disappeared. Industrial production is coming up.

If concessions have been given to industries, they have been given only in order to see that the industries go ahead further, that employment becomes better and richer, that more employment comes. That is why that has got to be done, and it is with that purpose that the concessions are given.

It is therefore that one has also to bring in deficit financing, if I am less in resources for having a Plan like this by a large amount which I cannot have by taxation.??

...
Shri P. Govinda Menon (Minister of Law): Although it is very important Bill, it is also a very simple Bill. It is conceived in a simple manner. The object Sir, is to nationalise or take over the banking activities or the banking undertaking of these 14 major banks refer to in this Bill, and these are taken over by 14 corresponding banks which referred to in the Bill as the corresponding new banks. These banks should continue as separate entities.

Regarding the management of these banks, it is intended that a scheme should be framed in consultation with the reserve bank. It is proposed that the acquisition should be effected by paying compensation, not only because the constitution demands that when undertaking are taken over by the State there should be payment of compensation but also because it is right that where the ownership of these undertakings vested in thousands and tens thousands of shareholders spread throughout the country, we should pay them for what we take over from them.

We also want to see that if the shareholders would immediately like to get some money, it should open to these existing banks to demand from the Government interim payment of a certain amount which will be equal to half the paid up value of the shares and this will be paid partly in cash, partly in 4½ percent securities with a term of the years, and partly in 5½ percent securities with a term of thirty
years. It is open to the banks to say and the shares-holders to say whether they would have the one security or the other.

He have also provided that till the scheme is finalised there should be custodians for these new-banks. The Chairman of the existing banks have been made custodians of the new banks i.e. the public sector banks. These custodians will be advised by an Advisory Committee, the employees of the banks also should be given representation, not to speak of representatives of artisans, small farmers, etc. now, when the scheme comes and the Board of Management is constituted under the scheme, we intend to continue the arrangement. This is progressive step which we are taking up in connection, and in conjunction, with the nationalisation of these fourteen banks.  

Shri Dabhi Bhai V. Patel: It is a political step taken by the Prime Minister because of certain developments in her own party. There was no question of the merits or otherwise of the nationalisation of the banking when this announcement was made. It is because of the party politics of the Congress that politics is being injected into the economic stability of this country which is very wrong.

There are people who are interested in creating chaos in this country. This is the real road to financial chaos. This measure, to my mind takes a way the fundamental rights of the every citizen to choose where he can keep his money. A system of regimentation is being introduced. The people are forced to put their money where the Government has decided by them to put.
The other objection to take over which is yet uncertain, is the method of paying compensation.

This measure is neither in the interest of the country, nor it is bad, such bad measure shall not go on the statute book.

**Shri Banke Bihari Das:** (P.S.P.): I want to plead with you that nationalisation of banking institutions as a whole can solve the problem, not only banking institutions. If it had been done at one stroke, then I would say that you would have at least commanded a huge amount of money to be diverted in the direction which you wanted the whole economy to progress. That is why, I want to say that this is an inadequate measure and you will not be astonished if some of the aspirations nullified because of these inadequancy.

Secondly I do not understand why the foreign banks have been excluded. All these banking institutions in the private
sector, besides the fourteen, should be brought under the state sector, but also the foreign banks should be nationalised. 81

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: For some years our people have been demanding nationalisation of commercial banks in the country. The demand was due to the fact that the banks had been working not only to the detriment of the national interest but even against the principles and commitments of the constitution of our country as enunciated in the Directive principles. Experience has shown that the banking funds were utilised to build up concentration of wealth and economic power to distort our economic development, to hold the society to ransom, to indulge in profiteering and speculation and to create a run on our economy.

The banking world under the control of few families operated to the detriment of the common man.

Finally, a measure of this kind the Government can never take without remaining the main political obstacle in the administration of Government. That is why I welcome the decision. I cannot think of discussing this Bill without Mr. Morarji Desai being out of the Finance Ministry and out of the Government.

As far as compensation is concerned it should be very little. I think Government is thinking of giving very high compensation. It should not be given. The face value of the paid-up capital, that should be the compensation; by no means should it exceed that. 82
However socialist pattern of society did impose on us an obligation to bring the strategic areas of our economy under public ownership and control. It meant also that the Government had, and has, an obligation to take remedial measures to ensure that our political democracy is not eroded by economic distortions. We must stimulate the saving habit amongst all sections of our people, both in the rural and the urban areas. We must see that these savings are garnered and utilised in accordance with the priorities and objectives of our Plans.

Today our banks are not well equipped to deal with loan applications on the basis of their viability. Government will take early steps to arrange for intensive training of personnel for technical appraisals of projects and in view of nationalisation it will be possible to pool the resources of the fourteen banks and to promote programmes of gaining on common basis.

Efficiency and courtesy should be the watchword of our nationalised banks. Special responsibility rests not only on the Government but employees of the banks including the supervisory and managerial staff. I have full faith in the innate good sense of the employees of the public sector and the faith will be fully vindicated in their performance in the years to come.

The Jansangh wants a curb on concentration of economic power. According to Jan Sangh the remedy does not lie in the change of hands. The
remedies lies in breaking that concentration. And, therefore our suggestion in this respect is that if you really want to put a curb on concentration of economic power, then you have to take this power away from the hands of industrialists as well as from the hands of the Government; they can not do the job. If you really want to curb this concentration, then the Reserve Bank of India which is in practice is subservient to the Government today should be raised to the status of a real autonomous monetary authority.

While Government remains the supreme authority regarding fiscal policy, it should respect the authority of such a Reserve Bank of India regarding monetary policies, whenever there is a difference of opinion on policy matters between the monetary authority and the Finance Ministry, the matter should be placed before the Parliament and its verdict taken. The Finance Ministry should have no power to override the decisions of the monetary authority without formal approval of the Parliament. 84

Shri Govinda Menon: This Bill grants the shareholders a certain measure of compensation and I would say that it is not open to any management to withhold the payment of compensation to the shareholders unless the shareholders agree that they will continue in the new company; otherwise it will have to be paid.

We must see that it becomes the law and for that certain safeguards have to be provided. 85
Shri N. Dandekar (E. P.) : The promulgation of the ordinance and the bringing of this Bill has already so shaken the confidence of the depositors that we ought not to add to it by saying anything that may weaken that confidence further.

Four questions in dealing with this Bill. The most and most important is whether there was any need whatsoever or any justification for nationalisation. The alternative before us, as she herself has put it before her own party, was between nationalisation or extension of social control in a special way. And thirdly, we have what the Deputy Prime Minister himself said as to the preference between social control and this kind of nationalisation.

These banks are going to be run as departments of the Central Government and not as ordinary banks where control as to policy direction, guidance and supervision, would continue to be exercised by the Reserve Bank of India subject always, under the Reserve Bank of India Act, itself. Here the Reserve Bank has been summarily pushed aside.

On the question of compensation, one about the quantum of compensation and the second about the mode of payment of compensation. Firstly I see mention whatever about goodwill. I am deprived of my profit expectation to the extent of the valuation of goodwill.

I do not know the Government are going to give compensation to the shareholders. I presume they will give some papers called bonds, worthless papers, carrying say, four
percent interest when they are getting ten percent at current prices - on the paid up capital in some of the banks. Finally the Minister does not say whether the bonds will be transferable or nontransferable.

I say this enactment is both unnecessary and full of notes. It cannot be supposed. It is altogether an ill thought-out measure naturally because it is not brought on economic considerations. It has nothing to do with nationalisation on merits. It is entirely concerned with resolving internal party politics within a certain party. 23

Shri S. A. Dange (C. P. I.) The net result so far every measure of the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister was always in the direction of strengthening the banking hartal and weakening the consumer and the people in the country.

It is happy moment that the nationalisation of banks has at last come for legislation before this House from the opposite side not from our side. Even if for personal politics, the man and the policy of Morarji-type has been eliminated, it is a good thing.

Now the question comes to the management of affairs, that state sector undertakings will not be properly managed. Most of the evils of the state sector come in to existence because of the private sector spoiling the working of the public sector. This is the main thing. That is why more the private sector is abolished the better will be the public sector.
The bureaucratic management of the stall as a whole and the bureaucratic management of the public sector is one of the standing evils which all of us have to fight. But it can not be fought just by saying that bureaucracy is bad or some bureaucrats are bad.

It is always the tactics of a right reaction that when a measure is popular, when a new policy is picked up by the masses, they dare not frontly oppose it but they will oppose it by backdoor. 87

\[ 87 \text{footnote content here} \]

Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedy: Unnecessary and extraneous matters have been brought into this discussions and the main issue before us is being side tracked. The question
of democracy being in danger, the dictatorship coming in
the field, the fundamental rights being infringed, all these
questions have been brought; those who are opposing this
Bill by bringing these things are themselves losing the
battle.

I support the Bill not because a great historic step
has been taken or a revolutionary step has been taken.
There is nothing like that. I support it because we have
been pleading for nationalisation since our party entered
into Parliamentary elections in December 1951. It has come
a good thing in a sense that it may open the way towards
socialism. It will be the beginning of capitalist monopoly
hegemony in this country.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: The more one examines
the manner in which most commercial banks in the country
were functioning, one is led to the view that the measure
which we are debating this House was inescapable and abs-
olutely necessary.

The paid up capital share and the reserves of 14
banks constituted hardly 2-4 percent of the deposits. As
against a total deposit of nearly 2750 crores of these
banks at the end of December 31, 1968, the paid up capital
was only 28.3 crores or just a little over one percent. The
bank management were thus operating a almost exclusively
with other peoples money.

This aspect of banking has always been a source of
concern which do not profess socialism. We can not continue
to ignore the impatience and frustration with which the under privileged look at our effort to help them stand on their own feet.

We have no inclination to set up a Central monopolistic agency to run all these banks. While we must strengthen the machinery at the centre, there will be autonomy for each bank and the Boards will have well-defined powers.

