CHAPTER III

THIRD PARLIAMENT
President's Address

The President (April 18, 1962) - Amongst you large number who have been Members of Parliament in years past and who once again sought the sufferage of your respective electorates and received at their hands a renewal of confidence.

2. The task of national building for which Parliament has both the continuing and ultimate responsibility, calls for the full exercise of your capacities of deliberation, analysis, constructive criticism, vigilence and dedication.

4. Our planned economy is the basis of our material development and of the maintenance of dynamic, social and economic equilibrium.

7. Agricultural production is steadily moving up and the food situation in general is quite satisfactory. Industrial production maintains an upward trend despite power shortages in some areas.

9. Panchayat Raj which has caught the imagination of our people, it being so well in accord with our traditions and our way of thinking is to be implemented in our four States, bringing the total number of twelve.

16. It is our good fortune that our Parliament enjoys the respect of our people and it has become rooted in our political sentiments. While it derived its basic norms and procedures from the British Parliament, it has developed its own dynamism and it continues to do so, establishing its own
conventions and methods born on the context of our own experience and needs.

17. It is the objective purpose of my Government to follow steadfastly firm policies and to implement effective measures to establish in our land democratic and socialist society. Thus alone will national progress and increase in productivity be synonymous with social justice, and dynamic progress will be peaceful and our country will march with firmness and speed. ¹

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (C.P.I.); We are discussing in the House the last Address of the President who is relinquishing his exalted office.

The hope expressed in the President's Address that the dreaded bomb would not be released over the atmosphere of our world has been dashed for the moment, but we never say die, and new initiatives have to be taken by our country in particular, and we have to work our ways and means in alliance with countries which are really and truly concerned about world peace to prevent the consequences which might follow the performance has been perpetrated by the United States.

My grouse against the Address is that it fails to place before the country the perspective of to day; it makes no efforts to enthuse our people for the tasks that are needed. ²

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (P.S.P.); As a policy statement for the coming year the current Address of the President now under discussion is most disappointing document.
Lastly my appeal will be, let us be honest. If we really desire that this country should develop a sound, healthy political atmosphere, there, the code of conduct that was agreed upon the national integration conference should be scrupulously followed by every party.3

Shrimati Gayatri Devi (S. P.): I do not to dispute the fact that the Government has made many an honest attempt to solve the day to day problems of the villagers, but, quite often, these needs of the poor people remain only on paper. The problem of self sufficiency in food has not been given adequate attention.

One of the primary problems that faces our country is unemployment, hunger and poverty. No matter what party we belong to, it must be our primary objective to solve this problem and we hope that the Swatantra Party is always awake to this problem first and foremost.4

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (The Prime Minister): Broadly speaking, therefore, today, we have keeping in view these old roots of India, to modernise India, modernise her way of thinking, her way of production, her way of doing things, just as in agriculture.

The only way we can solve it is by greater industrialisation and by modernisation. There is no other way.5

Shri Dahyal Patel (S. P.): I would only say that it is not possible to characterise the elections as completely free from pressure, from influence or the use of the Government machinery. If the present Government has accepted that
advice, perhaps, we would have had a better and cleaner election and the reflection on the Government system also would have been better. Once the use of official machinery for improper purposes, there is no end and in our State, in a growing democracy, when we have yet to build up traditions, when we have yet to inspire sufficient confidence in the services that they would be protected even if they remain neutral and that they need not take the side of the Government before these traditions have been established in the country it is all the more necessary that the ruling party should have taken the advice that was given to it.7

Shri P. Ramamurty (C.P.I.): Concentration takes place not only in industry but concentration takes place in banking also. Another point in this connection is when this is the type of development that is taking place, how do you expect the other objective of the Plan, namely that there should be evenness in the development of our country and that unevenness in the economic development that is there, the disparities as between regions and regions should be overcome as quickly as possible.8

Shri Gokhale (M.P. O.P.): Hamari Sarkar ne ham 15 saal ke kandar kaisa tarah ki koi wajah nahin hai barle, uske videsh niyati ka purna utshab dunia ke jode nai satra vai le hain, yehi rashtriya aur bhartiya unke bice bhalte karne ki rahi hain. Uske videsh niyati ka pariprabhun ya nubla hain dunia mein aur prasthna aur baflabha mein jo uske wale bhee dharate hain. Shvi kahiniyo ko kaha hain tere dunia ka 34 deshon he manayatam de di hain, hamari Sarkar ne kamy tak usre
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would like to United States Government, more specially under its present leadership, to consider the effect, how they counter balance their own policy by the...
military aid they give to Pakistan. Secondly to the Chinese border, we have received a summary by telegram. There nothing to be alarmed at, though the note from the telegraphic summary threatens all kinds of steps they might take. If they do take those steps, we shall be prepared for them. 11

The President (February 18, 1963): We have in accordance with our past traditions, laboured for world peace and endeavoured to cultivate friendly and co-operative relation with all countries, avoiding military alliances. We venture to think that we have been some service in this respect to the international community.

5. On the 8th Sept. last, however, a new aggression started across the border in the North East Frontier Agency and, after some probing attacks, China on 20th Oct., mounted a massive attack, on both the NEFA and the Ladakh sectors of the India-China boundary. In the middle of Nov., a second massive attack followed and our forces received a setback. Subsequently the Chinese Government ordered ultimately a ceasefire and a withdrawal.

7. These massive attacks and further aggression on our territory had a powerful effect on our people and resulted in a widespread and spontaneous displayed of unity all over the country. All the petty internal differences were hushed and stopped in the face of this period to the nation's integrity and freedom. Parliament gave a lead to the nation in this matter.

9. At present no actual fighting is taking place. But
the experience of the last few months have warned and steeled us. Our Government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task.

10. Soon after the Chinese aggression, our Government appealed to the countries of the world asking for their sympathy and support. We are grateful to large number of them. A number of those have also given practical support and we are grateful to them.

11. After full consideration and reference to the Parliament, our Government conveyed their acceptance of these proposals, as clarified by the Colombo Powers, without any reservation. The Chinese Government has thus far not accepted them and we can not say at present what development may take place in future.

12. The issue of the Chinese aggression has been, and is today the over-riding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context.

15. On full consideration of matter, our Government came to the conclusion that very great part of the plan was essential for strengthening the nation and its implementation, was therefore necessary even from the point of view of defence.

30. May your labours bear fruit for the good of our country and the world awake, arise, understand the opportunities you have and stop not till the goal is reached.12

Shri A. K. Gopalan (C.P.I.): It should give us also a picture of the conditions in the country both economic and political and also of our relations abroad. However I am
Sorry to say that I am disappointing both at the contents of the speech as well as its form.

As far as the question of unemployment is concerned, normally it is mounting, up every year, and the emergency has given an impetus.

A serious drawback in the picture is the compulsion and coercion used by Government and bureaucracy to collect funds for the National Defence Fund from the poor people; specially the poorly paid Government employees are the worst sufferer.

Government has promulgated the emergency, suspended the fundamental rights of the people like the articles relating to civil liberties. While the rights of working classes have been protected.

We are in agreement with the principle of the gold control. There is necessity for mobilising the gold hoards for productive investment. In its implementation, the purpose has not been achieved. But it has created a lot number of unemployment for the poor artisans and goldsmiths.

As far as colombo proposals are concerned, we are agreed to the proposal why the Government of China is not accepting the proposals together with the clarification especially when they have said that in principle they accept.

Shri Range ( S. P. ) : I am sorry to have to say that I do not find it possible to express satisfaction with the President's Address.
If it is really an emergency, as we have said sometime ago, Government should have been able to make up its mind in regard to its policy towards the Communist Party. One thing is clear; the Communist Party of this country is part and parcel of the world Communist movement, and they have stronger fraternal feelings and dealings with the Communist in other countries.

Under these circumstances, it is high time that the Government made up its mind to ban this Communist Party.

There is the Gold Control order. Government has on subpoenaed by those economist with the result that this unpopular and untimely wrong order has come to be promulgated.

Shri U. K. Trivadi (J.S.): If you think that the economy of the country requires that there must be some thing in the shape of a Gold Control Order, why not bring forward a legislation before Parliament and have this Gold Control Order? Why resort to this dubious method of taking shelter behind the Defence of India Rules? The Defence of India Rules were not framed for crushing the Opposition. But that is how they have been used.

Shri S. H. Dwivedy: It seems as if a deliberate attempt has been made to make it appear that conditions are normal, everything is going on O'K and that the emergency is just on paper. I am sorry if I carry this impression from the Address, but one can not while going through this document carry any other impression.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Our policy of social justice inevitably leads to some structure which should be called
socialism.

The only way to achieve this is through science and technology and to direct the products of science and technology into right channels so as to benefit the large mass of the people. Therefore I submit that the policy that we have pursued of a planned approach to this end, to this desired end, is right in the domestic field.

In foreign policy we have ventured to lay stress, considerable stress, on peace, peace in the world. This does not become wrong because the Chinese Government believes in war.

We have to face a military problem. But if we consider it as purely military problem, we shall make a grave mistake. It is political problems also in the larger context. Lack of political appreciation of the world we leave in and of our country will weaken the military effort.

So far as the Defence of India Rules are concerned there have been some arrest and some objection has been taken to preventive detention. We have repeatedly asked them to re-examine these cases. This process of re-examination is continuously going on.17

Shri Bhupesh Gupta (C. P. I.): The Address takes a very com- lacent views of country's political and economical situation because politically the forces of reaction within the country have grown stronger and the forces of democracy and progress have suffered certain very serious blows. The forces of right reaction are today organised not merely in the parties of Opposition but also within the Government and in the States.
apparatus. This is very dangerous development for country's democracy and its future. In this period again, politically imperialist pressures have grown on the country and the Government and despite the fact that basically our policy of non-alignment stands and stood the test of time in the crisis, it cannot however be said that we are exactly in the same position where we are before September last year.

As far as the Indo-China border is concerned we have signified our support to the Government's stand with regard to the Colombo proposal, and the Government did a very right thing in accepting the proposal together with clarifications.

The fundamental rights were curbed under emergency and we know that article 19 of the Constitution was given up. The emergency powers have been used to make forcible collections to the National Defence Fund.

I do submit that it is a matter of shame and dishonour to our country, it is an insult of our Constitution, it is a defiance of the spirit and letter of the Constitution, that the emergency powers should have been so flagrantly and violently used against the Communist Party of India. If things go wrong in our public life, we turn to the Government, turn to the President, turn to all the men of good will and democrates. I appeal to them in all humility so that we reduce our steps and place our country on the right footing in the right direction, so that we can progress and prosper.

Shri Dahya Bhai Patel: Parliament took a firm resolve on the 14 of November to vacate the Chinese
aggression. An emergency was declared. Is the emergency visible today? Is it not necessary in view of the current national emergency, to examine a fresh Governmental policies so that the tempo of progress of the existing programmes and schemes is accelerated as also supplemented so as to achieve a rapid rate of increase in agricultural production.

The popular upsurge and feelings that were around by the Chinese aggression should have been taken advantage of by the Government. But the Government have failed to do so. The emergency to which everyone in this House gave his wholehearted support is not used but is allowed to lie idle on the statute book.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is well known that domestic policy and foreign policy are closely allied but some members of the opposite parties seem to think that we can be very brave and gallant in one thing and completely different and followed a different path in something else. Surely socialism is an integrated creed, not something in which you can separate or act differently.
The Vice President (February 10, 1964): 3. The mid-term appraisal of our Third Five Year Plan undertaken by the Planning Commission has revealed that the ground to be covered in the remaining two years is considerable and all our effort would be required to realise our expectations.

4. The general level of industrial output in 1963-64 is expected to be 7 to 8 percent higher than in the previous year.

5. Public sector undertakings have made significant progress.

6. A number of new projects are in various stages of implementation and will add fresh strength to our economy in the years ahead.

7. Despite these satisfactory trends, the overall rate of economic growth has lagged behind the plan target. This is mainly due to the shortage in agricultural production which in 1962-63 show a fall of 3.3%. There had been successive bad agriculture season in the course of the Third Five Year Plan. A steady increase in agricultural production is the most important task before us today.

8. Additional allocation of Rs.19.15 crores have been made to the States for stepping up minor irrigation, soil conservation and agricultural production.

9. Shortfalls in the production of food grains have had a disturbing effect on price levels. Control over the ex-factory price and distribution of sugar was reimposed in April 1963.

11. Finance both for agriculture and industry, particularly the co-operative sector and small scale industries, is being
made available on increase scale.

12. To improve the tone of administration and to deal effectively and prompt with complaints of corruption or lack of integrity, it has been decided to set up a Central Vigilance Commission will have a status in its own sphere broadly corresponding into that of the Union Public Service Commission. Its Annual report will be placed before both Houses of Parliament.

14. The Chinese threat has continued throughout the year, though there has been no actual fighting along our boarders. China still maintains its intransigent attitude on the Colombo proposals and Chinese military building up along our border has increased.

21. We were shocked and grieved to learn of the assassination of President Kennedy, we welcome the declaration made by the President Johnson that he would continue the policy of the late President Kennedy in the great and difficult task of reducing tensions and maintaining world peace, as well as contributing to the economic development to the less developed countries of the world.22

Shri A. K. Gopalan: It completely evades the crucial and urgent issues facing the people as well as our economy. The concentration of wealth that has gone on under our planning is well known that even the President of the Congress had to decry it. We have even today heard about the report of the Mahalanobis Committee. It is understood however, that the report makes, according to paper reports, some shocking
relevations on the state of our economy. It is said that only 20 families control as many as 1073 companies with a share capital of Rs.352 crores and with a gross total of 1102 crores. These companies have a paid up capital of 212 crores. The Government can not escape the responsibility for this unprecedented growth of concentration during its regime of 17 years.

