

one leader. This was the slogan of Hitler in those days. I am asking my elder Congress brethren here, have they sacrificed so much for the sake of seeing a dictatorship raj in this country? If that slogan attains maturity, what will be the fate of democracy in India?

About planning, I have got a good comment on it. Here is a news item:

"How to get rich in Delhi?"

Mr. Kedar Nath Sharma, Chairman of the Works Committee of the Delhi Municipal Corporation has an answer:

"Secure a contract for digging earth on the banks of the 15 mile Najafgarh drain, and dig out as much earth as you can. After sometime secure a second contract for filling up the places dug up by bringing earth from somewhere else."

The 'extremely foolish planning' of the drain, Mr. Sharma says, has turned it into a 'contractors' paradise'. The responsibility for this, according to him, is that of the flood control wing of the Delhi Administration and the Central Water and Power Commission."

Our Irrigation Minister, Dr. K. L. Rao said:

"We have had the Planning Commission in action for the last 15 years, but it has not stuck to any particular policy."

This is the certificate he has given to our planning!

Our Prime Minister went to U.P. and addressed a political conference there. According to the press statement, she is reported to have said that "Any non-Congress government would be overthrown by a revolution". There is Tito and Nasser in the making! What else? Have we

come across an instance like that anywhere else where the leader of a political party openly declared that no other party would be allowed to form the government? "If not through the ballot, we would sit tight over you with the aid of bullets" seems to be the political dictum dear to our Prime Minister. This astounding declaration is issued by the Prime Minister on the eve of the elections! This has been condemned in an editorial on October 10 in the paper called *Deccan Herald* of Bangalore.

*Interruptions—***

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. None of these things will be recorded. The Press also will not report these things.

Interruptions.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shrimati Indira Gandhi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir. I rise with a very heavy heart. My heart is not heavy because there is a no-confidence motion, because this seems to have become a regular feature.... (Interruptions) ...**

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. None of these things will be taken down.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Sir, nothing has been said in the course of this debate that we have not heard before. There has been the same disarray among the Members of the Opposition each one giving a different prescription for the nation's health. And yet, I welcome this opportunity to speak because of my own deep concern and very great distress at the atmosphere of violence and defiance of law which is prevailing in our country. I am sorry to say that this is being encouraged. Just now some hon. Members have drawn your attention, which you said will not be recorded, to what is happening outside. I am not fully aware of the exact picture and I have sent

**Not recorded.

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a note that they should find out immediately and let me know, but the earlier reports were somewhat conflicting. But this is a symptom of what is happening in many places. Whether it is amongst the students, whether it is amongst other sections of the people, there is a very deliberate attempt to incite violence.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): Ask the Vice Chancellor of the Allahabad University.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I had a meeting with the Vice Chancellor of the Allahabad University only yesterday and also with the heads of other departments. In other towns also where I go I have been meeting the people concerned with education.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kesargod): There is a statement in the papers today by the Vice Chancellor, Shri R. K. Nehru.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Statements may have appeared and more statements may appear also, but the picture has to be looked at from all sides and not just from one side.

I am one who abhors use of force in any circumstance, but when there is incitement to violence and when violence leads to acts of defiance of law, arson, looting, destruction of public property and valuable property such as transmitters, railway equipment and other things some of which are very difficult to get again, then there is no other way, it can only be met by force. This is what is, unfortunately, happening; violence leading to force, force leading to more violence and violence leading to more force. This is why I said I welcome this opportunity to speak, because I want to put this aspect before you.

I do not think the nation is in a state today when we can bicker over small things, take up small petty issues or other difficulties. This is a situation in which we must all pull together and think how to bring the

situation under control and see what can be done so that we can once again have normal life. It is not merely a question of people airing their grievances. I have always said and I maintain that every grievance, every genuine demand, should be looked into promptly, thoroughly and it should be dealt with. Some of the demands which are being made are demands which cannot be fulfilled.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): To whom are you addressing this?

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: The demands are not all addressed to the Government; there are many people who are involved in this.