Shri P. Ramamurti: Without entering into any panegyric over this measure that this is very courageous measure or peace of socialist legislation, I and my party certainly welcome this measure as a step in the right direction. It will continue to be a step in the right direction provided the right direction continued afterwards.

Having known now these banks have functioned before, as a result of the further development of the democratic movement, on the result of the pressure of the public opinion which I am sure will be built up in the country. I hope the Government themselves will change their policies, not with regard to the new banks that are going to be taken over, but they will undertakings that all already existing.
Shri Govinda Menon: I am extremely thankful for the massive support which the House gave to the Bill moved by me.

...
It is generally accepted that social, economical and political stability is not possible without the growth of productive forces and the augmentation of national wealth. Also, that such growth and increase in wealth cannot be sustained without due regard to the welfare of the weaker sections of the community.

4. Any severance of the vital link between the needs of growth and of distributive justice will produce stagnation or instability. Both must be avoided.

5. We can not provide for all the urgent needs of society with our limited resources. But a balance has to be struck between outlays which may be immediately productive and those which are essential to create and sustain a social and political framework which is conducive to growth in the long run.

6. During a 1969-70, the first year of the Fourth Five Year Plan, there is every likelihood of achieving an over all rate of growth of 5 to 5½ percent. There has been a welcome increase in foreign exchange reserves and the general level of prices over the past two years has been relatively stable.

7. Private investment in agriculture, small industry and construction has been buoyant for some time now; and there is revival of interest in investment in organised industry. A decisive increase in a Plan outlay in Public
sector will be also stimulate productive investment in the private sector.

9. The nationalisation of banks, I am sure, be soon put on a stable footing. The Monopolies Act and the decisions that the Government had already taken into light of the recommendations of the Industrial licensing Policy Inquiry Committee should help to avoid the concentration of economic power and provide encouragement to small and new entrepreneurs. At the same time, well established industrial companies will be able to small new entrepreneurs. At the same time, well established industrial companies will be able to established industrial companies will be able to participate in the core sector and in industries with expert orientation.

10. According to Revised Estimates the Deficit at the Centre for 1969-70 is now estimated to be Rs.290 crores as against the Budget Estimate of Rs.254 crores.

12. It is proposed to raise the Central Plan outlays from Rs.1223 crores to Rs.1441 crores next year i.e. by roughly 15 percent.

13. Taking the Centre, States and the Union Territories together, the Plan outlay will increase from Rs.2239 crores in 1969-70 to Rs.2637 crores in 1970-71 i.e. about Rs.400 crores with the considerable step up in the Plan outlays, there will be significant increase in employment opportunities in the coming year.
15. At the existing rates of taxation revenue receipts are likely to increase from Rs.3587 crores this year to Rs.3867 crores next year. The revenuee receipt available to this year will increase from Rs.2375 crores to 3167 crores. Revenue expenditure next year is expected to be increased by Rs.176 crores of which Rs.68 crores is on Plan outlays and 108 crores on non-plan items. The total nonplan expenditure has been restricted to the minimum and will increase by about 4 percent.

16. The internal resources of public sector interprices, which are available for their expansion, will increase from Rs.162 crores this year to Rs.202 crores next year. Receipts under P. L. 480 and other food aid, including some of revenue account, are expected to decline from Rs.239 crores this year to Rs.161 crores in 1970-71. Taking account of all items, the capital account will show a deficit of Rs.365 crores. The revenue accounts is expected to show a marginal surplus of Rs.15 crores.

Shri Ashok Mehta (I. N. C (O)); The Budget which is claimed to mark a watershed in the politics and economy of this country. It has been the claim of the Prime Minister that she is engaged now in battering down the barriers that denide the country into two nations, the nation of the rich and the nation of the poor. It is for that purpose that she has destabilised the politics of this country and has broken the historic party. I presume spell out the new economic policy of the
protagonists of a new politics in the country.

It is important that when the economy faces a certain amount of inflationary danger, when inflationary potential continues to flout around the economy, the Budget should have a tight texture and it is a matter of deep concern that the Prime Minister has deliberately kept the texture loose. 95

Shri M. R. Masani: I see nothing in this Budget that will in the coming twelve months, improve the lot of the common man, against this, we have to put a tremendous burden of crores of rupees of additional taxation in the forms of excise levies and increase of railway freights—that every commodity used by the common people will now to bear the cost of additional freight which will be passed on to the consumer. The biggest burden to the poor consumer is going to be deficit finance. 96

Shri Balraj Madhok : This budget which has been presented in the name of the poor to improve the lot of the common people, is the worst example of the exploitation of the poor people in the name of Socialism. This Budget is primarily a political Budget. 97

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy : If anything, the Finance Minister has very been timid. It will increase prices and it will be in flationary.

I am afraid this Budget although it has given new openings, is not a socialist budget. I do not think that
the Prime Minister would hereself claim this it is a socialistic budget.

Shri S. A. Dange: Socialism is only that where the major means of production are taken over by the State, and secondly, the state is taken over by the working people and not by allies of the capitalists, only then real democracy will be instituted.

The taxation that is proposed in this Budget is not at all conducive to the development of the normal man to build a self sufficient economic unit of his family.

Shri P. Ramamurty: I know the socialism means realignment of class forces it is not possible. Therefore I warn that despite all these good intentions if the provisions are implemented as they are without any change in some of the basic policies, the country will face the same problems at the end of the next year, the problem will be intensified; social discontent will increase and social tensions will increase. The struggle of people will also increase and she will be placed in terrific dilemma. I ask the Prime Minister and Finance Minister to rethink on the whole position. You can not ride two horses and that is in trouble in which you are. You should get act of the grip of the monopolists; if you are not able to do that the consequences will be there, for which you alone will be responsible.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: The events of the last few months have brought about much needed discussion and heart-searching in the political forces of the country and there
the movement towards a crystallization which will help us to pursue more efficiently our positive social and economical objectives. It is not surprising that critics are unable to find anything new in Budget because they have failed to appreciate one simple fact. If we are carry forward this great nation to its rightful destiny at a crucial period of history, political and economical life.

Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy (I.N.C.(O)): This is the first Budget of the seventies. Secondly, this is also the first Budget of the Prime Minister in the capacity as a Finance Minister and thirdly this comes in the wake of the historic split of the Indian National Congress. Besides, this also comes against the backdrop of many pronouncements and promises made by the Prime Minister in the past. Further the Prime Minister is performing a remarkable fact of simultaneously promoting economic development and political instability in this country.

I say that direct taxes have been diminishing relatively to indirect taxes. This is my main criticism about direct taxes. And to say that this is very progressive budget, as some of my hon. friends have said in the other House, is, I think, a big lie and to call socialist budget is a bigger lie. My complaint is that this Budget relies heavily on foreign loans and deficit financing.

Shri A. P. Chaterjee: I am really trying to show that Mrs. Indira Gandhi, despite of her protestations—she protests a little too much—has produced a Budget which is still capitalist-oriented because it is a Budget in which there is very little or nothing done for the poor.
Shri Shupesh Gupta: We are discussing here a Budget coming from a Government which represents capitalist system. Whatever they may say the present socio-economic reality is one of capitalism and not of socialism.  

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: The Poverty of the country is not new. Our desire to fight poverty is not new, but in every earnest Budget something dynamic must be done to fight against these old familiar problems. In the last twenty years we have taken up several challenges. Planning itself has been the acceptance of a mighty challenge. 

There is all round recognition although in some quarters it is most reluctant that in this Budget there is the minimum possible contradiction between what is progresses and what it has actually set out to achieve. It will be the continuous endeavour of my Government to bridge the gap between profession and practice.
Shri P. Govinda Menon: There is no question of challenging, modifying limiting or minimizing the authority of judiciary in this country. We inevitably accept and we act upon it.

On the other side, I may so with all respect to the judiciary, they do not decide about high political, social or economic or other questions. It is far Parliament to decide. In some countries, great countries, the Supreme Court has by the interpretations widened the strict provisions of the constitution. It has actually widened them; it may restrain them too. That is true. But the ultimate authority to lay down what political or social or economical law we have is Parliament alone. It is not the function of the judiciary to do that." That is what Prime Minister Nehru said on that occasion.

"Accordingly, we hold that the Act is within the legislative competence, of the Parliament." This is what was pronounced by the Supreme Court. There they say that with respect to the provision for compensation they are not satisfied that proper provision have been in this Bill.

If the Supreme Court has pointed out certain defects in the Bill and if the Government thinks that for the effectuation of its social objectives the Bill has to be re-enacted removing the deficiencies in the Bill pointed out by the Supreme Court. It is in that spirit, that the Government have decided to bring forward this Bill today.
Shri Ashok Mehta: I support the motion that has been moved by the hon. minister to convert the ordinance into law, in order that banks that we have nationalised should remain nationalised. 108

Shri M. H. Masani: I rise to support the statutory resolution for disapproving the Ordinance moved by Shri Sharma and oppose the motion for consideration of the Bill moved by the hon. Minister, Mr. Govinda Menon. We applaud the judgement of the Supreme Court and we are happy that in this manner we have brought about a desirable result. The Government may be wasting the time of the House by bringing a Bill a second time.

We are opposed to bank nationalisation out right. We believe in a mixed economy where State and private enterprise compete on equal terms for the welfare of the community. But the burden of proving the need for nationalisation lies very squarely on the shoulders of those who sit opposite.

Shri Ramaswami: Private property can not be touched even it is necessary to do so for the good of the community as a whole. What is more important is not the good of the community as a whole, but private property. This is
the outlook of the judges, these wonderful gentlemen of the Supreme Court, and we are told that we can not say anything about these people.

I had expected that this Government would have come forward with constitutional amendment providing that the question of compensation will be justiciable in any court, under any garb, that the right to property will not be a fundamental right because the community is more important than dead property. Life is more important than death, and we are for life, we are not for death. If we had come forward and passed such a legislation, then we could have seen it Supreme Court is prepared to dare to thwart the will of the entire people. But fortunately that is not the position, the present position is one of cringing before the saviours of big business interests.