The Tumeshwar session of the Congress passed resolution on democratic socialism and shed copious tears over the plight of large section of society as a result of this price rise. The simple fact is that despite the tall talk of Socialism on its leap, the Government is actually building capitalism in our country. The price line is holding the Government and not the Government is holding the price line.

In the face of this scandalous state of affairs, in the face of this continuing emergency, in the face of Government's attempts to legalise its unconstitutional acts, in the face of the negation of the right to agitate and to fight against the attack of the monopolists, and speculators, all this talk of democracy is sheer hypocrisy. It is an attempt to raise false issues and continue its policies of helping the monopolists.23

Shri Ranga: This Address does not breath any optimism at all. It looks as if it is drafted by the Government which is suffering from jaded spirit from spiritual depression and political bankruptcy. They have come face to face with failures on almost every front and they do not at all see a way out of this failure.24
Shri U. M. Trivedi: When I heard and later read this Address of the President it struck me as a very incongruous piece of document.

The peculiar nature of infiltration that has been going on into India for the last nearly 5 or 6 years has not been mentioned in this whole document.

Then the address is entirely mute on the question of Kashmir. It is unfortunate that a particular incident has happened there.

The emergency was proclaimed to meet the Chinese menace. But what has the Chinese menace to do with making rule 125-(B). I do not know what has the Gold Control Order to do with the Chinese menace? We are only arming ourselves with laws which we can according to our wish and choice, without coming before Parliament.

हार राजनीतिक लोहिया (सी) : कार हिंदुस्तान बोर पाकिस्तान का पाप्ता भेदा ही क्षत्र रहा जेता वार है, जो भारतीय च्वा हिंदुस्तान की १ वथं चनेन भी में फिसी को नहीं हैना बाहुत करने के लिये नेतार को बाहुत। इसलिए कार हिंदुस्तान बोर पाकिस्तान का महायंग बन चर्चा है तो फिर भारतीय च्वा फिसी के राक्षत पर में वानीस बनने के लिये क्षत्र रो बाहुत। इसलिए फारण यह है फिर में पाकिस्तान बोर चीन में फक्त रखना हृत, पाकिस्तान का भी बाहुर में नहीं।

प्रदानसंह के लुध वा है फिर हिंदुस्तान का प्रेमणार काल प्रथ का इस लावण नहीं को यलक फिर भारतीय वपत की उसले पुष्ट हो और का वे प्रथ काल प्रवश बनाते है तो गमन लेना बाहुत बन पाय हो बाहर उसले फक्त नामित।

हम बंदरा का लगा बनते हैं। में साही शब नियम यतारा बाहर का हृत विस्तार चे बना, उपस्थिता की ज्ञेता बोर भार है प्रेमणार की यथी फिर दो फल्फल के धींध लभा के दाम में एक बाणा शेर में ज्ञान उत्तर बाहर नहीं होना बाहिये।
The rate of economic growth in the country has not been fast enough during the last two years. It has not been adequate in relation to the needs of the people. A conspicuous consequence of this combination of circumstances is that the price level has not been able to prevent the rising trend asserting itself and persisting. It is the common problem of the nation. The hard realities of the situation are not questioned. It is not the question of this year alone.

I admit that the population increase has gone on. In the context of democracy, these things are being done in democratic conditions. We want to maintain our democracy. The hon. Members opposite do not think so, but they should realise that if we do not do such things this democracy will break down. It is these things which mean some restraint. This is the democratic process of planning in which the minimum restrictions are really the saviours of democracy.

As soon as the riots, communal disturbances in East Bengal are concerned, it was very clear that the storm was coming. When President, Ayub Khan made his speech, we felt that something was wrong and that thing might develop in that direction. And when the Kashmir incident was sought to be exploited by Pakistani authorities in this particular manner in which it had been done it was
absolutely clear that the minorities in East Bengal now will be the victims once again.

Peoples who, together with the Muslims there, built up the freedom movement today are the victims of such a political system based on such philosophies as we have known in the Ayub regime. Therefore our reaction to such things within our borders should be much more acute, much more serious than had been displayed even in the Vice President's Address.

I regret to say that the Police in Calcutta failed and failed miserably in some places, that needs through investigation and the victims should be given every assistance.

Shri Dahaya Shai V. Patel: This sick Government has given us enough worry. To a fair extent the slow growth of economic progress is due to short age of agricultural production which in 1962-63 recorded a fall of 3.3 percent.

As regards industry, the continued increase of 7 to 8 percent falls very much short of the postulated annual increase of 11 to 12 percent.

A view of the Government's policies discloses considerable lack of co-ordination. A sick Government and the sick Prime Minister. After all the whole economy has to function as a single entity. The different part of it are closely inter-related. There must be therefore, be uniformity in the working of different policies. This is not fully apparent at present.
Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri (Minister of Home Affairs):— In regard to Kashmir it is unfortunate that the seasoned politicians which have enough experience of our affairs, should have lent their support to the holding of this meeting. I know both U. K. and U. S. A. were not entirely in favour of holding this meeting. But inspite of they did, the U. K. representative took a special and keen interest in the debates in the Security Council, the U. K. representative have should know the position better and the speech which he delivered has naturally caused much resentment in our country. There are perhaps two reasons on account of which the United Kingdom tries to lend its
support to Pakistan. One is the membership of SEATO. The other reason was the ruling party, there still has not been able to get rid of the old complex, of the old British days when they rule in India.

**The President (February 17, 1965):** During the year which has just ended the nation went through its severest trial in recent years when the people lost their beloved leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, their friend, philosopher and guide. We were greatly distressed by the serious loss of life and property unfortunately caused in South India by unprecedented Cyclonic conditions. Relief measures were promptly taken. Some of the difficulties continue and we have to face them with courage and determination. At the same time country has made significant progress in many directions.

3. National income had increased at the rate of only 2.5 percent per annum during the first two years of the Third Plan. An increase of 8 percent in industrial production is expected during the current year.

4. Many public sector undertakings in which investment have been during the Third Plan, have commenced production.

9. The farmer has been assured of minimum prices which have been fixed at economic levels and an agricultural price Commission has been set up to keep the situation under constant review.
10. We are beginning this year with the biggest Kharif harvest on record. The Rabi crops also expected to be appreciably better than in previous years. Our Government are taking all possible steps to achieve long term stability in agricultural prices. To guard against all eventualities, however a programme of building up buffer stocks in the country out of domestic production and imports has been formulated.

12. While higher production is the best answer to the threat of inflation, the monetary pressure on the price level and on our external payment can not be ignored. Part of this pressure comes from unaccounted and undisclosed money.

13. Our Government have already announced that there will be no deficit financing. This will necessitate curtailment of public expenditure. The expansion of bank credits will have to be kept in check. A tighter monetary discipline is essential not only to achieve stability of prices but also to secure a better balance our imports and exports.

15. We are now engaged in the formulation of the country's Fourth Five Year Plan. This will be a crucial task. We have to aim at a minimum level of living for every family in the vast country. The implementations of such a Plan will need a dedicated and sacrificial response from all sections of society.

Shri Ranga: If it is examined very carefully, it gives an indication of the Governments' poor achievements and their inexusable failures.
The public sector projects have shown very little production so far. As regards profits have been many of these public undertakings are being run at a loss. I can say that the whole position is so unsatisfactory and public funds were not being put to effective, proper and profitable use.

So far as the private entrepreneurs are concerned, you are going to make their production costs goes up, and when they go up, the prices naturally also have got to go up. Therefore I come back once again to this boast of Government that they are going to keep down the prices. There is no prospect of it even today and there is no offer at all of any kind of a scheme of which it would be possible for them to bring down the price level.

Unfortunately this Government is very nervous when it comes to international affairs, for two reasons. Firstly, lost it should be accused of betraying the late Prime Minister and Secondly lost it should anger Soviet Russia.

योजनायें तो कार्य जाती हैं और दूसरे देशों के वी इसका उपयोग किया है, लेकिन योजना मात्र ही एक चेतय नहीं हो सकता, योजना के उद्देश्य के तरीफ़ से देशवर योजना हो ही अपना भाग बन जाना एक मलत तरीका है। उसके लिए अगर वर्तमान यह वारे में पुरानी बारे करेगी, तो उसमें इस देश की मलाई नजर आकर।
Shri H. N. Mukerjee: The language imbroglio followed up and was undoubtedly embittered by Government disastrous failure in handling the problem of food availability and of spiralling prices a failure which is nowhere near being rectified.\(^{36}\)

Smt. Shastri (Smt.): -

राष्ट्रपति का पूरा मामला निराशा-जत्र बीर रही है।

बाहर संज्ञानित फिस्टिल के नाम पर सरकार ने अपने हाथ में विशेष विभिन्नवर्गों को ते रहा है जिसके बारे संविधान की मांगा नहीं रहती है। अब सरकार पुलिस को चलाता चाहती है। हमारी सुरक्षा की क्षमता कैसी बनाये तो उसने लिये जबरी नहीं है फिर विशेष विभिन्नवर्ग सरकार के हाथ में रहे।

हमारी मुलाकात में जो विषयकार्य हैं, नहर वरातवायर हैं अब उनका निराशा खर्च की बोध वजन नहीं होनी तो अर्तिक योजना का बोध मलबल नहीं होता है।

पाण्डु शाला मी बढ़ा महत्वपूर्ण है। जब तक लोकार्थकों का प्रयोग हमी स्वरूप पर नहीं क्षोत है तब तक ये लोग यह दिल्ली और फिर हैं।

उनको অসামাজিক নাতি পড় শাখা বর্তমান স্ত্রীর প্রথম লোগ ব্যাপার নহি জানিয়ে।

जब तक जीवन पाईं नहीं लोग ज्यादा नहीं जातियाँ हैं और जब तक थोड़ी माध्यम रहेंगे तब तक यह जातियाँ का प्रयोग बदलाये महत्त्वपूर्ण है। फिर अब हम समाज में वारंटी जाये लादते हैं तो लोक पाण्डु शाला के चिन्ता यह नहीं हो सकता। \(^{37}\)

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri (The Prime Minister): - No doubt the language problem assumed a serious proportion during the last one month and it took a sudden turn for the worst, especially in the State of Madras. I must say that it is regrettable and deplorable.

When Hindi was declared as the official language of the Union it was said that English will continue.
With the help of imports and indigenous production, if we are in a position to build up a good buffer stock, it would be possible for us to overcome the stress and strain during the loan periods and loan months. I would appeal to the State Governments to concentrate on increased agricultural production.

We have as our objective socialism and we are trying to pursue that objective through our different plans and planning is very difficult problem for us because on the one hand the gap is tremendous; between what the people want and what we can do. However two things are important, we have a very careful examination of the position of our resources. Secondly, it should be seen that production will match the investment. We have also to be careful about the implementation of our Plan. Lastly it is essential that there should be larger facilities for training personnel.

Shri Dahaya Shai V. Patel:

The country has been bled white by taxation both for state enterprises and large river valley projects. What is the return from them? Instead of spending so much money for purchasing food from outside, why not utilise that money to give water at a lower or even free rate of our agriculturist which would immediately pay us returns. That is one of our great failures.

राष्ट्रपति ने यो क्लपना की थी वह विदेशी खुदा बख्ती रेरी, उनके निवर्तित ही बाज़ा हुआ। लेकिन के क्षत्र के बारे में उनकी ढीब ढीब निवर्तित
Shri Bhupesh Gupta: In Pakistan it all began with their attacks against the Communist Party, against the Congressmen there, on the allegation that they were pro-Indian. Just in the same way you are accusing some people here they were pro-Chinese and putting them in prison. What happened after that in Pakistan and what happened to those who attacked them in Pakistan? Then came others and alternatively, those very people like Suharwardy, who put people in jail, themselves had to go to jail like wise...

Our economy is in bad shape. The crisis is revealed in the stagnation in our agriculture. To day we are nowhere in the near to target which we should reach by the end of the Five Year Plan.41

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: Our fiscal policy is oriented towards greater production as also towards helping the weaker elements of our society. The various measures on budget proposals do indicate that for greater production incentives will be provided. The incentives are given mainly on the basis of production.42

The President (February 14, 1966): While deeply distressed by the turn of events which forced us into an armed conflict with Pakistan, he gave as inspiring lead to the nation.
Our brave and gallant armed forces have written a new chapter of glory in our history. We honour our heroes, comfort the bereaved and lament the loss of precious likes. The people of India once again demonstrated their unity and solidarity. Communal harmony was preserved throughout the country. Labour showed an exemplary spirit.

Before his sudden untimely death, he had the satisfaction of signing the Tashkent Declaration with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan. It was his hope and belief that the Tashkent Declaration would lay the foundation for an enduring peace and friendship between India and Pakistan. Both sides have to fulfill it with faith and vision.

We are fortunate in having very friendly relations with almost all the countries in the world. Unfortunately our relations with the people's Republic of China still continues to be strained. The country has to vigilant and strong.

Our Government will continue to work for peace in the world.