Shri Hem Barua: They should be looked into by you.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Those that come within our concern or any government's concern will be and are being looked into and I want to urge upon everybody concerned that they should be more prompt and more thorough.

But the question today is not of any particular demand. If you ask the students what demand are they now fighting for, they do not know themselves, they have forgotten what the original demand was. So it is not a question of demand, it is a question of the methods adopted and the manner in which their grievances are being ventilated, and I feel this is something which the Government must oppose however disagreeable it may be and whatever it costs because if you do not do it the cost is much greater in another way.

Sir, what is happening outside is, as I said, not an attack on the Government. I feel it is an attack on a way of life, on our values, on our traditions which we have so far cherished. We have in India followed certain paths. Whether it was Gandhiji, whether it was my father,

they took this line from our own ancient teachings. They gave a modern meaning to the word "non-violence", and we struggled even during our independence along this traditional path. It was not a path that was understood then. I remember, as a small girl, we were made fun of, we were abused, we were scolded and we were ridiculed. But we believed it was the right path and we stuck to that path. It was the right path and we did succeed by that path. Then, again, we want to establish democracy in this country. There is mud-slinging from every side about authoritarian ways, but I doubt whether anywhere else in the world you will find a party with such a great majority putting up with so much from an extremely divided opposition. The opposition has an important role to play in a democracy, and we want to give the views of the opposition full consideration and all courtesy, and we do so. But I submit that sometimes they take advantage of it, and it is because of this that we witness some of the scenes which we are witnessing outside.

Shri Hem Barua: Not a correct approach.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Some of the methods which are used today are methods which are cutting at the very roots of democracy. Democracy cannot exist if the rule of law goes and if law and order are constantly being violated. It simply cannot exist.

One hon. Member just now quoted what he thought I had said. I am very sorry, Sir, this is not what I have said at all. I said that there are certain conditions in which there could be revolution, and I described those conditions at considerable length. It is not something that I can do in one or two sentences.

An hon. Member: It has appeared in some newspapers.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I do not know how many newspapers have printed it, but still it is not correct.

And it is not something which I have said for the first time. I have expounded this theory at numerous meetings in many parts of the country. There are conditions in which a democracy cannot exist, and I am afraid if we do not deal very strongly with the situation now, we may come to such a pass. But, I say, in that particular meeting I was not discussing law and order, I was not discussing the political situation. I was not speaking about our Government in particular, but in the abstract, about governments, and I said that if the interests of the vast majority of the people were not taken into account and they got a feeling that the benefits were going to a few, then naturally the people would not stand it. It was a very long explanation which I cannot repeat now.

I am sure hon. Members are aware what an extremely delicate and difficult job the police and the magistracy have to do. When they have not acted in time, I remember here in this very House how many complaints were voiced—why they did not act in time. But suppose they take strong action before a shop was looted or other violent action has taken place, then also they are criticised.

Now, it is true that once force is used, innocent people do suffer. It is something which unfortunately cannot always be helped. It is something which I deplore. My fullest sympathies are with those who get hurt or injured in this manner, and we must do all we can to help them. But when there is a large crowd it is not possible to distinguish as to who is innocent and who is guilty. Even when you do distinguish, if there is a lathi charge, it does fall on anybody who happens to be in the way.

As I said, Government cannot possibly allow persistent defiance of law. It has its responsibility to this House and to the people. It must deal with the situation and with all anti-social elements, and this Government is determined to do so. I certainly

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hope that we shall have the unreserved support of all sections of the House. But what I would like to say is, while as I said I abhor the use of force, at the same time, I must condemn the creation of situations which lead to the use of force.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: There the Government comes in.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I do not think the Government is to blame. The Government may certainly be blamed in some cases, but the inciting of people is certainly not done by the Government.

An hon. Member: It is done by the opposition.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Whoever has done it, I am not here to apportion blame. That is not the point. I am not speaking here to say whether you are wrong or I am right; I am only saying that we should get together now and try to make a concerted effort to deal with the situation.