I warn you that with this judgment and this kind of attitude of the Supreme Court which itself is subverting whatever has been laid down the Constitution; it is not possible to go forward, and ultimately the people of this country will have to surround the Supreme Court with their massive will and see whether the Supreme Court dares to thwart with the will of the people.  

श्री सुन्दरसिंह मंडली :- यह व्याख्यात, 64 कार्यन मे बारी वि गया। 60 कार्यन मे शुल्कहो के कंपनियों के वाहिकण के संचय में जो पहले हम इस विवेचन को पास कर दुःशेष हमें उसकी लारिय न पद्या। उसके लारिय दराने के बाद यह व्याख्यात बारी हुआ। राष्ट्रपति मोहन को स्तिति को ठीक वांछनी स्थान परी करनी गई।

वैश्नव अनुवाद के संचय में वैश्नव रुपकोष व्यंत के कल्पित सिद्धान्त को वाहिकण ने। जीवन कॉर्ट के तारा उस अनुवाद को लारिय पर दिये साते हैं लाद
Shri P. Govinda Jenson :- Now Sir, the opponents of the Bill like the leader of the Jan Sangh are invariably putting the question; why not foreign banks also? The supporters also have raised that question. It is not account of any complication of an international character that we have decided not to nationalise the foreign banks by this Bill. The Government is of the opinion that the functioning of these
foreign banks here is helping the country in its import-export trade. I hope the House will appreciate the reasons. I will read out the main reasons why the foreign banks of not been nationalised firstly the foreign banks are part of a world wide organisation. Then certain of these foreign banks have various item of business of a specialised nature. Thirdly foreign banks also assist in raising foreign currency loans and is also assisting entreprenuers to contact parties oversear equipped with technical know-how. In this matter the question of reciprocity between various countries is to be kept in view, and if we take to unilateral nationalisation of foreign bank, our country's interests will suffer. That is why we have not done it, for no other reason. 115

...
RESOLUTION REF. PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION OF 15TH APRIL 1968
VARING THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED ON 25TH FEBRUARY, 1968 IN
RELATION TO THE STATE OF UTTAR PRADESH.

RESOLUTION

RESOLVED that it be notified that:

No. 1 S.

When the proclamation issued on 16th April 1968 is read:

The proclamation issued on 25th February, 1968, in relation to the state of Uttar Pradesh, is hereby rescinded.

This resolution is adopted by the President on behalf of the Central Government.

V. V. Giri

President

[Signature]

[Date]
Our main case was, and it remains, that the Governor was not all called upon to act in the manner in which he acted, firstly in suspending the U.P. Assembly and the Ministry, and then in dissolving the Assembly, we contended that the Governor had acted purely in a partisan manner, voicing the spirit and the letter of Constitution.

As far as Mr. Gopala Reddy is concerned, I would have demanded his impeachment. I certainly demand his indictment.
politically and the least he can do alter the speaker's conference and having been exposed in this manner is that he should resign from the Governorship and retire to Andhra Pradesh and not meddle in politics any more.\textsuperscript{118}

\textbf{ resolution re proclamation in relation to west bengal state legislature (delegation of powers) bill}

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: As soon as this Presidential Proclamation was issued, there was a demand by the opposition parties that the mid term poll in West Bengal should be held as early as possible. We shared this anxiety. Immediately
we wrote the letter to the Election Commission requesting them to hold the mid term poll in the West Bengal as early as feasible. We also want that poll to be held in peaceful and non-violent atmosphere.

I am sure that if we approach the problems of West Bengal in an objective and non-political manner as far as law and order matters are concerned, we would be able to hold elections which will truly reflect the opinion of the people.

Shri N. Dandekar: The proclamation marks the end of chaotic abuse and subversion of Parliamentary institutions in West Bengal. At its least, for the people of Bengal, it was a period of very serious trials and tribulations while a large number of politicians were going round committing all kinds of errors.

We view West Bengal in very special way from two points of views. In the first place as a major security risk for the country, Secondly, we look upon it as a lesson for the people of India in regard to the working heterogeneous United Front Governments.

I suggest that meanwhile the Communist Party in India must be banned. I recognise that if the Communist Party is banned, its members will undoubtedly infiltrate in to many other Parties. There is this danger, which we in Swatantra Party might have to guard against. I suggest that the risk is worth taking because dissipated in that way, they may be
not so harmful and dangerous to this country as they undoubtedly are now, organized in the way they are.

The second thing that the Congress party must get down to sober reflection and recognize the facts of life not only in Bengal but throughout the country. Thirdly there should be a great deal of hurry in the Congress Party to undertake the task of self examination and to clean his Augean stables. 121

Shri Indrajit Gupta:  
President rule can never be substitute for democratic rule by the people's elected representatives. It is strange combination of circumstances which has brought us in this House to pass to day where the Government bring forward a resolution asking for approval of the proclamation of President's rule in West Bengal and we are not in position to oppose it, though we can not support it because the idea of presidential rule is foreign to us.

If you want to create a normal atmosphere, an atmosphere in which popular confidence returns, the first thing required to be done is that this gentlemen sitting in the Rajabhawan in Calcutta has got to be recalled. He has used double standards, one standard to dismiss the Mukerjee Ministry and another a completely different standard, to try to keep in power the P. C. Ghosh Ministry as long as possible, a Ministry which had already forfeited any claim to have any majority in the Assembly. Such a person can not continue as a caretaker during this period prior to the elections. 122
Shri Jyotirmoy Basu (C P I (M)): Sir, the Central Government sought to wreck the people's verdict and subvert democracy in order to help the money-bags under their pressure.

Up-till now, Government have not formed an advisory Committee to advise the West Bengal administration as has been done in the case of Haryana.123

Shri Samar Guha (P.S.P.): While extending my support to the promulgation of President's rule in West Bengal, I am doing so with a rule agonizing shame, I feel that this sort of proclamation of President's rule is a sort of indirect censure upon the system of Parliamentary democracy. My party did not ask for dissolution of the Assembly, but wanted a temporary President's rule with the hope that perhaps the scence ochlocracy in West Bengal will be changed and a saner mood will prevail, so that a climate would be created for the functioning of Parliamentary democracy in West Bengal.124

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: In certain States the Congress did not get the absolute majority, but combination of political parties which took place before the General Elections obtained the majority, the total majority in the House when they found that the Congress did not get a full majority, then they threw all their principles to the winds and tried to grab the power by unholy alliances and that is how the so called United Front or Shayukta Vidhayak Dal Governments came
into being. Unfortunately, these parties did not stop at that. Where the Congress Government's were formed, they started the game of toppling; it was only a lust of power. If they want to criticise they must develop the capacity to bear some criticism also. They should not be intolerant. They should also develop some tolerance and here the truth without becoming uncomfortable about it.

If by this they try to throw dust into eyes of the people of India by making scapegoat of the Congress or blaming the Governor, then they will be doing no good either to themselves or to the country. 125

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE-PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF BIHAR

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:- It is common knowledge that after the general election the State of Bihar had three Ministries and four Chief Ministers and there was wide-scale defections, instability, the last Chief Minister of Bihar was pleased to recommend to the Governor that he should dissolve the Assembly and hold mid-term poll. In pursuance of this recommendation, the Assembly of Bihar was dissolved and mid-term elections have to held there. We have written to the Election Commission to consult the major political parties and in consultation with them to fix a suitable date for holding the mid-term poll as early as feasible in the State of Bihar, and we hope that the election will be held soon and they will be held in peaceful and nonviolent atmosphere. So, the people have full freedom to express their preference as to
what kind of rule they want for a few years to come.

As far as matters regarding the administration under the President’s rule are concerned, hon. Members know that this hon. House along with the Members of the Upper House will function as the Legislature of the State of Bihar until a new Legislature is constituted there.126

Sir, the Resolution before this hon. House is, I think, very thoroughly debated and the impression that I get is that except for a few extremes, Members on the other side and on this side have generally welcomed the proclamation under the Constitution which we are discussing today. Those Members who criticised it also must have understood the significance of the political events that took place in Bihar in the last 15 months but they were possibly more influenced by the partisan political considerations.

As far as Governor is concerned, I think, the Governor tried to function completely constitutionally in this matter.128
Resolution Re-Proclamation Issued by the President in Relation to the State of Bihar

Shri Y.B. Chavan:— The entire period of 15 months after the fourth General Election has been a prolonged period of instability for the State of Bihar. The first Government of the United Front functioned there for nearly 11 months. Then on the 1st February, 1968 the Mandal Ministry was formed. It also had a very brief period of life, less than 50 days. Then supported by others, that lasted for less than 3 months. Ultimately the Governor had to take a rather painful but necessary decision of making a recommendation to the President to issue this Proclamation, under article 356. Madam, this is a very unfortunate pattern of political life of our country in certain States. In this particular State in a House of 318 more than 80, nearly 85, persons defected, some once, sometwice, some thrice and some four times. Madam, on the date of dissolution of the House, the House and the three parties exclusively consisting of defectors, the Lok Tantrik Dal, the Shoshit Dal and the Janta Party. This was the situation when the last Chief Minister resigned, he made a recommendation to the Governor to dissolve the House. He did still make an effort. He invited the leader of the Congress Party, he was given a time for four days, he may try.

This is a very painful part of the functioning of all Governments and now it is a painful duty to this House to accept the recommendation.

Shri Daya Shah V. Patel:— It is indeed a pity that the State of Bihar is suffering from calamities, both natural and political. The State of Bihar had two years of drought which
made life for the people, the ordinary common people, very
difficult.

Sir, while at the Centre we are talking of prevent-
ing defections, defections are actively being encouraged
in the States. This is very sorry State of affairs. I
would like the Central Government to pay attention to it
when it is under the Presidents Rule and set a new pattern.