The growth of national income, which was slow in the first two years of the Plan, was speeded up with rise 4-5 percent in the third year and 7.3 percent in the fourth year. Ordinarily, it should have been possible to maintain a comparable rate of growth during the current year. Unfortunately, a number of adverse factors have slowed down production. The unprecedent drought which was experienced, the armed conflict in which the country was involved and the suspension of promised economic aid from outside have been reduced the rate of growth.
The high priority we are giving to agriculture is necessary not merely to ensure self-sufficiency in foodgrains but also to enable us to increase our exports of agriculture and industrial products. 43

Shri N. Dandekar (S. P.): On the home front, in so far as political matters and development in this country are concerned, I notice that a veil of complete silence has been lowered by the President over some major matters of urgent public interest and concern. Firstly there is utterly unconstitutional continuance of the Governor's rule in Kerla. Equally another serious matter is the expressed opinion of the Government to be deliberately unconstitutional that they intended to continue the life of Orissa legislature by another year. It was an extra ordinary proposition which they have made and they have done it quite obviously, for party reasons. The proper thing will be that the legislature ought to go out and their ought to be fresh elections. Yet another matter of great concern which the Address in completely silent is the mounting corruption in public life at high levels.

Another matter of internal politics that causes grave concern, and which has been referred to even during the few days is thoroughly unjustifiable continuance of the "Emergency" by Proclamation.

Turning now to the economic aspects of the whole affair that the state of economy is continuing deteriorating. It is an oft repeated story of extravagant public expenditure which must be stopped but no body is doing anything about stopping that extravagance, of leading to merciless taxation and generous
deficit financing which again the Government keeps on repeating must be stopped but nothing is done about stopping it.

The hollowness of our claim to success in foreign policy it is well known, as exposed last year, when we stood alone and friendless. I regard the Tashkent Declaration as a great act of faith.44

_Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:_ Just because one area grows more food, is it your national policy that it would get more food than another area which is deficit in food for various reasons? What is the use of talking of a national food policy, when you can not give us a national policy of giving equal rationed quantity of rice. Our Government does not have any consistent policy; they rely completely on PL 480.

It is not the smugglers but the hungry people whom you have arrested. It is only the Opposition parties that are sought to be crushed but today I see even Congressmen being arrested under the D. I. R.45

_Shri H. V. Kamath:_ I venture to arrest that the biggest achievement of the Government in last ten years has been this abysmal failure of Government to provide food, at controlled prices to the people of our country.

It is deplorable that America has resumed bombing on North Vietnam.46

हां राम नरोहर लोहियाण : इस वर्ष में इस जात में इसका देत के बाहर पिलावी
Members have referred to the problem of corruption. No doubt there are corrupt individuals, but to say that people holding high office lack integrity in a gross exaggeration. Every case of corruption must be dealt with firmly, let us not debate ourselves by mutual denigrations and character assassination.

We are anxious to see that the prices of essential commodities remain stable and that the upward spiral is halted. Hence the necessity to fix in advance reasonable prices for the main agricultural products. There may be no escape from control of prices of foodgrains and certain other items. Other control are also necessary sometimes. We must do everything possible to attain the shortest possible time I realise, depends not only on the fullest utilisation of traditional resources, but also on the application of modern methods of agriculture. Fertilizers are the most important ingredient in this strategy.
We are taking foreign aid and, we believe, we will have to it. We will take it only if we can do so keeping in view our self respect and our principles.

The Tashkent Declaration, the basic principle underlying this declaration is not a new one but the declaration has given the new validity and it has opened out a new door or way for better co-operation between India and Pakistan. 49

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: The highest priority should be given to our agricultural production. But if things go on as they are now, I do not see much hope.

With the difficulty of the food situation, we are also facing a very serious financial situation. Why is that so? It is because we are not able to put our horse in order.

But here, we go on borrowing more and more. That does not earn interest and the debt of the interest that we have to pay elsewhere goes on mounting.

This country should, therefore reorganise its policies. Agriculture should be given the priority that it deserves. Agriculture should not feed this country but it should earn foreign exchange. Then alone would be saved the trouble of the difficult situation that we are facing. 50

श्री विकस दाहाल मन्त्रालय जी वौरिंद्रा: शांति की बात तो हम करते हैं, लेकिन हम कभी देश की आत्मिक शांति की तरफ भी देते। हमारी सरकार की मतभेदी के दृष्टि से यह नहीं करें उदाहरण हैं जहाँ अपने दल के शांति के लिए वह दूसरों की शांति की किस्मत नहीं करती।
हम धारणों पर आए वहीं दो योजनायें लोगे जाने पर या लिख देते में या संभव है कि हमारी रुपये की कीमत घटकर एक पूरा तैयार हो गई है और हम विश्वास भर तो पूरी हो। हमारी देश में बाजार की स्थिति बनायी है।

इन्हीं वंशधारियों का विवाद कि इन सारे संकट के पुनः वाले है इसलिए बाप अपनी उम्र की योजनाओं पर पुनःविचार करें और स्थान न दें कि भारते देश को अर्ध संकट में वोर ज्यादा डरेंगे। 51

अगली गति के लिए (तॊॊ) राजनीति के इस विभाग में सारी नकाशा समझती है। व्यक्ति इसमें राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं का और बारे स्वयंन कि कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है और राजनीति राष्ट्रीय गलते हुए प्रसंगों के क्षेत्र ओर कोई सुनाव उनके विभाग में नहीं है। जिस विभाग में इस के राष्ट्रीय समस्या के समान बांधके मत न हो, जिस विभाग में इस की जनता अथवा उसकी बहुत और बारसाताओं का खरी स्वयं स्वदेश न हो, उस विभाग में भी बिभक्ति द्वा नहीं हो। 52

चीफ विभागीय गांवयों : 

इस व्यक्ति में बल्के जो दक्षता, इसे करते हूं जो भी व्यक्ति की उच्चता कारण की। मैं नागरिक हूं कि यह व्यक्ति की उच्चता है, किंतु जिस तरह यह व्यक्ति हूँ इसके उत्तरार्थ वातावरण है, उसके में बहुत बाजार नहीं समझती हूं। राजनीति और प्रशासन न होते हुए भी लागू व्यक्ति की बोली की होती है, इसके धने देश को लाग नहीं बल्कि हानि की होती है।

इस बात को लक्ष छोड़ने नहीं करते हैं, यह है देश की वारिस्तिक स्थिति की है। हमारी पूरी भोली रहनी है कि हम नेताओं की स्थिति की लाज और पूरी स्वतांत्रता कृ म। यहीं कितनी हो सकता है जबकि हमारी फैसला बड़े और इस-लिंग हमारी स्वतन्त्रता की है कि बपने उत्पादन को हर तरह से वहाँ और उत्पादन के लिये प्रेरणा है। 53
By and large, the budgetary out-turn for the current year bears testimony to our determination to strengthen our defence without slackening our development efforts of without restoring to unbridled deficit financing. It is noteworthy that the overall deficit in the budget which was originally estimated at Rs.181, crores is now placed at Rs.135 crores. The improvement of Rs.46 crores in the over all gap in the current year has taken place despite the net increase of Rs.94 crores in loans and advances to the states and Rs.27 in loans and advances to the other party.

5. Turning to the economic scene, the most disturbing feature is the rise in the price level. The general index of the wholesale prices rose by as much as 7.2 percent between the end of March 1963 and at the end of January 1964 is certainly a cause of great concern. We have, in the coming year to apply new measures of discipline, fiscal and others, to arrest this unhealthy trend.

10. In the ultimate analysis, the three problems of prices, growth and balance of payments on which we can not solve any one of them without the fullest attention to the other two.

12. As far as investment policy is concerned, there is little doubt that, at the present stage of the economy it is just as important to make the most efficient use of the
investments already completed as it is to stop up further the tempo of investment.

15. It is equally important for our development that the private sector has the resources to expand in the field assigned to it.

16. One of the weaknesses in our economy has been that a high portion of the community's savings is being diverted towards industries of low priority. It is important that these savings should be canalised into the industries to which we attach the highest priority.

19. There are basically three essential ingredients in any industrial or economic set up. They are ownership, control and management.

20. What is really disturbing is that despite diffused ownership, control in concentrated in a relatively few people. We have recently, taken some steps to weaken this stronghold.

23. While for some years to come we must rely on continued external assistance, it is important that we should at the same time, devote increasing attention to the objective of reducing our requirement of such aid.

25. I shall now turn to the Budget provisions I have budgeted for total revenue of Rs. 2035 crores and expenditure of Rs. 2041 crores, leading to the surplus of Rs. 54 crores on Revenue Account.
26. As compared to the revised estimates for the current year, the revenue receipt next year would be by Rs. 181 crores.

27. I am providing for revenue expenditure of Rs. 2041 crores next year, of which Rs. 718 crores will be for Defence services and Rs. 1323 crores for Civil purposes.

35. Capital outlay will amount to Rs. 798 crores, loans to states and other parties 830 crores and debt repayments of Rs. 259 crores leading to a total disbursement of Rs. 1915 crores from revenue surplus, Rs. 397 crores for internal and external borrowings, Rs. 285 crores from repayments of loans, Rs. 125 crores from small savings and Rs. 278 crores from miscellaneous debt and deposit heads. These would leave a total uncovered budgetary gap of Rs. 176 crores at the existing level of taxation.

Shri A. K. Gopalan : C.P.I.(M) ;– This is a very clever budget and a very dangerous budget. It is not a blunt budget as that of last year. Tremendous capacity to maneuvre has been displayed to create an illusion in the minds of the people. There are big words, about curbing monopoly as well as ending concentration. The reintroduction of the expenditure tax without any real positive step and effort to find out the black money is nothing more than an empty gesture. Gates are opened wide for the foreign investors. The common is where he is, under last year's back breaking taxation. He is disillusioned and all hopes of a substantial reduction in indirect taxation has been thrown to the winds. There is no prospect of lowering of prices of lowering the burden of taxation.
Socialism today has become very popular in the minds of the people and the ruling party has been putting on the socialist garb to hoodwink the people and to cover up their policies which, far from being socialist, are opposite to it.

Shri H.R. Hansani (S.P.) :— I welcome the fact that even this Government has, as the results of the hard lesson –18 the country has had to learn over the last few years, broken through the crust of dogma and faced the truth.

In the light of all that, I think hon. Finance Minister would have been on perfectly safe ground if he had balanced the budget about any additional taxation, and that would have been done by not accepting this tremendous growth in civil expenditure of Rs.191 crores which represents to a large extent the diversion of scarce resource from productive to less productive or unproductive Channels and is bound to result, whether we like it or not, in further inflation.

I see in this contradiction the conflict that is going on in the ruling party between the dead hand of the past of Marxist principles and dogmas represented by the Prime Minister and the newer thinking that we are watching with some encouragement. I do feel this that Finance Minister may come and go, but so long as the dead hand of Marxism represented by the Prime Minister lies on the ruling party, nothing will change.

Shri U. M. Trivedi : We are talking of public sector, we are talking of private sector, we are talking of
taxation from the private persons, we are talking of sucking the blood of the capitalist and all sort of things. But do we not realise that by investing the huge amount of money belonging to us, belonging to the nation, we are sucking the very blood of the whole nation, investing if in such a manner that you cannot get any benefit out of it? You have not made a proper use of this money. Then you talk in the terms of socialism. I cannot understand it.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:— The party passes resolutions and the Government goes quite in a different direction. That is good in a sense, because the public are in a position to know to day that so far as socialism is concerned, however much the Congressmen shout the Government is not prepared to take any positive steps in that direction.

To my mind this budget is more or less a budget which wants to encourage economic growth and not give social justice to the people. And, how is this economic growth to be achieved, in what respect and who will give this economic growth? Naturally, his attention has gone more to the corporate sector, to the private sector, to the industrialists.

Shri Daji (C.P.I) The danger inherent in the Budget is, not that it does not lead us to socialist development about which I have no illusions, but the dangerous pattern it reveals is that this Budget strikes at the every root of the independent democratic development of our country.

The curse of the proposals is no relief to the Common man and no break in prices.
The Members of the Opposition who seek to give advice to us are not even qualified physicians, apart from the fact that their malafides in relation to the Government and the party in power are well know. It will, therefore be futile to go further in to this respect of the criticism. Like close companies in which the public are not substantially interested. I shall not devote too much attention or time to them.

I have tried to keep deficit financing at a moderate level and the monetary policy weapon will also be used as and when necessary and kept in proper gear.

The overall effect of the proposal whether in the fields of investment or savings, would be depressing what he has granted by one hand he has, more or less, taken away by the other, with the result that the tax burdens on the individuals barring, perhaps, persons in lower income groups, and the corporations has, by and
large, continued to be heavy. If, we want to attract this
foreign equity capital, our taxation rates will have to be
competitive.62

Shri P. Ramamurti : C.P.I. (M) The entire reliance for
the growth of our economy is placed essentially and primarily
on the question of the private sector in our country
being enabled to get more and more profits, and it is expected
that more the profits they make, the more they will be
able to plough back the profits into new ventures and thereby
ensure also industrial development. This is the entire philos-
osphy that is underlying the approach of the Finance Minister.