Lapses do occur and all that we can do in that case is to try and minimise such occurrences. As I said before, violence is not our way of life. It is foreign to us and we want to keep it away from us. Our democratic system is in danger. We know that there are many other dangers to it. We have been threatened on our borders; we have been threatened by other pressures; we have many internal difficulties. To face all this, we must stand together and strengthen our democracy and our freedom.

I began the speech by saying that I am speaking with a heavy heart. It is not only because of the violence which we are witnessing now. Perhaps you have heard that the last two days I have spent in some of the worst affected areas of our country, in parts of Bihar and parts of Uttar Pradesh. There are people with genuine grievances, with very genuine

hardships. Their lives are at stake. But I did not hear one complaint from them; not one person came to me and said "give us this" or "give us that".

An hon. Member: Perhaps they said "give us food".

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: No, they did not. Every single peasant is trying to do whatever he can do. He is not interested in speeches, he is not interested in agitations and demands and force. He is trying to utilise every second of his time, every ounce of his energy to produce whatever he can, to retrieve whatever he can get. In this situation, we find people in the cities and so on, instead of trying to see what they can do to help those people, because it is the most serious crisis which we have in this country, creating trouble by starting agitations. This is the most serious crisis which we have. We have had drought before, but, then, the season previous to it had not been so bad and there were leftovers and there was some moisture in the land, even though it had no rain. But today we face a situation in which the land is absolutely dry; there is no moisture at all in the soil. In some places I saw tall crops standing and I was indeed glad that there was some crop. But when I got down and went near the crop, when I touched the head of the Bajra or whatever it was, there was absolutely nothing in it; it was just *bhoosa*. This is the state of affairs and the Central and State Governments and all the people are making a tremendous effort to face the situation. I cannot say how far we will be successful in facing it. Perhaps we can, to some extent, but the whole situation is of such magnitude that it does need very concerted and united effort. In Bihar the Chief Minister has formed a sort of non-official all-parties committee, which is trying to see how it can supplement what the Government is doing. I think in U.P. also they are trying it.

Shri Hem Barua: All opposition parties are co-operating with that committee. Only dissident Congressmen are not co-operating with it.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Well, co-operation is not limited to sitting in a meeting room. It should be done in the streets and also out in the villages.

An hon. Member: They are doing it.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I am glad they are doing it. But there are plenty of them running loose and creating trouble.

I think we must take to heart the magnificent response of the people during the drought last season, the work done by the people themselves, and the tremendous job done by the administration, by workers, official and non-official at every level. This is to be repeated in the present situation also.

We have to have tremendous courage in order to face this situation. I have had long talks there with members of certain Opposition parties, with many non-political people, with the Government and the administration. They are doing all that they can do, but we have to see how this effort can be stepped up and speeded up at every level so as to rush to them those things which they are not able to get. With the best of intentions we can not give them the amount of grain which they demand. So, it is a question of seeking how we can achieve equitable distribution of what we do have our very limited resources, not only of foodgrains but even of the equipment and other things which we need. We are seeing how everything can be diverted from other States and rushed to these two areas even for a short while. If necessary, those things could be returned to them later.

In this, I think the rest of us who come from places where there is not such a crisis have a big role to play.

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How could we share the difficulties of these people? It is obviously not possible, nor is it desirable, for people to go to these areas because that would only be an extra burden there, but we in other towns and cities can organise movements which would give whatever we can spare, and even what we cannot spare, to those areas and help them out, both by way of food and other necessities.

In Bihar they think they may be able to use some engineering and medical students also in the programmes that they have. We need inoculation on a very big scale, new small irrigation projects and so on on a very big scale and it may be possible for students to help out in this and also certainly anybody else who has the requisite knowledge and training. This would give them an idea of the situation and also provide a constructive outlet to their energies.

This is the time when we must try to convert diversity into opportunity for positive action and build up permanent productive assets. I have stressed the point wherever I have that where there are just relief works they should not be undertaken just from the point of view of giving something to do to the people but from the point of view of the future, that we should try and do as much as possible which will strengthen the agricultural position later on and enable us to have an effective national distributive system. It is very necessary that this works programme, which is already fairly well organised, is expanded greatly and I hope that it will be done soon.