Shri A. P. Chaterjee :- When a corrupt political party
reigns in the country, the more and the greater the advice
you give it to dissolve itself, the more it will not listen
to you because naturally on corruption it thrives on misrule
it thrives. Therefore, the only remedy that the people of
India can thimk for themselves in that they must rid them-
selves of the Congress. The Congress can not dissolve itself,
but the people of India, must rid themselves of the Congress.
That is the only way of salvation, not the salvation of the
President rule and all that. The President rule is merely a
symptom of the great trouble that is the body politic of
India. The trouble is this that this democracy is at stake
under the Congress rule.

Therefore, I am saying this that Bihar is merely
another incident in the chain of democratic Governments
throughout India.

Shri Saran Prasad ( Parto Parto Parto ) :- ज्ञानी ही वहां संविद की सरकार बनी
उसने हुई इस तरह का शासन होना शुरू दिया जिसे शासन की रोगी की बातों
में वह निराशी के समान मालूम पड़ने लगी। शासन का विचार था वह बार
संविद की सरकार सफल हो गई, बड़ा उसके 33 घूम्ब ग्रंथम करने में ता दिया
Shri Y. B. Chavan—

About the presidential system, etc.

This is a matter which is being very intelligently argued and debated at the present time in the country. Personally I don’t support that view. I have got my own views in that particular matter, but I quite agree with one thing. We have to go into the roots of this problem as to what has happened in Bihar, what has happened in Utter Pradesh again and West Bengal again.}

[Continued on next page]
दोनों के नहीं होने को लगातार क्रान्तिकार बढ़ता हो जायगा। इसलिये यह पूरा का पूरा दोष केन्द्रिय सरकार पर कर यह लगाता चाहता है कि हम की गहरी पंजाब में है, उसके लिए केन्द्रिय सरकार विमेदार है।

यदि बाहर हो तो कि वो केन्द्रीय का प्रीडिपेंट हो, पंजाब में राज्यपाल के साथ किसी अंश में उसमें की भी दूसरे राज्यों की स्थिति को देखकर वस्त्र रो वे विभिन्नकर्ता करते, जो यह बकर हो जाता कि हम पहले के बंदर या तीन महीने के बन्दर बन्दर वस्त्र रो पंजाब की जनता के लिए वर्तमान सुनी का भोज बाना। मगर हमें हर हो तो कि वो केन्द्रीय रूप हवा पर वस्त्र रो काल के लिए ज्यादा एक के लिए वाहन के बंदर की जनता पर अनेक विमेदार की मुमताबंध लायी जा सकती है।

Shri Bhupesh Gupta :- Now we have the Gill Ministry out, it has fallen under the weight of its own misdeeds; it has gone because the Congress found that to support the Gill Ministry would be to completely ruin its future, if at all it contemplates having any future in the State of Punjab.

Shri Banke Bihari Das:- Madam, from the report of the Governor also you will find that the Gill Ministry was born in Sin. That is clearly evident from the report of the Governor.

Shri Y.B. Chavan:- Without any exception have supported the present motion before the House of course, everyone has his own reason for it and if we try to see the argument advanced by all of them, there may be some contradictions also. But the sum total is that everybody wants to support this motion.

The basic position is that what has happened in Punjab during the last 16 or 18 months is something which we
have to sit back and think about the draw our own lessons from it. I have come to this conclusion to which I have made a reference that minority Government have proved to be some sort of misfortunes. Everybody started a political game and what was considered to be reasonable game ultimately proved disastrous to the Punjab administration itself. There is no doubt about it.137

Role of Governors in the Recent Ministry Making in U. P. & Bihar.

Shri S. S. Kothari (J.S.):- It is a sad commentary on the functioning of Governors and democracy in this country that time and again we in this House have to concern ourselves to discuss their roles particularly with regard to ministry making. The Governor of various states by their own deeds and misdeeds and their conduct, have brought this institution of Governor’s into, contempt in this country. The people in this country are gradually losing their faith in Governors. The Governors are gradually are being reduced to the role of instrument of the ruling party in the centre. The role of Governors in U. P. and Bihar is not an isolated incident. It is only a link in the long chain of events that have occurred in the States where Governors have acted not according to constitution, but according to the behests and dictates of the ruling party, their leaders here. When the opposition parties who constitute a viable majority, approach the Governor to form a Government, then the Governor dilly-dailsies; he does not taken action. He gives time to
the ruling party. Defections are encouraged by all kinds of instruments.

In U. P. on 10th Feb. that C. B. Gupta approached the Governor and said that he would resign in favour of Shri Charan Singh with whom an alliance had been effected for the formation of a coalition Ministry. The Governor of U. P. did not take any action. We are told that he received an urgent summons from the Prime Minister to discuss the political situation of the State.

The Governor went back to U. P. then he found that the Congress (R) had in what I would call a deed of surrender told Shri Charan Singh that he could go ahead and form a solo U.K.D. Ministry and the Congress (R) would support it.

With regard to Charan Singh his name has probably become a word in the distionary to describe a defector who has defected many times. The strictest possible penalties, political penalties, should be levied on those who indulge in this nefarious game of defection.

Come to Bihar Mr. Harihar Singh, before the Congress split into two, had a clear majority for a considerable time. He immediately approach the Governor to be permitted to form a Ministry. But when Daroga Rai went and claimed before the Governor that he had majority - the Governor in his wisdom decided to call Shri Daroga Rai and ask him to form a Ministry.

Finally, the present Governor of U. P. and Bihar have acted in a manner which is against constitutional
property and I demand that they be dismissed immediately. 138

Shri Ranga-- First of all, that these two groups
must line down hatred of each other. We must also be prepar-
ed to expect them to come together and by the help of all
others we must come together so that in this country we can
had a good Government, a healthy, wholesome, morally, susta-
nable democratic Government of the common people, not of any
body else. 139

Shri S. A. Danga:- If it is a question of democratic
principles I think the institution of Governors is highly
undemocratic and ought to have been abolished. But I wonder
whether those who criticise this institution would be able
to support a constitutional amendment to this effect. I
would say that the Governor did well. He was correctly
arbitrary because his arbitrary action he has succeeded in
shutting out from coming to power the corrupt gang of the old
Congress organization.

If we wish to follow real to democratic policies,
democracy must be shown on the floor of the House and not
behind the curtain either with the Governor or with any body
else. 140

Shri P. Ramamurti-- As far as U. P. and Bihar are con-
cerned, it is very difficult to judge.

Therefore, rather than blaming Governor, I would
say, this country has come to such a level where the ruling
classes are in a disarray because of the blows on them by
the rising masses of this country. At the time of presidential election, those gentlemen denied vehemently that they had nothing to do either with Swatantra or the Jansangh. Today it is absolutely clear that even they had this combined. To day this combine stands nakedly before the people and they can not deny it. It is good thing that combine has been defeated both in U. P. and Bihar.  

Shri Y.B. Chavan:— The basic concept of the Parliamentary democracy is that a Government has to be run on the basic of majority. I think that is the real substance of the democratic experience all over the world. So, here the duty of the Governor was to see whether the person he chose was likely to get the support of the majority of the legislature.

In Bihar, he showed, I should say a moral courage by going against his own recommendation and making a recommendation that a democratic Government could be formed.

As far as U. P. is concerned, it was very true that what happened after the split in the Congress Party, was that it became very clear that only Mr. Charan Singh could lead the Government. It was wisdom on the part of Guptaji that he saw that thing.

Shri Rakeshwar Yadav:— That Vita Mohammad told he that in the situation the Governor decided that he was likely to get the support of the majority of the legislature, it was a moral courage by going against his own recommendation and making a recommendation that a democratic Government could be formed. As far as U. P. is concerned, it was very true that what happened after the split in the Congress Party, was that it became very clear that only Mr. Charan Singh could lead the Government. It was wisdom on the part of Guptaji that he saw that thing.
MOTION OF NO CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

राजस्थान में जो बुझ हुआ उसकी केवल में 'व्यापक प्रतिक्रिया' दुर्लभ है।
राजनीतिक दलों को दूर दूर किन व्यक्तियों का राजनीतिक कार्य कार्य नहीं है, उन्हें अपने सबसे बड़े निर्णय के बाद तिन्दा की है। सपा कार्यकर्ताओं ने जब बना के राजस्थान के राजनीतिक दलों की संख्या है। राजस्थान में फाइल से 30 प्रतिशत का अंश व्यक्तियों के बिना फाइल 70 प्रतिशत का विना वापिस फिरा लिया। राजस्थान की बजाय ने कागज को दुर्लभ लिया।

बाद 1862 में निजीय सदस्यों ने बोलने ने कागज का बहुत वापस या सब 1867 में निजीय सदस्यों ने बोलने ने कागज का लागावत में होता है जब तक राज्यवाद गलत ने मानिया की बशेषत करने के विचार के निर्णय दिया। राजस्थान में यह मानिया होना स्वाभाविक था। बाहर गणराज्य है, एक बाकी लोकनाथ है, एक संस्कृति तरीके से विरोध प्रदर्शित करने देव विवेचना जनता में नहीं जीत सके। विरोध का निवेदन के बेल में बनने देव जनता में नेतृत्व की विधि का और उसे जयपुर में विवेक ने बार की उग्र हुप्त किया। यदि राजस्थान विवेचना बार पुलिस लागड में देव लेने तो जयपुर में गोली क्लाने की नोकता नहीं लाती।
I would accuse the Government of committing a Himalayan Blunder. It has acted on advice of the Governor who was a partisan, and whose recent conduct has been widely condemned by every paper and by every reasonable critic in this country. The 14th March will go down in the history of democracy as the blackest day. The Assembly should have been given the chance to prove the strength of the various parties, but the Assembly was denied the right of expressing its views, and just a day before the Assembly was to meet; President's rule was imposed on the people.