There is nothing to commend this Budget. On the
other hand, I find the same policy that has been there all
these seventeen years, still being continued, despite all
these loud talk about rethinking. 63

की चौं बीते याज्ञेश्वर का हन प्रत्ययर
करा और अप्रत्यय दर्ज करा का धिताव लगाकर अवेते तो अहें फता लगायक धि प्रत्यय दर
फर्टे जा राइ दे हें और अप्रत्यय नंडों में वृद्ध होयी जा राही है। अप्रत्यय का
का नार बाम बावली पर पड़ा है। नदि बोर ठोप पुकिया नहीं। दी जा सती
tो भी देश में 72 माता सातिनिव वातावरण का संज्ञा था धि बजट में ४.४
बावली को भी बोर राहत दी गई।

मूल्य बुद्धि का चलसे बढ़ा आरणा ताप गोरे पर सभारी विफलता है।
कई लोग वीज उत्सव का है उसका उद्देश्य दिया जाना चाहिये। इस मोलम
की दोषा देश वार्तिन नियोजक की सफलता का हिंदोस्तान नहीं पता गई।

परिचित प्राकृतिक, परिचित केंद्र ना विस्तार होने के बजाय दूरी-
बागा होना चाहिये 64
Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The Budget, I am humbly claim, is in tune with the spirit that drives this Government forward, that controls this Government, that gives momentum to this Government. That is the essence of the life of the country.

3. The Budget forecast an overall uncovered gap of Rs. 97 crores. It now looks as if the deficit will be somewhat smaller at about Rs. 80 crores.

4. Revenue collections are expected to show an improvement of Rs. 49 crores under customs and Rs. 66 crores under income and corporation Taxes. Together with a reduction in revenue expenditure of Rs. 42 crores spread over many heads, the revenue surplus is now expected to be Rs. 229 crores as against the Budget Estimate of Rs. 23 crores.

7. In growing economy, with progressive increase in Plan outlays, the balancing of the capital budget can not be
done entirely by mobilisation of voluntary savings and external assistance. These have to be supplemented increasingly by public savings realised through a revenue surplus. The achievement of a sizable revenue surplus this year is, a step in the right direction.

3. Taking together with the improvement in agricultural production, the growth rate of the economy in 1964-65 should be higher than in 1964-65 when national income in real terms is estimated to have increased by 4½ percent.

14. In future, expansion of bank credit both to the public and the private sector will have to be so limited that the increase in money supply is no more than what is warranting by realistic expectations regarding the growth of output.

24. The expenditure on revenue account is estimated at Rs. 2,116 crores, which is Rs. 117 Crores more than estimated for the current year.

25. If the total revenue expenditure of Rs. 2116 crores next year Rs. 749 crores will be for Defence services. This Rs. 32 crores more than the current year. Expenditure under civil heads is estimated at Rs. 1367 crores which is Rs. 85 crores more than in the current year.

If the amounts transferred to the special Development Fund is respect of P L 480 grants are disregarded, the actual increase in civil heads, would, in fact, be greater.

26. The revenue next year is expected to increase by Rs. 125 crores.
27. The provision for capital outlay, including all loans except those to the State Governments and Union territories is estimated at Rs.1,114 crores, representing an increase of Rs.104 crores over the current year.

28. The total outlay of Centre and the States next year will be Rs.2225 crores, Rs. 241 crores more than the current year's budgeted Plan outlay of Rs.1984 crores.

30. To sum of the over all position for next year, these will be a surplus of revenue account of Rs. 237 crores at existing rates of taxation.67

Shri M. R. Kasani: Sir, very few things in life are all good or all bad; most of them are a little mixed, and even this Budget partakes of that general proposition.

The outstanding one among these is the relief given to income tax payers. The second relief in the Budget is in the excise duty which will benefit some consumers. The third very welcome provision is that employers who spend money on family planning for their families of employees should be given some measure of relief. The fourth is the simplification of the income tax.

There has been rise in prices, as reflected in the wholesale price index over the last two years of 23 percent and that increase is proceeding I ventured to make a statement here I made it during the past years and I was proved right - that prices will not fall and this budget is inflationary budget.
There are five concrete reasons why it is inflationary. First, the quantum of public spending remains unaffected. The second reason is the additional 10 percent customs duty. Thirdly, the savage excise duty on intermediate goods such as copper and steel. Fourthly, the Finance Minister admits that "Part of long term borrowing represents deficit finance."

I venture to say that the foreign exchange crisis will continue and aggravate as a result of this budget. The sad fact is that tiny foreign aid also is going into the black market, foreign instead of helping our country, is being used to pay for our adverse balances of payments.

Thirdly, I say that it is an antigrowth budget. It is antigrowth for the basic reasons that it has failed to give any substantial relief to the corporate sector that produces most of the wealth of this country. 68

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (C P I): To soften the impact of what he has done, the Finance Minister has held out some relief to the middle and poorer section.

Nothing is done in the Budget for nationalisation of the banks which would permit huge channelisation of resources for the peasant's credit.

I would like to say that the concession have been given to the masses. Our people are not getting any relief and the relief which they got is illusory. But greater concession have been given to the richer classes. I only want to end up that the masses of India will not tolerate this. 68
Shri Nethaji Ramachandra Rao: This is a budget of an intelligent man for smart and the prosperous. We began after independence with colonial economy. We are supposed to be building welfare economy in this country. This budget is a budget of the party which de jure is wedded to socialism but defects cohabits with the laissez faire philosophy of Swatantra. Therefore, it is perpetually practising political and ideological bigamy.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I am afraid the music that we have heard at the commencement of the Budget discussion was more western in its texture and character than eastern.

I have attempted my budget proposals to import a measure of stability to the economy, to provide for the
growing needs of development and to encourage greater production and more efficient use of resources already invested, to give a measure of relief both in direct and indirect taxation, to the extent possible. 73

Shri Shuhesh Gupta:

With regard to foreign collaboration, I should only like to say here that the Finance Minister is embarking on a dangerous course because what he is doing today will harm the country enormously - we have already started borrowing in order to repay interest charges on the borrowings, we have made earlier, even before the economy has reached a stage of anything nearing self sufficiency at all. 76
Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I merely want to say now is that agriculture is something about which we have been thinking all the time, the failure in regard to our Third Plan is the first three years has been due to the fact that we have failed on the agricultural front. It is not entirely because of our own deficiencies but because of various other conditions, many of them beyond our control. But it is something to which we are alive, which we are conscious of, which we want to improve. That is the basis of our Plan.77

Shri Sachin Choudhary (The Minister of Finance) Budget (General) 1966-67:

First and Foremost the budget has to be production oriented, creating a better psychological climate for a greater regard to savings and efficiency all round. Secondly, while investments in progress have to be completed as speedily as possible in the interest of better performance of the economy and while the needs of national security have to be met every effort has to be made to restrain Government expenditure, particularly on general administration and on new schemes for development with a long gestation period. With this restraint just indicated, it is proper to state that it is the intention of the Government to established progress and press on with such enterprises in the public sector as are beneficial to the country.

The overall budgetary position for the next year may now be summarised in conventional terms as follows. The
revenue account will yield a surplus of Rs. 210 crores.

In conclusion I have endeavoured to make the spread equitable among the different sections of the community and to put the strain where it can be borne. I have also incorporated a number of relieves and changes which are designed considerably to simplify the tax structure and which I hope will provide a better climate for orderly growth I have kept clearly in view the need to make the economy stable. To this I would have liked to avoid deficit financing altogether for some surplus. If I have left a deficit of Rs. 25 crores, it is only because of my firm belief that a greater degree of resource mobilisation would be self-defeating as it would come in the way of the buoyancy of production and revival of confidence which are so urgently required. We are together determined to change our fiscal climate for the better.

Shri N. R. Masani: Sir, today our economy is in a stagnant condition. Industrial progress has been dropping for two years in quick succession. Prices are constantly rising. Our currency is debased. Our exports are stagnant and are not rising. Our balance of trade is adverse. We have rising trade deficits from year to year. India today is a bankrupt country, thanks to the policies of the Government, unable to meet its obligations in the councils of the nation.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: This is a budget which is not only conservative and dulls, but it is a defeatist
budget which brags of production - orientation but forgets the people who are our greatest capital, and it makes concession to the topdogs in our economy.

Therefore I say that this is a pernicious budget with the stigma of despair writ large on it, a budget which makes a fairly unashamed surrender to money bags and vested interests while utterly repudiates the publicity proclaimed Congress policies. 90

Shri U. A. Trivedi: The way our budgets are being prepared year after year indicates only thing namely that it is the budget of bankrupt who has made up his mind to file his insolvency petition. That is the only thing that we can find. Of course there is no place where this petition can be filed. But then the patent fact still remains that it is insolvency budget. 81

Shri Nathpal (P.S.P.): The false bogie is again raised in this country about the public sector and the private sector, you are just progressive or backward, according to your loyalty to these sectors. What India needs to day is an efficient national sector.

The performance of public sector is criticised not by enemies but by people who are its adherents we all believe that it has to play a propelling, countervailing role and that it has to be pace-setter in this country.

There was a promise to cut down expenditure by so many crores of rupees and instead we find here that actually there has been an increase in non-development
expenditure.

I would now like to make suggestions that whatever taxation is there I would like to see it collected vigorously. Now controls are not wanted or unwanted perse. Control becomes necessary at a certain stage, but a wise policy goes on examining from time to time and discarding those which become superfluous. Controls have an inherent tendency towards proliferation and multiplication. No body knows how many there are and the result of these controls are dangerous. Even the authority of scrutiny, of the committees becomes meaningless when controls becomes so multiplied as they are in this country today.

You will find that the root cause is our economic malaise. It will require new kind of vision and a new kind of determination. Will the Finance Minister comeforth with this kind of determination, eschewing half measures? Half measures will not succeed because the challenge is too big.

Shri B. R. Bhagat (Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance): Listening to the debate for the last three or four days I got the feeling that this being a preselection year the discussions and the criticisms on the budget were distinguished by the political overtones.
The basic criticisms that this is a retreat from socialism. It has been variously described that it is a budget of sordid character and so on. I regret to say that it is a very exaggerated, over statement. There should be economic growth, that there should be progressive reduction in inequalities and equal opportunities for all. It does not imply wholesale nationalisation of the mean of production nor does it involves abolition of private property or the private sector.

In the first place the budget does not in any way reverse the trend which has been firmly established over the years of planned economy development. While we must reduce all unnecessary expenditure, the basic elements for continuous growth must be maintained, and that is what we have tried to do.

Fiscal policies alone can not remove inequalities in income. Also, we can not judge whether a tax system is progressive or not, only by the incidence of taxation. We have to take into account benefits that accrue to the people. A major portion of the taxes goes towards social activities and developing the public sector. Similarly it is wrong to say that this year also the additional taxation falls on the poorer section of the society.

The Third point that this budget is not production oriented is also wrong because the proposals in the present Budget must be reviewed as a chain in series of Budgets. We have given tax credits for extra production, increase in development rebate for increased production,
lowering the rate of import duties for agricultural machinery. This Budget continues this policy. Therefore in no way will it harm or retard production.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: In admitting the failure of the old policies, both politically and otherwise in the fiscal policies, one hoped that there would be a change, but I am wondering whether this change is going to remain or not. One bold step was taken to decontrol of sugar and if I may say so, cloth’s Government going to persist in these policies and go on heaping on us more and more taxation, just because they want to follow ill advised policies?

What is indeed in radical change in the framing of the Union and State Budgets. Instead of the Government first fixing their targets of expenditure and then starting to find resources to finance them, it should be the endeavour of the Government to first asses what their income is going to be and to cut their coat according to their cloth. A nation with limited means cannot afford to this unless it wants to run into insolvency.

केसे पुराने के - का हम स्वतन्त्र हुए उस वर्ष १९४७ के बाद हम की बियेटी धरा एमारे पाता थी बोर बाज धराया वह है कि हमें दुनिया पर में सकर हम क्या बना बनता पड़ रहा है। बियेटी धरा की उत्तीर्ण बनी है बोर हम क्या लेने के लयर हैं। उस दंग से हम कपी नीति बो क्या अन्ये तो एमारे पुलक बो कहिं न कहिं ग्यार दुनिया पड़ता है।

जिस दंग में क्या प्लांग एन के कैपिटल के ड्राफ्ट ले प्लांग होते हैं, इसको कोड के पेट्रल फर्मेटिव प्लांग बने। हिन्दुस्थान योग देश में जरूर पर
Shri D. Tengari:

Sir, we have always insisted that the Five Year Plan or the one year plan, that is, our annual budget should be employment oriented. But I am sorry to note that even in this year's budget, there is no employment orientation.

This budget is bound to give a rude shock to consumers in general and workers in particular.

In this budget there has been no progress made in the direction of thinking about social security schemes and therefore I urge that this aspect of industrial sphere should not be lost sight of.

Shri Sachin Chaudhari:

Sir, one of the things which has been discussed and properly discussed is the question of growth of the economy in the field of agriculture. So far as agriculture growth is concerned, the agricultural growth which has been felt in the last four or five years. In the last four or five years the difficulty that we have found is to find the land for the purpose of expanding our agriculture, and therefore we have had to go to those areas and those fields which have been comparatively arid. I assure the House that Government is taking every step possible to try and bring water to those fields. We must also bring to those particular areas farm implements, better seeds and fertilizer.
III PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION

RESOLUTION RE-PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY & AGGRESSION BY CHINA

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This House approves the Proclamation of Emergency issued by the President on 26th of Oct., 1962 under clause (1) of article 352 of the constitution.

This House notes with deep regret that in spite of the uniform gesture of goodwill and friendship towards the people's Government of China on the basis of recognition of each other's independence, non-aggression and non-interference, and peaceful co-existence, China has betrayed this goodwill and friendship and the principle of Panchsheel which had been agreed to between the two countries and has committed aggression and initiated a massive invasion of India by her armed forces.

This House gratefully acknowledges the sympathy and the normal and the material support received the large member of the friendly countries in this grim hour of our struggle against aggression and invasion.

With hope and faith, this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the scared soil of India, however, long and hard the struggle may be.

For five years, we have been the victims of Chinese aggression across our frontiers in the north. That
aggression was, to begin with, rather furtive. Occasionally, these were serve incidents and conflicts. These conflicts might well be termed frontier incidents. Today, we are facing a regular and massive invasion of our territory by very large forces.

China which has claimed and still claims to be anti-imperialist, but curiously, the People's Government of China, are now following the course of aggression and imperialist expansion. This strange twist of history has brought us face to face with something that we have not experienced in this way, for over a hundred years or more.

Not only we are threatened by it, but all the standards of international behaviour have been upset and so all the world is affected by it, apart from the immediate consequences. We accept the challenge in its all consequences. Whatever they may be.

We have previously demonstrated by a mass of evidence that our boundary is what has been called the Mac Mohan line, but the boundary was not laid down by Mr. Mac Mohan, whoever is responsible for it.

Even the Mac Mohan line which the Chinese have called illegal was laid down 48 years ago, in 1914, and that was a confirmation of what was believed in then. Even the Chinese know and say that independent India has been in possession of this territory right up to the Himalayan watershed. If any persons takes the trouble to read through this vast correspondence, he will notice that their alleged frontier is mobil one; it changes. It is wherever they have laid the
frontier and in this matter too they have stated many contradictory things. There is no doubt that the British considered their frontier to be the Mac Mohan Line. They did not have a full fledged administration apparatus there.

Today we are facing a naked aggression, just the type of aggression which we saw in the 18th and 19th centuries; there was then no communism anywhere.

To say that we are committing all these aggression on Chinese territory is a type of double talk which is very difficult for a man of my simple mind to understand. We commit aggression on ourselves, we commit aggression on the soil of our own country and they defend it by coming over the mountains into our territory. It is really extraordinary to what lengths people can go to justify their misdeeds.

This invasion by the Chinese did not merely take place in NEFA on the 20th Oct. On that day very day it was a coordinated attack all along the line of Ladakh to NEFA.

Just soon after, four or five days after this massive attack, the Chinese prime minister came out with, what is called a "three point proposal" on which the ceasefire might arrived. We, in reply or independently or, rather proposed that they should retire to the line prior to the 8th Sept., that is, behind the Mac Mohan line there and they should also retire the advances they had made since the 8th Sept. in Ladakh. I think it is a reasonable proposal and certainly not in any sense a dishonourable or a weak one.³⁹
Shri H. N. Mukerjee: On behalf of our party on the Resolution placed before the House by the Prime Minister and I would begin by saying that we are offering unqualified support to the Resolutions which has placed before the House.

I have tried to think along in order to discover if there was any sense in kind of things which was being done by China on our border. We have been trying to find out what possibly could have been the motives; what madness has seized the People's Government of China today, I do not know. I can not even hope to be able to fathom. What we have discovered, however, is that our country's patriotic pride has been hurt and our people's sentiments have not been respected. No ideological or other kind of sophistry, no jugglery of geographical or political claims on China's part can justify this invasion.

I have noticed with regret and certain amount of perturbation the report that a substantial members of our party have been arrested. I say, I am very sorry about this but I want in this House to tell Government that I do not understand what the idea is. If there are suggestions that the Communist Party does not mean what it says, well, after all, history will give you the answer. 80

Shri Ranga: The Prime Minister has also be good enough to make a number of admissions in regard to the failures of his dreams. We all dream, true and our dream do not come true that is also true out at the same time it is very dangerous to go on dreaming and dreaming
for years and years, with the result that not only our people but also a people abroad have had to wonder how this country's leadership has been guiding our people with all this atmosphere of dreamings.

I am glad that this emergency has been declared at long last. 91

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It appears that at the back of our mind we are still having the feeling that some sort of an amicable settlement by negotiations with China will come as a miracle and save us from all that war brings in its wake. I submit that it is high time that we have up this feeling.

I and my party have determined to offer its full operation to the Government in this struggle but we must not forget the wrong that we have done and the mistakes that we have committed. 92

Shri H. V. Kamath: The Chinese Communist leaders have made it plain that one of the basic tenants of their doctrine is - call it expansion or militarist if the hon. Prime Minister likes to but I would call it the world communist conspiracy by force of arms, by conspiracy by fraud, by subterfuge, by infiltration and everything that is not honest or honourable.

My party does not want to enter into post mortem. We want that the Government, is fortunately the head, address themselves to the mighty task of the prosecution of
the war against China until the last Chinese soldier leaves our soil. The heart of the nation is sound and the Indian people is sound. They are also asking for a strong, determined, courageous and dedicated leadership.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I hope, of course, that we will mobilize the nation. We will profit by many of the suggestions made in this House and other suggestions that are continually coming before us. But, even if we make mistakes, as many person is bound to do, the real thing that counts is not an odd mistake leading to an odd reverse, but ultimately keeping up this united front and united nervous energy of the nation to face this crisis.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The unity and resolve of the entire nation to face the Chinese aggression is perhaps the greatest tribute to the heroism and sacrifice of India's sons in soldiers uniform.

I fully agree with the Prime Minister that the crossing the Mac-Mohan Line by the Chinese force was quantitatively and qualitatively a new development. Today not only have they crossed the Mac-Mohan Line but they are in occupation of the large parts of India's territory to the south of that line. That is an open aggression. We have been shocked by the arguments that have been given by the Chinese side to justify the crossing of the Mac-Mohan Line and wanton violation of the solemn pledge given to our country.
Hence along with the entire nation, our party joins hands with all patriotic people and stands behind the Prime Minister's appeal for national unity in defence of the country.  

Shri J. V. Patel: We have been preaching peace but preaching peace does not mean weakness or negligence with great humility, I will say that our Government has been caught rapping and I expected the Government to have stood up in sack cloth and ashes apologising to the country.

I would request the Government to utilise this opportunity of popular enthusiasm to mobilise all the available resources to meet the aggression that has come before us. I should think that the emergency is yet to come.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have to get rid and try our utmost to get rid of it but that by itself is not enough. In doing so, because the process of doing so shakes up the nation completely, we have to see that that shocking up of the nation is of the right kind and they yielded right results.
RESOLUTION RE PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF
THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF KERALA.

Shri Hathl (Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs)

On 2nd September, 1964, two members of the Congress Legislature Party, Shri K. M. George and Shri R. Salakrishna Pillai, wrote the Governor and presented a memorandum signed by the 50 members of the Congress Legislature Party stating that they have lost the confidence in the leadership of Shri Shankar, the Chief Minister and that they have withdrawn the support to the Ministry and that they wanted to function there after in a separate block in the legislature. They had also informed the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Kerala for allotment of separate seats. On 3rd September when the Legislative Assembly meet, Shri P. K. Kunju, the leader of the S. S. P moved a motion of no confidence against the Ministry.

When the motion of no confidence was moved on the 3rd September, against the Ministry there the 15 dissident Congressmen also supported it. The motion was taken for discussion on September 7th and 8th. When the motion of no confidence was put to vote, it obtained the support of 73 Members; 50 voted against it, and 2 independent Members were absent.

The information that the motion of no confidence had been voted upon and carried was conveyed to the Governor by the Speaker on the same day. The Governor then invited the Members of the Opposition group. The Governor met all
separately with a view ascertaining whether an alternative Government could be formed by any of them. But the leaders met, said that they would not be in a position of form a Ministry either singly or as a United Legislature Party under a single leader. The Government having studied the entire situation and having come to the conclusion that to report the President a political breakdown in the State of Kerala and suggested the issue of a Presidential proclamation. Accordingly under article 356 Proclamation has been issued.\textsuperscript{39}

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The downfall of Kerala Ministry does not make anybody shed tears. It only shows that we are not in liquid state. We have not yet established in the democratic process which we have envisaged, which we have in view.

The whole position, the real position to day in our country is that before 1947 the Congress was in the service of the public, but today no man in the Congress Party is in the service of the Public.

The P. S. P., the S. P. even the Communist Party did it, but no man from the Congress Party.\textsuperscript{100}

Shri Ranga: This is the third time that the President has led to confess failure of Parliamentary democracy by majority rule in Kerala and they had to come to this Parliament. I would like to say let them not think that they can not intrust the governance of a State to a Committee Government. It would be actual practice something like a committee Government.\textsuperscript{101}
The Resolution moved by the Minister of State in the House seeking the approval of the House for the President's Proclamation is a grim reminder of the total, chronic and incurable inability of this Government to learn by experience; of its inability to do anything unless it is pushed to move. It also reminds us to this Government's superficial understanding of the working of democracy.

That is one more lesson which Kerala has served on the ruling party. 102

Shri Nath Pal:

So far as experiment is concerned, it has to be ruled out, because we stand by the constitutional position as it is. So far as Committees are concerned at different levels that may be possible. We can have advisory committees; we can have consultative committees. What does democracy really mean? It means collective wisdom. It means that we have to rule or we have to govern the country, whatever part it may be, but the Government of the Country has to be carried on by the Collective wisdom of the representatives of the people. This is generally the whole principle of democracy. 104
Shri Jaisukhlal Hati:

I am happy that almost all the Members who took part in this discussion have fully supported my motion and they have appreciated the circumstances which the President has to assure to himself for the administration of the State.

So far as elections are concerned, I would say that we would not wait for a day longer than, is absolutely necessary. There shall be elections as early as possible and that they should be fair & free.105

...
I can do no better than reiterate what our Prime Minister said in his broadcast to the nation on the 11th June, 1964 about the basic principles of our foreign policy:

(1) We shall continue to seek friendship and develop our relations with all the countries, irrespective ideology or their political systems; (2) non-alignment and peaceful co-existence will continue (3) it will be our special endeavour to further strengthen our relations with neighbouring countries (4) we shall continue to work for freedom of the people of Asia and Africa from colonial rule.

Laos and Vietnam have been the scene of internal conflict for many years. There has been interference with these two countries of various kinds and from various quarters with the result that they have not been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their freedom in peace. In any case the spirit of agreements has not been observed and today Indo-China presents a grave danger spot meaning international peace. We stand by the Geneva Agreement of 1962 in the case of Laos of which we were a signatory. We also uphold the Geneva Agreement of 1954 in respect of Vietnam although we are not participants.

In regard to Vietnam the people of Vietnam are deeply divided. They are of the opinion that eventually political rather than military solution have to be found for the problem of Vietnam and we hope that the futility of the continuing conflict in Vietnam and the danger in presents of big powers conflict will be realised by all concerned who should orient their thinking and actions towards a patient search for the peoples of
South East Asia.

The difference between Indonesia and Malaysia, whatever they might be, should be settled at the conference table and there should be no resort to military means.

A major portion of Africa is now independent and we have established relations with 28 independent African States. We have welcomed the formation of the organization of African Unity as a manifestation of the African people's desire for unity.

One of the problems causing concern not only to the African people but indeed to all right thinking people in the world, the flagrant manner in which South Africa has violated the many United Nations resolutions. In pursuance of the U.N. resolutions, we have already taken steps to impose an economic boycott of South Africa.

The question of Southern Rhodesia was discussed during the recent Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference and it was agreed that an independence conference to which leaders of all parties of Southern Rhodesia may be invited should be convened, so that Southern Rhodesia should proceed to independence with the Common-Wealth on the basis of majority rule.

India has welcomed recent efforts of the Arab States to normalise their relations and to forge Arab Unity.

Members will recall the spontaneous support received by India from the U.S. Government at the time of Chinese attack in October 1962. The U.S. continues to be the largest contributor of aid in various forms in India's development.
efforts. More recently U. S. Government have rendered valuable assistance to relieve a difficult food situation.

The willingness of the Soviet Union to give massive aid to India, necessary for preservation of our territorial integrity and for our economic and industrial progress, reveals the importance attached by the Soviet Union to friendship with India.

China has started a new kind of cold war and its advocacy of revolutionary war in other countries and its near glorification of nuclear war is most disturbing factor for world peace and understanding. 107

Shri Ranga :— The Foreign Minister has failed to give sufficient prominence to the ideological as well as political aspect of the aggressive attitudes and postures of Communist China. Today America does not get angry when Soviet Russia comes to give us military assistance. Similarly Russia is not suspicious because we are getting military assistance from America and England. That is all for the good. This is a new development and we must take stock of it. 108

Shri Indrajit Gupta (C.P.I.) :— On the question of China, we all welcome very much this reaffirmation of the initiative which was taken by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that we made this proposal before the world that in terms of the Colombo proposals, if China agree to vacate these seven posts in the demilitarised sector of Ladakh, we would consider sitting down to talk with them and begin negotiations. This is basically a move in the direction of snatching the initiative away from Chinese hands in diplomatic terms. 109
Shri Swaran Singh :- The policy of non-alignment that we have pursued so far, and for which there are certain eloquent advocates in almost all the sections of the Houses, is a policy which has been envoled as a result of historical events and developments and it is a cardinal principle which we have followed and there appears to be near unanimity about the correctness of this policy.\textsuperscript{112}
Shri Bhupesh Gupta :- As regards the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, when the Conference was still on, the Commonwealth Relations officer declared that Kashmir would be included, and this was not protested by the Indian delegation. The entire world got the impression that Pakistan had succeeded for the first time, for some reason or other, in getting it included. There, I repudiate and deplore it.