When the Assembly was expected to pass the judgment on the Governor's previous action asking Mr. Sukhadiya to form the Government. I submit that this is the creation of the Central Government, was a challenge thrown to the popular will. So there was popular upsurge. You can not say that they invited this trouble. The firing was deliberate. There was a deep rooted conspiracy to sabotage the very foundation of democracy in this country. I submit that the Governor should be removed from his office under article 356 of the constitution. The President should withdraw his pleasure. There should be consistency in precept and practice.
लालनाथ आयमनी का 25 प्रतिलत ने 50 प्रतिलत सा नाया है जोने 50 प्रतिलत लात आयमनी 35 वेक्रा या 50 वेक्रा फलत 30 वर्ष से लेकर 70 वर्ष ये लोग सा जाया हुए हैं। हालांकि उनकी सत्ता पर उनकी 
पुरावासों पर रोज़ लामाना आवश्यक है ये क्या बोर रिंड खेलवाते हुए विवाद या 
नवा ता नष्ट लामाना हुए विवाद ने दिया था या दाना ने दिया भेकी स्थायि में जरुरी को जाता है कि सत्ता 
नें रोज़ कार्य कर। 146

Shri S. A. Dange :—  We of the opposition parties certai
nly while deferring on certain essentials of programme had 
atleast one approach, that the Congress after its 19 years 
of rule has ceased to have the confidence of the people and 
should be defeated at the polls and that the democratic Gov-
ernment be instituted in its place. This single programme 
and more or less all the opposition parties had one - that 
this 19 years depotism, which in between may have been right 
or wrong on smaller matter but which on the whole on general 
policies was wrong, should be removed.

The very fact that they have not got the majority 
of the votes in the country is enough to justify our vote of 
no-confidence in them on the very first day, let alone after 
five days.

They were guarding the monopoly power in U. P. by 
hitting at Rajasthan, apart from what other thing they may 
have had in mind. It was a tactical, well calculated move.

Shri P. Ramasurti:— I can not but remark that no amount 
of chicanery sophistry will be able to hide the fact that as 
far as the sorry episode of Rajasthan is concerned, there has
been a conspiracy entered into between the Central Government, the Congress President and the Rajasthan Governor, who himself is nothing but a Congressman. Any amount of blind attempt to whitewash this conspiracy will not do.\textsuperscript{148}

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I want to impress upon this Parliament that if that constitution does not provide any remedy for a situation in which the people have registered their opinion, their desires and aspirations, and if we do not provide any machinery to implement their desires and aspirations then the constitution is not sufficient for our country.\textsuperscript{149}

**Srimati Indira Gandhi:** Unless we try to work together, especially where there is a difficult situation, it will not be easy to have smooth functioning and to find a way out of the money problems and difficulties which our country faces. I sincerely hope that we will be able to create this atmosphere of working together and having normal conditions all over the country.\textsuperscript{150}

The motion was negatived.

**Shri Daulraj Madhok:** I am moving this motion of no-confidence in the council of Ministers for their failure to discharge the most elementary duties that is, to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. According to all political scientists all through the history this has been considered the first duty of any Government worth the name and this Government has been failing in discharging this duty all through.
Twenty years back the leaders of the Party which rules today let down this country when they accepted partition in spite of their opposition to two-nation theory, and large part of the country was given away to Pakistan. Soon after the achievement of freedom and partition, Pakistan attacked Kashmir. It was an unprovoked aggression and we could have thrown Pakistan out.

The rulers and leaders of Pakistan realise that an aggressive policy against India pays a rich dividend. They have a vested interest in keeping up tension with India in peace the very raison d'être for existence of Pakistan as a separate State will disappear. We are always surrendering before them and the present case of Kutch is the latest of that series of surrenders before the enemies of the country at the cost of India's territorial integrity.

Only the boundary of Pakistan is Punjab and in Bengal was laid down by Radcliffe Award. Therefore, if anything was to be settled in regard to boundaries between India and Pakistan, it was in regard to the half of Punjab and half of Bengal, and therefore too Radcliffe had laid down the principles. He had drawn the maps, and given description on paper and he had laid down in his award itself that where there is discrepancy between the maps and the description given on the paper, then that description on the paper should be taken as the final word. Therefore whatever territorial or boundary disputes we had with Pakistan, they pertained only to Bengal and the Punjab.

So far as the boundary of Sindh and Kutch is concerned
there was no question of a dispute. The Rann does not lie between Kutch and Sind; it lies entirely in Kutch.

In the first place there was no dispute. We wrongly accepted it in Swaran Singh Sheikh agreement. Secondly, there is no doubt about it that the Tribunal transgressed its authority. Thirdly the award is not unanimous. I think if there is any judicial judgment, it is only that of Mr. Babler. Apart from the fact whether it is in our favour or against, if any one reads it, he will find that he has quoted documents, he has quoted maps.

By giving this kind of judgment the forum has done a great disservice to the international forum as well.

Now by behaving the way the Tribunal has behaved, it has made a mockery of tribunals and spoken the faith not only of the people of India out of the whole world in the efficiency or judiciousness of such tribunals, we must repudiate this award. It is not binding on us. We should tell the world that we had accepted a bad agreement in good faith, but we are not prepared for pervers judgement, we wanted a judicial judgment. This is not a judicial judgment.

I can well understand that the communists stand for the acceptance of this award, because they have something in their mind. They want a similar arbitration for the territory which has been occupied by China and they want a similar arbitration for territories occupied by Pakistan in Kashmir.
Pakistan is an enemy and Pakistan will remain an enemy so long as it continues and so long as it exists in the present form. This is a basic fact of life.

Therefore, Government must change their present policy towards Pakistan. The only correct policy towards Pakistan is a policy of reciprocity, a policy of firmness. If Government want to have an agreement with Pakistan, let them have a package agreement. Let all the disputes be put together.

Therefore, I say that this Kutch agreement is a warning, we should see that the whole pattern of Indo-Pak relations that we have established for the last twenty years must change. Secondly, we must see that proper leadership is given to the country.151

Shri K.N. Mukerjee:— The Kutch Award which has certainly deeply stirred our people has brought to a boiling point the manifold discontents of our country. It has illustrated right from the beginning this Government's weakness and hesitations and downright folly. The crisis which is now foisted on the country is the responsibility of the Government which has brought it on us.

As far as we are concerned. We had warned when this House was discussing this matter in August 1965, that something of this kind of thing would happen, we had pointed out also that there was compulsion on us in regard to the acceptance of a tribunal but this Government preferred to indulge in secret diplomacy behind the scenes under the protective umbrella of the British Government. That was
It is quite patent that the tribunal by a majority has done something which is neither just nor impartial. It has obviously introduced extraneous extra judicial considerations into this matter.

The way in which Mr. Chavan and his friends conducted a crusade against the whole idea of having President's rule in west Bengal and the fact that the Government had to come down the way they did as a result of popular pressure would have meant in any other parliamentary context, a parliamentary resignation. That is the essence of Parliament.

I feel that the Kutch matter has brought to focus, has brought to the boiling point the hundred and one discontents of our people, there are so many other reasons for which this Government should go, I do hope that the wall is visible to the Prime Minister and her advisers.
Shri P. Ramamurty:— If Government thinks that they are the only people who are the arbiters of the destiny of this country, then the people in the streets unfortunately think that they are going to be the arbiters and not the people in Government. That is the unfortunate thing.

Therefore, I want to point out that an every count this Government deserve to go. 154

Shri Nathpali:— The present Award, which this Government should have absentmindedly wandered into accepting, and the fact that such an award should have been given against India only underline the failure of the reference and foreign policy of the ruling party.

We thought that the international tribunals finding was wrong. Once they had the gurupation and the courage to reject it, things turned in our favour.

We are told about international opinion. International opinion is a fickle thing, it is a flippant thing.

We are told about commitment. It is not to bend our knees to international pressure; it is to defend the territory of India. This is the commitment in which we are all involved.
This territory belongs to every one of us, we are only trustee for the future generations of Indians to come. None of us has a right to gift away that territory, make a present of any territory of India. The ultimate sovereign in a democratic free country are the people. 155

Shrimati Indira Gandhi :- The Government must honour its commitments which is that the decision of the Tribunal and I am now speaking in quotes, a single sentence which has been quoted by other hon. Members - "Shall be binding on both the Governments and shall not we questioned on any grounds whatsoever."

The tribunal have to determine the boundary alignment claimed by India has been substantially accepted.

All movements, all attitudes which create tension or fissiparous tendencies or separatist, feelings, whether they are between people who speak different languages or live in different language or live in a different states or whether they are between people who profess different religious, castes, and creeds, must be put down strongly. It is only then we can defend and strengthen our unity and our integrity. 155

Shri Balraj Madhok :- I am not a war monger, I do not want to create scare in any body's mind. I say, this policy of appeasement, this policy of weakness, is going to bring war nearer. Therefore this is not the way of avoiding war. The only way to avoid war is: be strong, be powerful, stand on your own legs.
You have failed to defend the country and that is one reason why I demand that you must go. Your policies are leading towards destruction.
We on these benches find that we are in the face of a clash or a seeming clash between two of the important values in our democracy. The first of these is the right of worker to deny his labour and the right to strike which are considered to be Fundamental Freedoms which only Fascist and Communist regimes dare to deny. The other value is the maintenance of the social structure.

We believe that the strike on 19th September was unjustified. We believe that it was a political manoeuvre masquerading or camouflaging itself as our industrial dispute. Therefore we can not associate with a voilet breach of the Law or defiance of the law, once it is the law of the country.
There was that one day in September which is an outstanding date in the movement of democracy. Indraprashta is a permanent black spot on the face of democracy as run by this Government.

I have proved to you by economics, by constitution and by democratic norms that what we are doing was a simple demand of the people who wanted a higher wage which you could pay and which the economic pays in some sectors at least.

Therefore, I request you to revise your policy and take the road not of atrocity and terror but the road of democracy which you say you want to follow. 160

The totally wrong approach of the Government of India is illustrated by nothing so much as the simple fact that this is the only country where a demand which is basically essentially and fundamentally an economic demand, a social demand, is dealt with not by the Ministry concerned but by the Ministry of Home Affairs.
But this illustrates the total failure of the Government to understand what the issue is about, what the struggle is for, what the dispute is about and what the quarrel is about.