Come to the question of Malaysia, and as far as this is concerned, what business Britain to enter with the scene, trespass into the Asia soil and then engage in this kind of military action. Therefore, rightly the Soviet Union has come out against Malasiya and is helping Indonesia.

As far as North Vietnam is concerned, the U. S. A. made a public statement, after the Geneva Agreement, under taking certain international commitments, saying that the U. S. A. would not do anything which went against the letter and spirit of the agreement. Now exactly the opposite thing they are doing which has come to the point of aggression, of open war. We are now expressing concern and nothing else. We find the Government behaving in a manner which can not but cause concern. 113
Sardar Swaran Singh:—In substance, it has been well established that bilateral disputes between two members of the Commonwealth should not be discussed. The Finance Minister who was the leader of the Delegation, had made the position absolutely clear and this position was accepted.

In relation to Pakistan, we will continue to follow the policy of setting whatever may be the irritants between the two countries by peaceful means. 115

Shri Swaran Singh (November 23, 1963):—There was the Conference of non-alignment countries attended by Heads of Governments or States of large number of countries from Asia, Africa, Europe and the American continent too. There was change in the Governmental set up in the two important countries of Europe. There has been the change of leadership in the Soviet Union after the retirement of Primer Khrushchev.

With regards to these changes we have the assurance from the new leadership in the Soviet Union that the policies that had been pursued by Primer Khrushchev the policies of peaceful co-existence, support of the concept of non-alignment, friendship and close relations with India—will continue.

In U. K. Labour party has assumed power and is running the Government now. Our relations with U. K. have been friendly and there has been understanding on major matters and the change of Government there, if anything, should really still further strengthen the friendly relations that exist between our two countries. The election of President Johnson with an overwhelming majority is a significant event and demonstrate the determination of the people of the U. S. of America to pursue the policies
Shri M. R. Hasani: One must concede that if the agreement with Ceylon about which a great deal of feeling has rightly been shown, we think it is unsound in principle and that is a violation of basic human rights.

Mr. Kosygin will not be any more reactionary than Mr. Khrushchev. He is an industrial manager, he is not a Communist Party boss essentially. Given free hand, he may be expected to modernise and liberalise the Soviet economic apparatus even further, we have to face the fact that we shall be now up against a Government in which will try to make friends with China.

Let us certainly invite both of them; United States and Soviet Union, to inter into an agreement with us, separately or jointly, to guarantee to protect us from nuclear attack in case such an attack is made against us.

Shri Nath Pal: We need friendship and I think the Soviet Union needs our friendship. But this fact is very easily forgotten and we go on bended knees asking "Are you going to continue the policy of friendship?" We are the first to tell ourselves like whistling in the wood that the Soviet Union has not changed its policy, even before Moscow assures us. Underlying this kind of thing is something smacking of pusillanimity and timidity. I think in the long run that is not likely to make people respect us very much.
Shri U. M. Trivedi:— Today we have had a shameless picture before us that not only this House has got a Chinese lobby but the ruling party has also got a Chinese lobby and it, becomes extremely difficult to have a detailed debate.

Shri Swaran Singh:— As regards to the agreement with Ceylon, I am sure that is a good and amicable solution of vexed problem. The agreement if properly implemented, will yields rich dividends in friendship and good relations with Ceylon and the happiness of people of India origin in Ceylon.

In Laos, unfortunately the talk between the three political factions in Paris have yet yielded no results. We have supported the proposal for convening a 14 nation conference on Laos.

In regard to Cambodia, recently the breach of diplomatic relations between Cambodia and United States appeared to be imminent. But we vote with satisfaction that Cambodia and the United States have agreed to talk in New Delhi which might help in the improvement of their relations.

The relations between Malaysia and Indonesia continued to be strained. We did some attempt find some way.

Shri Dahya Shal V. Patel:— If we put ourselves right with every country, big or small, we will rise, the reputation of
India, will rise all over the world. If not by pleasing strong countries that we can build up our reputations. Therefore I urge the Government to reconsider some of its failings in the light of past experiences learn from the experiences of the past and correct its policies. 122

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri (No 100 pag.) :- There have been serious and frequent engagements. Our men are defending our frontiers with exemplary valour and I should like to tell them this House, and all the people of this country stand solidly behind them and with consider no sacrifice too great to meet this challenge to our territorial integrity.
During the last few months, Pakistan has been resort­
ing periodically to firing and clashes at several points in
the Indo-Pakistan Borders, both in the east as well as in the
west our men have defensive notion at all these points effec­
tively but with great restraint. The clashes on the Kutch
border are the latest in the series of incidents which Pakist­
an has chosen to include in.

Sometime ago, Pakistan Patrols were noticed moving on
a track close to the Kutch Sind Border. On being challenged
by our patrols, the Pakistani patrols claimed that they are
moving on a track and within Pakistani Territory. It was also
noticed that Pakistan had occupied Kanjarkot and established
a standing post there. The D. I. G. Police Rajkot Range took
up the matter with the Director General, West Pakistan Range,
and called for a meeting to discuss the situation and to dete­
rmine the status quo. This however led to results and encoun­
ter between our patrols and those of Pakistan continued.

On April 3, in the early hours of the morning, our bor­
der post at Sardar was attacked with heavy mortar and UMG fire
followed by artillery fire from 25 pounder guns under cover of
which two battalions of the Pakistan regular army belonging to
51 infantry brigade advanced towards the posts. The fact that
this attack was premeditated and preplanned was quite clear
from the documents captured from the Pakistan prisoners and
from the interrogation.

The plan of assault on our border post by the Pakistan
army was drawn up in second week of march, and movement of
troops began thereafter. Orders of attack was apparently given on April 7, and the attack was launched in the early hours of April 8. Therefrom the Chief of the Army Staff was instructed to take over operational control of the border and Army Units moved into Vigokot the same evening.

In 24, our coy post at point 85 was shelled in the morning and latter attacked by Pakistan infantry supported by tanks and other armour vehicles, attacked our border post at Biaar Bet. These attacks are still continuing.

Pakistan armed action is a naked act of aggression. They have attacked Indian posts deep into Indian territory 6 to 8 miles south of the border, a territory which on Pakistan's own admission has never been in its possession.

As is usual with Pakistan, even while discussion had been in progress through diplomatic channels to settle the matter peaceably, Pakistan has been intensifying its attack and moving in tanks and heavy artillery to attack our posts.

In April 13, the Foreign Secretary handed over a formulation to our High Commission in Karachi a few days earlier that there should be a cease fire to be followed by talks.

On the morning of 24 April, the Pakistan High Commissioner handed over an alternative formulation to the Foreign Secretary, to which cease fire will be followed from certain area which they contended were the disputed territory. But earlier the same morning, Pakistan had launched a heavy attack in brigade strength on our out post at Point 34 west of Chad but, with heavy artillery.
Pakistan today is laying claim to a large area south of the Kutch-Sind boundary and north of 24 paralleled, I want to state clearly and emphatically that we reject and repudiate these claims in their entirety.

Pakistan claims that the Rann of Kutch is a inland sea, and therefore Pakistan is entitled to half of this area. This is completely untenable. The Rann of Kutch is not an inland sea and has never been recognised as such. Pakistan claims also ignore the historical fact that even though Kutch-Sind border is undemarcated, it is well defined on maps and well recognised in fact.

The total evidence leaves no basis whatsoever for any dispute regarding the border between the Sind Province and Kutch.

On 13th April, 1965 the Pakistan Government made a three step proposal suggesting cease-fire and secondly inter-Governmental meeting to determine what was the status quo and thirdly a higher level meeting. The Government of India authorised the High Commissioner in the very next day on 14th, to convey the acceptance of these proposals. It is to be deeply regretted that the Government of Pakistan later went back on their own proposals. But instead of accepting this proposals, the Government of Pakistan put forward an entirely new formula on the 23rd April which I have already mentioned. This attitude on their part means a virtual rejection of all our efforts to win them away from war like postures.

If Pakistan continues to discard reason and persists in its aggressive activities our army will defend the country and
the employment of its manpower and equipment in the manner
which it deems best.

Countries who are friendly to us have urged that cease-
fire should be agreed to as soon as possible. We ready to
respond to these appeals. But at the same time I must tell
the House that we have also to be ready for the alternative.

Shri Ranga:— If there is very conscience at all in the
world today at the United Nations and anywhere else, Pakistan
should withdraw unconditionally and that too immediately, from
these positions of aggression. In the absence of the energetic
and active conscience of that type, surely, the Government
should have been aware of the fact that such a conscience does
not exist there. With all these 17 to 18 years of our experi-
ence of the United Nations, they should have known it.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee:— In the Times of India of today's
date there is a report that "At the request of the U.S.Embassy
of India is holding over the release to the world press of the photographs of M-48 tanks which Pakistan is using on
the Kutch border. These tanks were supplied by the U.S.Aid
to Pakistan under the military aid Programme for her defence
against Communism".

This is what the American friends of Pakistan are do-
ing today, and the United States forgets its own pledges to
India that the armed supplied to Pakistan would not be used
against India.

American weapons have been found not only in those
areas where Pakistan is operating against us but I know for
a fact, those hostile Nagas who have been to Pakistan bring back certain weapons which they have employed against us and among those weapons were with U.S. markings.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: — Sir, in this hour of great peril, the whole nation should act as one man to face our enemy in the border. We are in the midst of undeclared war and I think the situation to day is more serious than what it was in 1962.
Shri L. B. Shastri:— I would like to tell the House that if Pakistan sticks to her present attitude well, there is limit to patience we will certainly have to meet the situation as firmly as effectively as possible. I still might say, let us hope for the best. But if we were faced with this menace, the menace as it exists today, we will have to fight this menace with the utmost strength of our command.

Shri Dahaya Bhau V. Patel:— I welcome the Prime Minister's statement that not an inch of Indian land would be surrendered. The growing cordiality between Communist China and President Ayubkhan who deals with the Communist firmly at home but reconciles in doing business with them abroad for mutual profit, entering into treaties to distribute India’s border unilaterally. These are matters which lend a new complexion to the situation. The real issue has moved far beyond Kashmir which was or which has been an old point of dispute for so many years. And while speaking on Kashmir, it reminds us of the failure of a policy for the last sixteen years.
Shri Bhupesh Gupta :— So long as the Pakistan attacks continues, backed by American weapons, it has got to be wet and repulsed with all our might. There can not be two opinions about it. Here we ought to take note of the fact that the United States & Great Britain are openly with Pakistan. We should be little careful I would like to know what steps Government is taking to expose U. S. military aid to Pakistan. Here is the time and here is where diplomacy is needed and must be very active to compel us. By world public opinion to stop all kinds of military aid to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{135}

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri :— It is true that we have often concentrated move on the economic development of our country, we have rightly or wrongly felt that there was not much cause of aggression on our frontiers, on our borders. But, we have often been deceived and it is important that we have take much greater care of our borders and frontiers. There is no doubt about it. We have not taken any final decision, but I have no doubt that the Centre will have to take the major responsibility of the borders and the arrangements of our frontiers.

It is true that we have determined to vacate the aggression and we do not want to accept any kind of talks or negotiations which would in any way lead to the partition of even an inch of our territory.\textsuperscript{136}
MOTION RE INDO-PAKISTAN AGREEMENT ON GUJRAT WEST PAKISTAN BORDER.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri :- As the House is aware, on April 28, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Wilson, wrote to me and the President Ayub Khan expressing great concern at the situation that had developed in regard to kutch-sind border. He suggested a ceasefire to be followed by withdrawal of troops and restoration of status quo as on 1st January, 1965, ahead thereafter talks between the two Governments. These proposals basically confirmed to the stand consistently taken by the Indian Government in the fruitless exchange of notes which had taken place between the Governments of India and Pakistan in the months of March and April. I therefore, replied to Mr. Wilson accepted these principles. Thereafter followed a long process negotiations on detail. Through the intermediary of U. K. High Commissioners in India and Pakistan had the United Kingdom Government eventually on the 30th June, 1965, an agreement was signed between India and Pakistan.

The main elements of this agreement are :- a ceasefire on both the sides to be followed by withdrawal of forces and restoration of status quo as prevailing on the 1st January, 1965. Once these are accomplished, there has to be meeting between the Ministers of India and Pakistan and if the such meeting is unable to resolve the boundary issue, a three man impartial tribunal is to be constituted to give its findings on the subjects. The withdrawal of forces from the area of kutch is to be completed seven days of the cease-fire. Restoration of the status quo in its entirely, including resumption of normal police patrolling is to be completed within a month from the date of cease-fire. The Ministers are to
conclude discussions within two months and the tribunal is to be set up within four months of the ceasefire.

It is perfectly clear that the boundary would be demarcated on the basis of documentary evidence and the defects interim position will have no relevance whatsoever.

The situation in Kashmir is fully under control. The raiders are being tracked down even with the help of the local population. It may take little time to apprehend all the raiders but the operations are proceeding satisfactorily.137

Shri Ranga:-

We want India and Pakistan to avoid a repetition of the miserable and disastrous experience that Germany and France had, had over a period of eighty years, by going through two world wars and bringing in suffering not only from themselves but for the rest of the world as well.