I want to plead with the Prime Minister, I want to plead with the Government of India, and demand, end it. The word need not be understood by anybody. I want to ask them, Sir, that they must end the chapter by withdrawing this nefarious ordinance, by withdrawing all the prosecution cases, so, this sorry chapter must be ended. The main issue which was the cause of the strike, that is, the basic minimum wage, has been forgotten and sidetracked, The capacity of the Government is there. In one sentence, I will conclude, they have the capacity to subsidise.

Shri P. Ramamurti: I would request the Government of India to do some rethinking and see that writing on the wall. 10 lakhs of employees of the Central Government have defied your law and gone on strike. This kind of repression is going to lead nowhere and more revolt in section after section will take place. Even now, I ask the Government to withdraw forthwith all the cases of victimisation, immediately cancel the order of derecognition of the Unions and behave in a civilised manner, not in a brutal and friendish manner. Let them behave us any civilised normal Government would have behave with the employees through representatives organisation and not through stooge organisations which represent nobody.

Shri Y.B. Chavan (Minister of Home Affairs): Sir, my case even today is that when the Commission is going into the question of
minimum national wage, they have to take into account the needs and the requirements of the people also. So, our point was; there was Commission that, really speaking, was going, into the very fundamentals of the very question and let us wait for the report of the Commission.

This strike was merely for strike's sake, that the sponsors of the strike did not want the JCM to function, they wanted to force the Government into a position of accepting certain things which Government refused to do. That, really speaking, led to the strike. 164

Shrimati Indira Gandhi:— We do want to deal with this whole problem with the greatest sympathy and understanding, However, the sort of attitude which hon. Members have shown, is not always conducive to that. Although the no confidence motion was under the usual heading, it has confined itself to a discussion on control Government strike and our handling of the strike situation. This is indeed a serious matter and we are all very deeply concerned. Yesterday my colleague, the Home Minister, dealt with all the points were raised, very ably. 165

Kiran Lal Gupta:— कांग्रेस सरकार ने इस देश के कब्दर जो हालत पैदा कर दी है, जो यहां पर जनजीवन के तरीके से सरकार बराज रही है और देश बराज रही है, फार यही हालत कहीं रही तो यह कहना मुस्किल है कि इस देश की कम हालत हो जाये-भी।

क्योंकि हम एक प्राचीन बांड़ फिर मुख्यता के नाते, हम सभी एक हैं, इस दृष्टिकोण से बाप इस समस्या पर विचार कीजिये। इस सरकार ने जो की है, हम एक प्राचीन बांड़ फिर इस वर्तमान के प्रस्ताव पर वोट देकर इस सरकार की निभात कर बाहर कर दे। 166

The motion was negated.
Shri P. Ramamurty:— I will first take the Shiv Sena incidents. We all know what is happening in Bombay during the last one week; how property had been burnt and now during the last one week the Shiv Sena mob was let loose upon a station of the people of Bombay, Rs.25 crores worth of property have been lost.

Mr. Bal Thackeray; openly incited the people from public platforms to attack the chawls and bastis where the people of South Indian working class live. But the police kept quiet. Openly, these things were published in their own papers. Thirdly, they were not taking preventive measure but they were looking on whole incidents of assult and stabbing took place. Fourthly, on certain occasions, they collud-ed with the Shiv Sena in the assults and murderous attacks on South Indians, and on certain occasions took advantage of the roits to reck police vengenance on South Indians and beat them up and arrested them indiscriminately and foisted false cases on them. I charge the Congress Party and the Congress Government as responsible for complicity with these attacks.

Here is a Government that is prepared to resort to the worst type of voilence in order that its policies may run in this country. 167

Shri N. Dandekar:— "The National Executive of the Swatantra Party views with deep concern the recurrence of voilence in public life. Whether it is inter-stali border disputes or linguistic loyalties, these parties and groups
appear to have come to the conclusion that violence pays because through violence alone they can secure their objectives. The overt commitment of some State Governments themselves to such disputes and the weak and vacillating policies of Government both at the centre and in certain States have contributed to such attitudes.

"Anti democratic parties are awaiting for precisely such opportunities as was indeed made abundantly clear in Bombay to create chaos and disruption in their ground designs to overthrow the established order..."168

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: -- When important and crucial issues are involved in elections, parliamentary propriety requires that the Government which has received the people's censure should resign. These friends of ours in this Parliament are never tired of citing British precedents, but they do it when it suits their book.

For days, Bombay, one of our greatest cities, was held to ransom in organised disorder and the palladians of national integration were doing nothing at all. But in regard to Shiv Sena they have shown the kind of attitude which was got to be condemned absolutely.169
Shri Nath Pal :-

In Maharashtra it may have appeared to be the so-called Maharashtrains attacking some non-Maharashtrians. It is a lasting shame and nothing can be more ported of danger to the unity of this country and in future an Indian for the retrieval of an alleged worry will raise his hand against a fellow Indian. He can legitimately do that against the Government, against the authority, against the State, but purely not against a fellow Indian. There are pages which tell you how after the police have gone wrong, now there was no apprashil of the underlying roots.

In conclusion I submit all of us will have, therefore, to make a very serious andeavour about it.
Shrimati Indira Gandhi: - I have spoken out very strongly against Shiv Sena and all such senas on various occasions, and I have absolutely no hesitation in saying here also that such movements constitute a very serious threat to the development, progress and unity of the country. We have now to consider how this should be dealt with. This is a matter in which we must all do some heart searching among themselves. Certainly it is the responsibility of the Government, but I think, every one plays an important role. Many solutions have been found but somehow the question gets re-opened.

I am very sorry that the name of our great and lion hearted heroes has been associated with such a movement.

Whether the hon. Members of Swatantra Party or the Jan Sangh would like to believe it or not, the economic picture has been improved.

We must get together and find the largest measure of agreement and arrive at a basis and the political parties should help in this role. Then only difficult problems be solved. 173

Shri P. Ramamurti: - I am afraid that after listing to all the speeches from the Treasury Benches and from this Congress Party, what we have heard is nothing but a futile and profound exercise in evasion.

On every one of these counts the Congress Party which runs the Government has been found to be wanting. It is dragging the country down the drain. Therefore I say that this motion must be accepted. 174

The motion was negatived.
Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:— We do stand for elections.

You may hold elections wherever you like. It is good that you are holding elections in Kerala. But where is your face, the face of boldness, in Manipur? Why do you not immediately order for elections there? Therefore I charge the Election Commissioner also. He should see that the two elections are held simultaneously. Therefore, this is the dishonest action of the Government of India.

If there is any honesty left in the Government—I do not believe there is—they should immediately order an enquiry's they should immediately appoint a Commission of inquiry to investigate the correctness of the voters list.

I would like that the cabinet must function as a cabinet. It should not functions, because these days negotiations are being carried on with the former Rulers, only with a view to get their votes on this no confidence motion.

I want that India must have a Government which represents the urges of the nation, the urges of the people of India and their aspirations. You do not represent their urges and aspirations. If you represent anything; you represent corruption; you represent in competence; you represent cliquish you represent disintegration, and you represent everything that is evil for India— and so you have got to go.

I support this motion, and I want that this Government should be sicked out. 176

Shri H.R.Hasani :— We believe that the totality of this Government's domestic and international policies is
distressful for this country. We believe that everything or almost everything they do is hurting the country's national interests.\textsuperscript{177}

Shri \textit{Bal Raj Madhok}:-

This is not majority Government is in minority, carrying on with the help of those who want to stifle democracy and the Constitution, who have made no secret of it. Here is a minority Government which has no right to be there.

Coming to the principle of joint responsibility, it is wrong to call this is a cabinet. In a Cabinet, the Ministers are colleagues, but here we find one Maharani and other slaves. Therefore, in this case, the principle of joint responsibility does not exist. The whole power has been concentrated into one hand, that of the Prime Minister, who has become Stalin and Hitler in one. And therefore, it is for you to understand what you are doing. You are trying to sound the death knell of democracy in this country. I would like their conscience to wake up now, and it is for them to save the country.

The President is the head of the Republic of India- when the Prime Minister is trying to wreck that constitution and democracy, it is the responsibility of the President to rise to the occasion and see that his Prime Minister does not stab democracy and wreck the constitution. She is not only destroying democracy; she is disturbing the unity of this country. She has been encouraging communalism in this country, and also the disruptive forces in this country.
Now you must use your conscience and throw out this Government so that we can have a truly national, democratic Government in this country.\textsuperscript{177}

Shri S. A. Dange: The case about Kerala has been argued by my friend Madhu Dalmave. It is that the elections are being held sooner than some of these gentlemen wanted. Our Government was fulfilling their wishes that immediately the ministry’s strength and the front’s strength should be tested by a reference to the voters. I thought they were consistent in their political and tactical principle.

With the claim that they have made, which I do not want to discuss, that the masses solidly behind them, why should they be afraid of such rolls? The concentration of powers follows from the concentration of economic power and, that way, state power has to be analysed. It is the concentration of power of the bourgeois and landlord system. Unless this system is destroyed, you will not have the real democratisation of the Stalin power, it is a simple proposition. But, fortunately, at present even the Marxist who wanted to throw out the constitution lock, stock and barrel, are now discussing parliamentary democracy and concentration

I do oppose the motion of no-confidence. But that does not mean that I am for vote of confidence in the other side as it is why? For the simple reason that still further changes to the left are necessary in the policies of the present Government. Those changes are necessary. \textsuperscript{178}

Shri A. K. Gopalan: The election has already been declared but there is no voter’s list. Does anybody, includ-
ing Mr. Dange, want elections without the voter's list?
If the election are going to take place this way, one can
not say what is the object behind it. That is why we sup-
port the no-confidence motion, because it is a conspiracy
and this conspiracy has a political motive.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedi:— Now, not only the grand
alliance, but as this motion is going to prove, even the
grander alliance has flowered because it does not command
the majority in the House. That is what is going to happen.
Shri Madhu Limaye has fallen a prey to this game. The C.P.I
(M) has also joined in because of the Kerala elections, for-
getting their own formulations.