Our party has come to the conclusion that under the circumstances given as we are this kind of Government, this kind of leadership and this leadership, it would be in the interest of the country to accede to this agreement, that the tensions of Indo-Pakistan border would be reduced as a result of it, has been frustrated, and this disappoints us, as it would disappoint all lovers of peace.138

Shri Indrajit Gupta:- A cease-fire in the abstract is something which I do not think any person in their senses can oppose of course, not cease fire at any price a cessation of hostilities which restores a status quo ante prior to agression
is something which formally can never be opposed. But what do we find on an examination of the terms.

We have cut the ground from under our feet by accepting this proposal in the case of Kutch and the Government has made justifiable before a tribunal and arbitrator areas over which our territorial sovereignty was unquestionable. I am sure that the House would never have given them this authority. That is why this country and this House were bypassed and secret diplomacy was resorted to. Therefore we demand that this Government should, if it wants to consistently, uphold our sovereign right and territorial integrity, revoke this clause which gives this power to the tribunal to arbitrate over our own territory. 138

\[\text{Shri Jai Chand} :- \text{Pakistan ne khar darya vaha hama sarey samay feda kariye ke yatri karte hai samay feda kar diye jor uksare ban ham yene muh kale vatey hain ki mano yeh samay kisi yeh vivaad ki karni hai, us vivaad kah samay kisi =yatayat darya kar lena vahi.}\]

\[\text{Esa 34 havaar yeh mitey badi me mano khe yeh karne kah vivaad}
\[\text{Tripathi ke hath me dheer yeh mere maari mool ki hai. Ho sakta hai ki yeh maari mool ya paripurnam vah yeh yunon ki karni ko n yonon yede. Lekhin do vah vah yeh vah vah ke vah uksare bura paripurnam do rahate hai.}\]

\[\text{Saway ka tawajha hai ki parshar kah vah vahi drutvi jati ka paripurnam karte. Vapne ye kah nahin, patha v sada ki sakta hai liye kah sadharmi yadnii palit hai. Vah sadharmi yusum yekh vah sadharmi vah sadharmi dukhi nahi yadnii.}\]

\[\text{Shri Ram Mohan (140) :- Drutv ka samvyojana n karni hai n samvayojana ka yadin yeh yudh vah yunon nahi hai. Vah se drutv Mayer yemane samvyojana kah liyaa lekhin uske parv bhar se yeh samay feda bhi yede. Us vah kah.}\]
Shri H. V. Kamath:— By signing this document the Prime Minister has betrayed, violated, the pledge solemnly given to Parliament. After agreeing to determination and then demarcation the Government went up a step further. At the tail end the tribunal comes in.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:— We had already agreed to following the procedure which had been settled between the two Governments in 1959 and 1960.

It is of course true that where there is dispute about the alignment of a border between one country and the another, such a dispute ipso facto involves some territory or other. But the basic issue is the determination of border and not one of the decision as to whether the whole or part of the territory belongs to one claimant or the other.

Shri Dahayashri V. Patel:— I believe it is here that both the Gujarat Government and the Government of India have not properly upheld the country's case. The said Pakistan border has been a definite border, has been in existence even during the British rule. Has the Government tried to look into the documents and to see the case? Actually Pakistan has no case in Kutch at all.
Shri Bhupesh Gupta: - To say we are discussing in exactly
opposite conditions, not that the agreement is responsible for
it but certainly Indo-Pakistan relations have been seriously
aggravated by the unilateral action of the Pakistan armed forces
masquerading as infiltrators coming into our territory inspi-
red by the U.S. imperialism and equipped with their weapons.

When the Pakistanis were nibbling at our frontiers
in the Rann of Kutch, when patrolling was going on violation
of the 1960 agreement, our Intelligence Services of Shri Nanda
and of the Government were perhaps searching for certain trade
Union leaflet in Kerala and Madras. Therefore I say, this
Government has failed in this matter. 146

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: - The agreement clearly provides
that we do not accept any territorial claims by Pakistan on
the Rann of Kutch, that there is no territorial dispute inv-
olved in it at all. The Tribunal will have to decide this
matter first which is referred to them in determination of
the border as it was before. 147
Shri Swarn Singh: (February 16, 1966) - When we went to Tashkent, the cease-fire which has been agreed upon by Pakistan & India was very uneasy.

When Shri Lal Bahadur Sastri went, the immediate objective before him was that was reversing the trend that unfortunately bedevilled the relations between India & Pakistan. He had a positive picture before him of developing and strengthening the economic relations so that the normal relations between the two countries would develop and prosper and get strengthen.

There are portions in the document which can be regarded as compromise proposals, I am happy that we were able to achieve this agreement.

In the Tashkent Declaration there is the agreement signed by the two heads of Government that they will not have recourse to the use of the force for settlement of any dispute between the two countries. Secondly, they have agreed that there will be no non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. Thirdly, that in Jammu & Kashmir State ceasefire terms on cease-fire line will be observed. The Central philosophy was the insistence of peace.

Shri P. K. Dey: - I do not think that it is a very big achievements. It is a step in the right direction. We need not gloat over the success. It is to be judged from the events that are to follow.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: - Renunciation of force for settlement of disputes is a victory of peace of goodwill and of neighbour-
lines which commonsense and decency require, should prevail in the relationship between our two countries. This is entirely in keeping with the country's decision that we follow an independent policy in foreign affairs.150

Shri U. H. Trivedi: — We in India never wanted war, but it was thrust upon us, we gave them a taste of our power. It is only when they tasted the rebuff that they went about seeking some mediator and played upon the sentiments of the world at large that there should be peace. It was the peace of hyperbolic, not the peace of an honest man. We offered them no war pact times without numbers, but Pakistan never accepted it and we had to fight. We fought and taught them a lesson. But that was not enough in the sense that a crushing defeat was not enough imposed on them. They wanted it but we refuse to give it. We never wanted to go to the whole hog, with the net result that they thought it better to have a ceasefire. They have used to this term "Cease-Fire". We had an experience to this Cease-fire in 1947. We are again having this experience now.

When the whole question was being put under the pressure and that kind of advice which was available to him from those who were present at last moment. Therefore whatever be the denial, I am not prepared for a moment that pressure was not put upon him to agree to this.

As it is not possible to engender love, we have to engender fear. We have miserably failed in achieving that particular aspect of creating fear in the mind of Pakistan. We have not been successful there.151
Shri C. R. Dwivedy:— It is neither a treaty nor a pact. If there are differences in interpretation I do not know who is going to decide which side is right. In view of this, this declaration is nothing but a promise by both countries under certain circumstances. Let us not be emotional.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel:— Madam, though I may not be very enthusiastic over co-operation with Communism in this matter. I would admit that Russia provided a very constructive suggestions, that they are very helpful in finding a solution for which this country must be grateful to the Soviet Union and their leadership. I hope also that this will result in a spirit of friendliness between the two countries.
Shri Bhupesh Gupta :- We have this historic Declaration before us for some time. There has been with us for eighteen years the problem of Indo-Pakistan tension and conflict. When such a problem came to be discussed at Tashkent under the aegis of a friendly power, the Soviet Union, which had no interest and has no interest in this affair except to see that the two neighbours live in good neighbourly relations.

Sardar Swaran Singh :- I am conscious of the fact that the Tashkent Declaration seeks to herald a new spirit.

This is one of those fortunate agreements which have been blessed by a honest all countries in the world with the exception of China.

We are itching for a conflict we are anxious that all our differences should be solved by peaceful means but with honour and dignity.
MOTION OF NO CONFIDENCE

IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Shri M. R. Hazare (August 23, 1965): I must confess that in the twelve months that have passed, we have been bitterly disappointed. It seems that the encouraging sentiments to which the Prime Minister had given expression and still gives expression somehow fail to become the policy of the Government.

In so far as the international scene is concerned the developments in Kashmir in the last few days have two new lessons to teach us. One is that we must resign ourselves in the near future to having to face the combined hostility of the Communist China and our neighbours in Pakistan. Therefore these developments stress the need once again that we should find friends and allies, on whom we can count. The present Government's policy left us alone and isolated.

Our currency is thoroughly debanched. In terms of purchasing power at home, the rupee is worth 14 paisa of the pre war rupee.

We are told how that in the Fourth Plan, priority is being given to agriculture I would like it that were so, but I find no evidence to support this proposition except vague statement by Ministers.

We talk of profiteering and hoarding. I say that the Congress Government at the Centre and the States are the biggest hoarder and bigger profiteers in India today.
The second big sphere of bad policy is planning and taxation. If the claim is true that the bigger the plan, the faster the progress. If these facts and figures have any moral to teach, it is that the bigger the plan, the slower the growth of the national economy and that is why every rupee brought in to these wretched plan is a rupee diverted from more productive to less productive expenditure.

Sir, I forecast more inflation because these duties are sought to be cast are going to raise the price of iron and steel and other raw materials like fuel, oil which will raise the price of the end of product and the poor man will suffer most. Therefore industrial production and transport both are going to be hit very badly by this.

The only way to deal with this problem is to increase the national savings. This proposed finance Bill will do exactly the reverse.159

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: - At this critical moment, standing in the House we declare that this Government has failed not only in guarding or protecting our frontiers, which we shall no doubt discuss when we consider the international situation as well as Kashmir, but it has brought the entire economic life of this country to a state of collapse specially on the food front, with the result that acute scarcity of food bordering on famine stalks the land, and the prices of every essential of life are rocketing skyhigh. This Government has failed to bring to book those who brought about this situation, the hoarders, profiteers. This Government charges us of being anti-national. We lay that charge at the door of the Government.160
Shri S. H. Dwivedy:— I surprised to find a report in the press that the Prime Minister, while speaking at a Congress Party meeting had said that no-confidence motions have become a routine nuisance and he is not at all perturbed. This betrays a dangerous mentality and complacency in thinking.
बोलते हैं उसमें कहीं सुधार नहीं हुआ।

वहाँ विदेश के माफ़ी में भारत सरकार का विदेश नीति का रही है। बंदही माफ़ी में भी लाप अंत आया है उसकी बुनियादी भारत सरकार पर है। वास तक उन्होंने बोले नीतियां कलाई उल्ले परतस्थत बांग लाल उर्फ काव्य हमारे मुल्क में ढूंढाया है जो उसका बत तक इम नहीं आता हैं तब तक नेताओं हैं जिसके सुधार वो माला है जी है नहीं होगा। शासनधार लाप संगठ वीर सुधार का वापस में तीव्र संघय है।

समाजवादी समाज अग्रसर के लिये सावर्जनिक रोड तथा विस्तार जल्दी ही लेकिन सार्वजनिक रोड तथा विस्तार शासन वह बना यह आधे बह रहे हैं कि तथा सार्वजनिक रोड से समाजवाद लुप्त कर रहा है।

उस अविर्द्ध के प्रस्ताव के जरिये लांच यह सरकार नहीं दिली है तो आ तथा उपलब्ध की आम में यह सरकार परिवर्तन हुई विना में रही।

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:—  I would merely like to say that to make it more or less, a routine matter in every session of the house is perhaps not setting up a very healthy precedent and specially in the present context of things. I would merely say that this motion is very regrettable.

Shri M. M. Hasani:— We have provided a constitutional channel for the seething discontent in the country and bitterness among the common people against those in the office. If my opposite do not want motions of no confidence, they will have roits and they will have revolution. If the people loose heart, if they despair; as many people do in India and say there is no escape from these people in office and we have got to suffer them for our lifetime, then India democracy is shunk.

Finally, this motion has given hope to the people. It
has shown them what can be done. It has given them a fore
taste of the shape of things to come.

The motion was negatived. 165

MOTION OF NO CONFIDENCE IN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Shri H. V. Hukerjee (August 16, 1966):—Devaluation and
other recent goings on of Government have indeed been the last
straw on the camel's back as far as our people are concerned.
They represent biggest betrayal up to date of India's interest
and ever more of India's respect and dignity. This country
which carries the load of centuries could have borne much,
but it can not be as the afront to its honour and the well out
of our economic independence.

This Government is inefficient, insensitive and corrupt.
It has no moral right to stay in office a day longer in spite
of its majority in this House. 166

Shri Ranga:—I am neither in favour of devaluation nor I am
opposed to it, but who is responsible for this devaluation?
All that has happened has made devaluation absolutely inemita-
ble. For that we condemn it.

Is it not shameful that even today this Government is
not prepared to say that it would take all possible measures
to evacuate the Chinese from our territory occupied by them?
All that the Government says is that it would pursue peaceful
methods and if those methods fail, they will think of other
steps. It is that kind of doubtful sense of patriotism that
has pervaded and is corrupting their minds and so only that we
are opposed to. 167
The Most unfortunate thing is that no body has tried so far to meet the deteriorating situation in this country either by psychology or by force. No body has made any serious attempt to stabilise India or to put India on a solid foundation; that is the trouble in this country. Whether it is in the field of economic or in the field of politics, whatever that might be these 13 years of Congress rule in this country have been a failure in every avenue of national and international life-failure in economic field, failure in the political field, failure in the moral cum spiritual field. That is what has been happening throughout the 13 years of Congress rule.

The recent decision to devalue the rupee is an official recognition of naked fact. The naked fact is that our economy
is on the breaking point and this drastic measure has been
taken to rejuvenate our economy.169

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Shrimati Indira Gandhi (The Prime Minister):— We are all
aware that we have had so many no-confidence motions that they
have lost much of their impact; it gives the opposition an op-
portunity to contradict one another and within themselves to
answer their own agreements. The opposition during this debar-
t was very much the same, not only in the diverse and even
contradictory views which are expressed but in the absence of
any logic or any sense of purpose.