It was never my case, and it is not my case today,
that I will never vote a no-confidence motion against this
Government. But I do not see better alternative in this
House.

I am surprised to see that in this country when
such a Government is functioning, my friends in the opposi-
tion are playing a game in which they are making it impossi-
ble for this country to make politics policy oriented beca-
use of personal bitterness and animosity. If that is the
guiding factor for political decisions by political parties,
I think it is the end of democracy.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi:— For the first time there
was something new in this No confidence Motion and that was
the strange alliance which we witnessed.

Although the question of Kerala elections has been
brought in as a bait to the Members of C.P.I (M), it is
obvious that the entire motion is designed as a personnel attack on me on the supposed concentration of power in my hand.

I have been compared, not for the first time, to Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini. If they had perhaps read more books, they could have used more names. I think the people have used more names. I think the people will laugh at the preposterousness of these comparisons.

The motion was negatived.
Shri G.S. Pathak:— This Bill is clarificatory in its nature and it seeks to add two explanations. The need for clarification arose when the various aspects of article 3 of the constitution were being examined in connection with the proposed reorganisation of the Punjab. This reorganisation involves the transfer of a part of the territory of the State of the Punjab to the Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh.

The first is that no reference of the reorganisation Bill to the legislature of the Union territory is necessary, and it seeks to provide that, while in the main part of the article, the term 'State' includes Union Territory, in the proviso, the term 'State' does not include Union Territory. The other point is that under clause (a) of clause 3 — it should be permissible to form a new Union Territory by inclusion of some territory of the State of Punjab.

Shri H.N. Mukerjee:— I am supporting it because I take it that this is Government's way of facilitating the idea of the reconstitution of the State in Punjab, Himachal Pradesh & Haryana. I do hope no legal lacuna turns up in future to create further complication in the way of a settlement.
In regard to the allocation of territories to the new State which are to be formed, there are so many glaring evidences of Governmental inefficiency and lack of understanding. I cannot help a reference to Chandigarh, which I think, is, an all reason, a part of the Punjabi Suba, and should have gone altogether to the legitimate capital of that State. 184

**Shri Alvares (P.S.P.):** - If States and Union Territories are two categories of territories, the manner in which they would be created should have been specified clearly in article 3 - not by the way of explanation. This particular provision is reactionary and it deprives the people of the Union Territory of consultancy right.

A special reference to Chandigarh, if the people residing Chandigarh want to join Haryana, there is no reason why Government should by subterfuge deny the people of the Haryana. 185

**CONSTITUTION (TWENTY FIRST AMENDMENT) BILL, 1967**

**Shri Y.B. Chavan:** - As a matter of fact, for commanding this Bill for the acceptance of the hon. House no long speech is necessary. We know that nearly a million Sindhi people, who are residents of India, speak Sindhi Language. It is a very well developed language and a rich Indian language with a considerable cultural heritage. There is no special area in which this language is spoken as such, but before the partition of India in the State of Sind this
language was regional language. The Sindhi-speaking people, really speaking, sacrificed their identity of State for the sake of the freedom of India. It is our duty to accept it as our own language and accept it as one of our national languages. This bill seeks to achieve this and I command it for the unanimous acceptance of this Hon. House, without much of discussion.\textsuperscript{183}

\textbf{Shri Bhupesh Gupta}:- I am very happy to day to support this constitution (Amendment) Bill, which includes Sindhi as one of our national languages in the eighth schedule of our constitution. It is, however, not enough to include Sindhi as a national language in our Constitution. We must give it every assistance at all levels more specially in the view of the fact that in the past years we had shown neglect to this language.\textsuperscript{187}

\textbf{Shri Mulka Govind Reddy}:- I have great pleasure in supporting the constitution (Amendment) Bill.

The linguistic States are not treating the linguistic minorities in their States properly. Adequate facilities for the development of the minority languages in the States and facilities for the linguistic minorities should be provided.

Facilities for providing simultaneous translations of all the languages should be provided in the Rajya Sabha.\textsuperscript{188}
Shri Y.B. Chavan: - Sindhi is one of the ancient languages, a well developed language, and it is one of the rich Indian languages. It has a very noble culture tradition. And I am sure it's coming back to the fold of the family of the sister languages of India is something which every Indian would certainly welcome. I have no doubt that this Bill will be accepted unanimously by the House.

Ajit Singh: - Sir, we have a language, the language is being conducted by the House, but there is no provision in the Bill for the sister languages of India. The Government of India has no doubt that this Bill will be accepted unanimously by the House.

Shri B.K. Venkatarayappa: - This Bill is not for the sister languages of India. It is for the language of India, which is being conducted by the House.

Siddharth Nath Sinha: - This Bill is not for the sister languages of India. It is for the language of India, which is being conducted by the House.

Shri B.K. Venkatarayappa: - This Bill is not for the sister languages of India. It is for the language of India, which is being conducted by the House.

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CONSTITUTION ( TWENTY SECOND AMENDMENT ) BILL

Shri Y. B. Chavan:— The problem of the tribal areas of Assam has a long history. Before, independence, they were scheduled and excluded areas. After that, they became part of the Assam State. Later on, the demand for certain recognition of their political personality was made. There were many discussions at many stages between the leaders and the Government of India. At one stage, the principle was conceded that within the framework of the Assam State, they will be given full autonomy for the political expression of their problems. This question was considered many times at the Committee level, and the last Commission which went to the problem was the Pataskar Commission. That report came about three or four years ago, and it was found that there was no general agreement about the recommendations of the Pataskar Commission. Therefore, further negotiations were held and for two or three years this tortuous process of talks and discussions went on. As a result of many discussions, ultimately, the statement was made last year in September. This Bill is based on the general consensus that was arrived at such a result of those discussions.

The general feature of the whole scheme is that the integrity of the Assam State will be maintained, but, at the same time, the autonomous State will be created within the framework of the Assam State which will have a personality of its own in the sense that it will have certain legislative functions. In order to assert their legislative
function, there will be a legislature of their own, and to exercise their executive powers there will be a council of Ministers. There will be certain subjects transferred from the State list, barring certain subjects like law and order. There will be certainly only some financial arrangements which will have to made because even at present certain financial grants are made from the Central Government to the Assam State for the purposes of tribes areas as well. So this is the general scheme of things.

We have provided for two third majority for a simple amendment of the law where distribution of legislative and executive functions are concerned. For that, it will required two third majority of the total members present. I do not think Parliament will undertake the responsibility to disturb the agreement reached there. This provision of amendment by two third majority is a safe guarantee for not making light-hearted changes.
Shri Ranga:—

If the Pataskar Commission and Ashok Mehta Commission had not been appointed and they had not made their proposals after going through all the troubles they had experienced in trying to bring these various sections of people to the same table to consider the possible ways of solving this problem. I do not think it would have been possible later on the Home Minister and the Prime Minister to achieve this formula and make the people agree to it. Because of their earlier attempt and experience that the people in the plains as well as the hills had gained as to what difficult it is to find a solution, however much might be the good will that might be brought to bear upon this particular problems, they found it possible in the end to agree to this compromised formula. This seems to be about the maximum possible common ground of agreement that they could put up with.

Shri Hem Barua:—

This Bill somehow or other does not reflect the spirit of the declaration made on the 11th Sept., 1968 by the Home Minister. It does not reflect that spirit. But, at the same time, there is the political aspect of the problem, if this Bill to recognise the state of Assam is accepted, there would be a process of disentigration are inherent in the very body of this Bill. Any Indian, who believes in national integration based on a stable and found foundation, would oppose this Bill because it seems dis-
member this country into pieces.

We must not forget that Assam is strategic area.
The best thing would have been to integrate the whole of the Northeast into a sort of federation or whatever you may call it. That would have helped you to avoid the danger of incessant tendencies and to external enemies pouncing on you like hawks. 137

Shri Y.B. Chavan :- I have no doubt that it is the patriotic feeling, it is the national attitude of both the leaders of the plains and the leader of the hills, the leaders of the Government Assam and the leaders of the A P H L C that helped us to find a solution. I would, therefore, make an appeal to the hon. House, having said what we wanted to say about these matters, when it comes to the question of voting on this Bill, let us all vote together. 198

CONSTITUTION (TWENTY THIRD AMENDMENT ) BILL.

Shri Govinda Menon :- The object of this amendment is to extend the period of reservation for scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Anglo Indians for a period of another ten years. The House might remember that when this reservation was introduced in our Constitution originally it was thought that the period of reservation should be for ten years; that is to say the period was expired on 26th of January 1960. But in 1959 it was thought that the reservation for period of ten years was not sufficient and that the Constitution should be amended by substituting the world "twenty" for "ten" thus
extending the period of reservation till 26th January 1970. Now the Government view of the House also, is that the stage has not been reached in our country when we could do away with reservation of scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This system under which a section of our community was treated as untouchable existed for thousands of years and we have not yet found it possible to say that we have created a feeling of equality between them.

We have come across statements in this House on several occasions when Members complain that untouchability is being practised in several parts of the country, that particularly in the villages that they are still kept apart.

So far as the economic condition of the Scheduled Classes is concerned, there also the difficulty is there.

Coming to elections - and, after all, reservations are very important in matter of elections. I do not think that in any State in India the situation has developed in which a member of the Scheduled Castes would get returned, normally speaking from a general constituency. This is the test.

I should think that the House will agree unanimously that we should give one more chance to the Indian community to see that the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are raised to a level that they are equal to the rests of the Community and the test of the
community will embrace the members as their own brethren.