We took the decision of devaluation, after very long,
thought, painful thought, and it was unhappy decision. But
it was the decision we felt we had to take. It was a delib-
rate measure which we took in order to stop a worsening of the
economic situation. We felt that the permanent and long term
effects of it would lead to healthy and self-reliant growth of
our economy.

We have not changed our attitude regarding Vietnam. But
our concern has been a growing concern because the conflict is
growing and we fear escalation. There can not be military
solution, our sympathy is fully with the people of Vietnam.

The motion was negatived.171
MOTION OF NO CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: (September, 17, 1964): - "That this House expresses its want of confidence in the council of Ministers."

We are constrained to move this motion because of the mounting misery of the common man in this country and the critical conditions to which this country has been brought in different spheres compel us to sponsor this motion in the House. Honestly, there is crisis in special, political, economic, and other spheres, and for all this I hold this Government responsible.

We have convinced that gradually and steadily the process of degeneration is being accelerated. The limits of human endurance have been reached. The Government has badly blundered, this is due to Government's callousness and apathy and administrative inefficiency.

Our charge is that Government is keeping up an artificial state of emergency to subserve its own purposes and to suppress the people democratic rights and liberties.

I pressing this No Confidence Motion firstly Government's failure to protect our economic independence on account of its policies. Secondly its utter and supine dependence on foreign imports of food when 70 percent of our people live in villages more than 40 percent of the income comes from agriculture. Thirdly its increase submission to private monopolists. Fourthly its failure to hold the price line. Fifthly its failure to
provide security. Sixthly its failure to maintain the purity of elections.172

Shri H. Dandekar: (S. P.):- In the economic front, if one looks at it in that way, I feel certain that the origins of the present economic situation lies in the total failure of the Second Five Year Plan, I can not give it any other name to say that the Government have deliberately been bending the Constitution to their will, because the plan became their God and the Constitution had no longer any sanctity.173

Shri U. M. Trivedi: - I say that this is high time for us to make up our minds that by placating China we will be doing a great harm to our country. And that is why to try to placate through Pakistan is also another miserable step that we taking. It is blunder that we are committing. It is high time that we think, pause, ponder and consider over this position; that we must stop the negotiation with Pakistan and we should for all time to come say with one breath and with one voice that Kashmir shall be ours and we will not give it up.174

Shri H. N. Mukerje: - The Congress Government in Kerala has just paid the wages of its mounting sin. It had to go. The chain of Congress supremacy in India has broken at its weakest link.

The problem of food and high prices has become so acute and all pervading a crisis, a man made crisis caused by the greed of a few whom the Government does not check because it does not wish to do so.175

Shri Alveas (P. S. P.): - In my opinion the greatest charge
that can be laid at the door of the Government is that he has not paid attention to the gathering crisis in character in our country. No nation can survive, if a sense of national purpose does not enthuse it in all the sections. This Government has neither tried to impart nor communicate a national purpose to our people.

Shri A. K. Gopalan:—Sir, the approach of the Government on the vital problem facing the people was never so glaringly irresponsible as what we have seen during the food debate recently.

The main burden of Plan is being imposed on the common man. Instead of mobilising resources from the rich people Government are fleecing more and more the common.

As black money has given rise to corruption there is the scandal of foreign trade which has given rise to smuggling.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: (The Prime Minister):— I said on the very first day of my election, and on more than one occasion latter, that the Government of India will continue to follow the policy of Nehruji in international matters and democratic socialism will be our objective in our domestic policy.
We were also rightist and leftists, but now there are rightists and leftists in the Communist Party also. Therefore I feel that he has to compensate for his policies, for his rightism.

To mind Socialism in India must mean a better deal for the great mass of our people who are engaged in agriculture, the large number of workers who are engaged in the various factories and the middle classes who have suffered much during the period of rising prices. These are what I call the common men of my country. As the head of the Government, it would be my continuous endeavour to see that these objectives are realised and that a social and economic order is established in which the welfare of our people is assured.

Shri N. C. Chaterjee:— We have listened the Prime Minister, we regret, we are still unconvinced, we are sorry that he did not make a more pointed and more compact reference to some of the points which we made in the course of debate.

The motion was negatived.
Shri A. K. Sen (The Minister of Law):—The Bill has a very simple canvas. It deals primarily with two sets of canvas. The First is the problem of High Court and the Supreme Court. With regards to the High Courts, we have decided that the age of retirement should increased to 62 years with regard, to the necessity of having an independent judiciary, I think we are all agreed. On the method of approach we might differ.

Shri Daji (C. F.):—The first point is regarding the determination of the age of the judges. There is absolutely no reason or logic to raise the age of the High Court Judge from 60 to 62 in this adhoc manner. The matter has been considered threadbare by the Law Commission. The Law Commission recommended raising the age of retirement to 65.

Shri U. M. Trivedi:—In the Constitution (Amendment) Bill the most annoying thing to me is the amendment of Article 311 of the Constitution. The right of approaching the appointing authority is now being taken away by the present provision. It appears that the superior Government officers are straining at the least that they must get this opportunity of enjoying this right of dismissing the Government servants under them or reducing them in rank according to their sweet wish.

I for one have failed to see the propriety of keeping this age arbitrarily at sixty two. It should be sixty five.
The Judges of the High Court are not allowed, on retirement, to practise in their own High Court but are allowed to practice in any other High Court or in the Supreme Court. 133

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The plausible inference to be drawn as I have said in my minute of dissent, is that the Government wants to put a virtuous appearance and does not wish to convey the impression to the nation that they are fond of amending the Constitution too often. 134

Shri A. K. Sen: When question were put in regard to many of these matters, we had said that Government had been considering all these matters so that a comprehensive Constitutional Amendment Bill might be brought forward in stead of each matter being made the subject matter of a separate Bill. 135

CONSTITUTION (SIXTEENTH-AMENDMENT) BILL

Shri A. K. Sen: This Bill was introduced on the recommendation of the National Integration Committee which was set up with Shri G. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as the Chairman who in the report recommended that article 19 of the Constitution should be amended so as to make it possible for the State to impose restrictions for this purpose of preventing all activities designed to have further disintegration of the country and to make it impossible for parties to make secession from India or disintegration of India election programmes or issues. For this purpose, Sir, the Bill seeks to give power to the Government to impose restrictions by amending suitably article 19.
This is absolutely necessary because the existing words do not cover a power designed to curb activities which seeks to challenge the sovereignty and integrity of India as some parties have recently sought to do not only they sought to do but to make them election issues on which election have been fought and the most narrow and parochial sentiments and emotions have been roused and people have been called upon to vote on these issues. Hereafter, Sir, it is designed to bring into operation strict laws which will penalise all such activities. We are making it absolutely obligatory for all candidates who seek election either to the local legislatures or to the Parliament to subscribe to oaths before election pledging themselves to uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India. 186

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: - As far as this Bill is concerned, we have accorded our general support to the measures adumbrated. 187

Shri H. V. Kamath: - As I said the question is how for mere speech should be penalised. If speech incites to action, if speech incites to violent action and the spreading the miasma or the position of this secession inside the country, then it is high time that we should. But where there is no excitement to overt action, on behalf of this principle, on behalf of this demand for the secession of any part of India, then, certainly, I am sure, the strength of our country, of the millions of our country, will be enough and sufficient to meet any such demand or any such talk of secession. No law as such is sufficient. 188

Shri A. K. Sen: - In United States that very constitutional doctrine of a constituent state in a federal Constitution not having the right to secede had to be established by a
civil war. Fortunately true had been no civil war. And in some areas, there were almost signs, if not civil war, certainly of civil strife lasting for a fairly long period.

It is therefore, our intention that while the bonds of history and culture remain as strong as every and the feeling of participation in a common adventure continuously enlightens our common life, nevertheless it will be our determined resolve that those who try to put into action forces of disunity and disintegration are not tolerated. Let us be quite clear about it, and let there be no faltering in that resolve.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:— We may be in general support of it but we should not try to support a thing without comprehending the scope, its implications, its meaning, its significance. I do not know what Lal Bahadur Shastri has in mind but my fear is that once that measure is passed and it is not backed by the right approaches and the policies I mean political policies there is another danger the party in power being complacent about its political responsibility, I hope such a situation will not develop.  

Shri Kishen Dhami— जो संविधान संशोधन विषय

कृपया करें, उसमें हृदय में स्वागत करता हूँ।

मात्र के जन जन की यह धारणा में पिघलने के लिये क्या तरह का प्रयास करना होगा, यदि मसला में फिरू हो, कितने लिये वह राजनीति न कोई से कि वह राजनीति बदलता, सार्वजनिक जन के कितनी प्रभाव पूरी कर देता है के जो

CONSTITUTION (SEVENTEENTH AMENDMENT) BILL

Shri Dibudhendra Mishra:— This Bill seeks to incorporate two changes in the Constitution. One is the Article 314 of the
Constitution by defining the term "Estate" and the other is to put in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution as many as 44 State Acts. There is no new principle that is being enunciated by the provisions of this Bill. It only seeks to implement the land reform policy that has been accepted by the Parliament from time to time.

Article 314 gives the power to the State to acquire any estate or have any right in any estate or modify or extinguish any such right in any such estate, "Estate" has been defined in the same article.

The difficulty that has been experienced is first of all that the expression "estate" has assumed different definitions in different State Acts. As the result of the recognition of States, it has so happened that in one portion of State whereas our law is applicable, another part of the State another law is applicable. On transfer on one State to another, we found that those who were governed by one law because the expression "estate" meant a particular thing they were not governed by the law on transfer to another State, because the expression "estate" had a different meaning there.

Once it is held that any land reform law is in relation to "estate" then there is no question of violation or articles 14, 19 and 31 coming into operation because article 314 covers it. As a result of difficulties experienced by us, it was found that the land reform policy, to which this Parliament has been committed from time to time and since long time was being delayed. Therefore now it is proposed to define the term "estate" in the constitution itself.
Out of these 14 Acts which are now sought to be included in the Ninth Schedule, the number of Acts, held to be invalid is 8; the number of Acts under challenge is 14; similar Acts which have become invalid are 42 and Acts that are again struck down are 7.

Therefore what has been introduced now in the Ninth schedule itself is either Acts, that have been struck down, or Acts that are under challenged and also some new Acts which have been passed after the introduction of the Constitution "Seventeenth Amendment" Bill in this House.

As far as principle is concerned there is nothing new in it, because the land reform policy which ultimately aims at taking away surplus land, making at non leaseable and settling the tillers on it as full owners has been accepted from time to time by the Parliament.192

Shri Ranga;— Sir, when the Bill was introduced at first, I said that the dark day has begun for our peasants by this Government. I find that it has not in any way lightened in its darkness at all, nor its gloom, in the gloomy prospects for our peasants.193

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy;— I am glad that in the joint Committee an amendment was accepted because of which it is possible for me today to stand here and extend my support to this Bill. The Joint Committee, after a great deal of deliberation accepted that so far as the lands of the small peasant are concerned, if they come under the ceiling of any State, then the ordinary process of law would be applicable to them when land is acquired for any public purpose.194
Shri Daji :— We support this Bill in its entirety. First thing, as we are doing under this Bill, are new principles being enunciated. The principles have already been accepted by this House. 135

Shri A. K. Sen :— What we are trying to do here is not to discharge the function of the State legislatures. All that we are concerned here is to remove those limitations from which, as a result of some recent decisions of the Supreme Court, our State laws appears to be suffering.

The purpose of this is to allow the State Legislatures to initiate measures of land reforms where it has been found as a result of judicial interpretation that their hands are tied in regard to particular matters.

The motion was negatived. 137
Shri Dahaya Bhai V. Patel:— It is unfair and immoral that such a measure, Government is trying to force through in this manner.

This Bill only seeks to remove certain disabilities but does not prescribe measures of land reform in the different states. Land being a State subject, it will be for the different states to frame their own measures.

The motion was adopted.

Constitution (Nineteenth Amendment) Bill, 1964

Shri A. K. Sen:— The necessity is two fold. The word estate has to be widened. Certainly certain acts have been struck down on the ground that they contravene articles 19 and 14 of the Constitution. They relate to the enforcement of ceiling and distribution of land once acquired among the landless. The principles of the land reform have to enforced and these two purposes are to be achieved as quickly as possible.
Shri M. R. Hasani:—I am very sorry that the appeals for
dispassionate consideration which have been made to day and
earlier have gone unheeded by the Prime Minister the moment
and it therefore, becomes a painful necessity to revive the
controversies that are going on when tragedy descended on this
House and on the country. This is an ill amend measure. This
inauspicious attempt came up against a bigger tragedy on the
second occasion on the very day it was introduced.203

Shri A. K. Gopalan:—We support it with certain reservations.
We also protest against what has been done by the Joint Commi-
ttee which had been discussing this Bill. It is said that
this is a contradictory measure. Certainly, it is a contra-
dictory measure because as long as there are contradictions in
society, as long as, there are contradictions, like the land-
lords, the small peasants and agricultural labour that cert-
ainly, the measure also will be a contradictory measure.204

Shri U. M. Trivedi:—We had enough of these things. A time
has come when, we must take stock of the situation. In 14 years,
we have 19 amendments, amendments after amendments are being
put in the constitution.

The motion was adopted. 205.