It is now proposed that the nomination of the Anglo-Indians also should be extended by another period of ten years with the reservation that the nomination of the Anglo-Indian by the Governor to the State Assembly should not be at the discretion of the Governor and the number there should be only one Member in the State Assembly. This is the object of the amendment.

Dr. Ram Subbag Singh:- I rise to support the Bill which seems to extend the period of reservation for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and the period of nominations for the Anglo-Indian I generally agree with the provisions of the Bill but disagree with the methods that are adopted by the Government to improve their conditions.

Shri M.R. Masani:- We are a party that stands for minorities, a Party that has always stood for these under privileged sections of our people.

It seems to me that one of the bad thing that the reservation has done is to put the conscience of the upper class and the upper castes to sleep having given a few seats to Harijans and the Adibasis, those who are better placed think that they have done their duty by them. This is one of the bad effects of reservations.

I am not sure, if this reservation were not there, the social conscience would not have been a little more alike and a little more justice would not have been done.
I think that these adverse reactions and implications of reservations need also to be borne in mind before we too cheerfully agree to continue or perpetuation of this system. We are not opposed to the Bill but we would like to improve it. 201

Shri Bhati Vahapee :- संविधान में संशोधन का विषयक हमारे सामने है। इसके द्वारा परिवर्तन जनता का संसद बीर विधानसभा में जो स्थल दिये गये हैं, उनकी कवच के 10 वर्ष के लिये बदलाम बा रही है। वस्तुतः यह विषयक इस बात की स्वीकारहोतिः है कि गत बीस वर्षों में हम अपने परिवर्तन बनाते को श्रेय-समाज के लाभ यथाक्रम न करा सके।

तेलिंग इस विषयक में यह बात है क्यूंकि उसका विरोध करना नाफता हूँ बीर यह बात हमारे लोकों ही इंडियन पार्टी ने संख्या में है। प्रश्न यह है क्यों लोकसभा में नामांकित व्यावहारिक बात होना चाहिए? में बातका हूँ कः केवल लोकों लुढ़ कः कि हम नामांकन नहीं होते। हम जनता से चुनकर बातों के लिये सैयद है। 202

Shri Yogendra Sharma :- संशोधन का जो यह बिल है उसका में समर्थन करता हूँ। यह बात कि बाज़ विधान के नेवी विधायक हैं। इस बात का प्रमाण है कि कहाँ से हमारा संविधान लागू हुआ तब से संविधान के इस उद्देश्य का करते बीस वर्षों में अनुसूचित जातियां बीर जन-जातियां की ही उन्नति हो जायेगी कि हम अपनी संस्कृति के बावशकता हो गए होगी, यह हमारे संविधान का उद्देश्य था, इस उद्देश्य की हद्द की गई बीर उसी प्रायोगिक के रूप में बाज हमेशा यह बिल लागू पढ़ रहा है। अब तो है संविधान में बो वाज़ व्यवहार की गई है कि हम सभी ग्रामीणों की विभिन्न वित्त सर्वे, वह पूरी नहीं हो सकती। ज्ञातिये हम संशोधन का समर्थन करते हैं। 203

Shri Ravi Pratap :- मेरा कहना है कि 20-22 वर्ष के बाजारी के बाद भी हम हरिजनों के प्रति रहा है उसमें गर्वजगत परिवर्तन बीर ज्ञाति
Shri Surendranath Dwivedy :- As far as this communities are concerned which are backward, undeveloped and which required protection and reservation, as we have done in the case of Hindi, till these people themselves say "we do not want any reservation, any protection" - this will be prepe­tually embodied in the Constitution and there will be no measure like this after 10 years for extention of time. I do not understand this. This need whatever they may say, they are exploting the situation in their favour, by keep­ing them on dope.

Shri Govinda Menon :- It is the out look of the Parliament to see that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who together constitute about 20 percent of our population are elevated to the level of the rest of us. I therefore, make an appeal to all sections of the House to forget my mistakes if any, and vote for this Bill unanimously.
THE CONSTITUTION (TWENTY FOURTH AMENDMENT) BILL 1970

Shrimati Indira Gandhi:— It was passed on the 19th Dec. 1969 asking the Government to take all legal and other steps for the abolition of the privy purses and privileges of the ex-rulers. The House knows the feelings of our peoples and their urge for greater equality.

I tried to talk with the Princes to find a solution which without in any way compromising our stand or our commitment to our party. Unfortunately the sincere effort on our part was misinterpreted and nothing come of it.

It is not our intention to cause hardship to the ex-rulers or to injure their self respect. Although these have not been worked out in detail, our broad approach is that the payment of these allowances to each ruler should be based on a multiple which would be higher purses. The total payment will be such to enable the rulers to adjust to the changed circumstances.

This Bill is the culmination of an important aspect of our freedom struggle. The House showed a sense of history in its resolution of the 19 December 1969. I now invite it to the occasion and to pass the Bill with a tremendous majority if not unanimity.

Shri S. N. Mishra:— I was saying that we, as the United Congress had adopted a programme in 1967 which included the abolition of privy purses and privileges of the Princes. I was one of active supporters.
The best arrangement that could have been arrived at was through negotiations and agreements. This is a historic, indeed in the sense that it shows the failure of leadership to bring about the abolition of privy purses in a manner in which it could acceptable to all and it could be particularly sustaniable in a court of law. This is going to be all kinds of judicial uncertainties. Therefore, they are not solicitous about achieving the objective which we had set before ourselves. This is my humble submission. This is one of great injustices that is being done.

**Shri Pitamber Das (J.S.):**

Nowhere in history of the world we had heard of agreement between sovereign States on one side and States with paramountancy on the other, being turn off and thrown to the winds the way we are doing. This is nothing short of a betrayal which the country can never feel proud of.

I think that the implementation of the Resolution largely depended on the skill and capacity of the ex-home Minister who is the present Finance Minister. Sir, even best of the schemes, if executed in a clumsy and silly way, lose all their charm and grace.

Even today, I said. Yes, even now I am not eager to retain their purses but I am extremely anxious to preserve the honour and dignity of the country.
It is momentous not only because of we are going to abolish the legaly of the dismal and dead past, the privy purses and privileges of the despots and tyrants and the traitors and oppressors of the people, but also because we are going to day and tomorrow, by passing this Bill, to strike a blow to the heart of the right reaction. These princes who are servitors of British imperialism in the days of the British, have become the instruments of reaction and counter revolution under the present regime.

It was plain that we had to agree to pay them money because these princes, these tyrants, these traitors took advantage of the difficult situation in the country soon after independence and blackmailed the Government.

Not only for the sake of the national honour but for the honour of the House also, we must pass the bill with a thumbing majority and till the national that we are facing in step with them.

I support this Bill, but so far as the compensation issue is concerned when you build huge dams, hundreds of people were submerged and people were thrown out. What compensation do we gave them? Those people who have got some land, they get some compensation. I do not want the Government to have something
up their sleeve. We know that this is going to give them tremendous power of patronage and leverage; I hope, if they really want to go towards an egalitarian society, I hope will not betray what they are promising to do. Let them not play a fraud on the people of India. 212

Shrimati Indira Gandhi:— It was understandable that so many speeches should be concerned with the past. But Sir, this Bill is opening one of the gates towards a more equalitarian future of our people. 213

Chairman:— The motion was not satisfied the requisite majority under article 368.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi:— It represents the momentum of social change in our country. I would like to assure the princes that there is no animus in it against any individuals. The intention of the Government is doing away with certain institutions which are not in harmony with a society striving for equality and social justice. So the Government is to discontinue the privy pures, abolish or restrict the privileges and abolish the concept of rulership.

I mentioned the suggestion that the actual payment of transitional allowances to be made to each ruler should be based on a multiple which would be higher for those with lower purses and lower for those with higher purses. The total payment will be such as would help the rulers to adjust to changed circumstances.
The continuance of hereditary titles, customary rights, special privileges and privy purses without any relatable functions and responsibilities is incompatible with our democratic constitution, the spirit of the times and the demand of changed circumstances.214

Shri Morarji Desai (I N G (O)):— If this Bill really achieved the purpose in the manner in which it should be achieved, I should have supported it, but as it is most fraudulent and deceitful and is not consistent with the spirit of the constitution and the understanding which the Constitution has given, it becomes impossible for me to support this Bill.215

Shri S.A.Dange:— I am very glad to see that at last a measure which was overdue for the last 21 years has been brought forth. So as such, this measure is very welcome.

We are out extinguish the princely order which takes an absolutely anti-democratic position. Therefore, if you wish to develop the democratic revolution further, the sooner this Bill is passed better it will be and without compensation.216

क्री बक्तल विशारी वाजपेयी:— लेखा का लाता हे कि दिव्यादी परिवर्तन करने में असफल रहने ने कारण ये स्थले ध्यान उठाते जा रहे हे जो कि राजनीतिक मंत्र ने लिये लोकों दे सवेदे हे। तेसक न तो लोकों की जड़े को मालूम कर सकते हे और न ही संकीर्ण की गरिमा को का रही हे वह लो-मार नहीं देती। वह जिन्ही जली सात जो वाय उठा ही हमारे लिये वास्त हे।217
Shri P. Ramamurti:— It is the people of the States who are sovereign. It is only with some rulers that you enter into agreements.

Finally, despite the fact that I am certain that of this bill is going to be utilised for political horse-trading, we are going to rally the people, despite all your attempts, we will succeed in breaking your mechanisms throughout the country and you will not succeed, it is only the people of this country who will succeed.

Shri S. N. Dwivedy:— So far as this Bill is concerned, on the 15th. of Oct., this is going to be implemented, I would suggest this. If the Government is able to make up his mind now, they may have a special session. The public must know, actually, to what extent and in what manner you are going to abolish these privy purses and these privileges. That should be made public so that 16 Oct. will really be a red letter day in our country.
Shrimati Indira Gandhi:— In advocating the adoption of this Bill, there is no animus against individuals for, we are fighting for a principle, we are fighting to take the country on a particular direction.221