Another programme, which is still not under way although plans are ready, is for the feeding of children. I hope, this will also be undertaken very soon.

Our food problem is a part of the general and greater problem of poverty and for dealing with the problems of poverty it is essential to

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have stability and law and order prevailing. There can be no development without tears and hardships. Unless we can prepare our people and we ourselves be prepared to undergo those hardships and difficulties, we cannot only go ahead but we will only be slipping back.

We have put our faith in our plans. There is a great deal of criticism of the plans of very different kinds. The Draft Plan is before the House and hon. members will give their views on the occasion. Their views will certainly be given the greatest consideration. We fully realise, stress and emphasize the point that the essential effort of the Plan and what the Plan involves must be our own. We cannot take aid for granted, nor are we prepared to seek aid at any price. Therefore I had asked the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission to be ready with ideas to adjust the plans in case the level of our external assistance is not up to expectations or up to our estimates. Whatever happens, we have to make a determined stand and a determined effort to forge ahead.

Our main tasks are increasing production on the agricultural and the industrial sides. Many Members who have spoken here have tried to sweep off 19 years as if nothing has happened. I do not want to go into the details of that because this statement has been refuted many a time but it is true that the trend of our industrial production, which was all along rising has had a setback due to shortage of raw materials and due also somewhat to these drought conditions and other events. But I have seen forecasts prepared by the Director-General of Technical Development which encourages the belief that in the coming six months there will be a substantial increase in many industries. They have said that it will go up from 10 per cent to 25 per cent and even more in certain areas. Some of the things they have mentioned

are heavy machinery, tractors, trucks, bicycles, cement, paper, insecticides and other items.

India simply cannot fail. We are bound in this together. It is not just a question of this government or another government; it is a question of we simply cannot fail. No nation, when they make up their minds to do a thing and do it together, ever fails. A stable India is not only necessary for us and our development but is equally necessary for stability in Asia.

Just before I came here, I believe, there were certain allegations made. The hon. Member who made them had written to me on the 1st and I replied to him the very next day. He had threatened that he would make the statement on the floor of this House and I had suggested to him that in its very nature such a statement might incite communal feeling and, therefore, would he please not make it in public. But I am sorry, he did not have the patience even to wait for a few days.

Shri Hem Barua: Who is he?

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Shri Madhu Limaye.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: His allegation was against the Commerce Minister.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: He made something else before that.

We immediately look into anything to which our attention is drawn, but it always takes some time. You cannot be asked a question today and produce an answer within a couple of days, specially when the matter is a State matter and does not really come under the Centre.

One hon. Member said something about there being a conspiracy to keep out steel from Salem. Again,

he quoted me and various people quoting me. Here also, I think my words have been very clear and I have not moved away from them or deviated in any manner. We do want to consider the interests of all States and do not want any single State to suffer; we must diversify our industry, but at this moment, with the difficulties we face—the drought situation and the food situation—it does not seem realistic to me somehow to be planning a steel plant which has no chance of coming up immediately. If it is something that is not coming up in the future, I do not see how it helps to commit today that this will happen here and this will happen there. So, it is not that anything has been shelved or put away. All these things are being considered.

The other day I said in the House that I had drawn the attention of the Planning Commission as to what could be done about this and they, naturally, said that unless the Plan itself is accepted and there is a clearer picture about the Plan, it will not be possible to go into these other matters until then. This did make sense to me and it does not at all mean that we are brushing aside people's feelings. But, as I said earlier, this is no way to ventilate the people's feelings. Today somebody has written to me—I have missed the news in the papers—that a little girl of nine years is fasting somewhere for the Vizag steel plant. You yourself can judge what sort of picture this makes and whether Government can take decisions in this manner and how we can be forced to take decisions in this manner.

Many Members have made comments on our foreign policy with specific reference to the tripartite meeting. They are entitled to criticise, to scrutinise, to analyse and so on. But I do think that when important decisions are taken and the heads of two important States come all the way to our country, we should not try to ridicule and try to belittle the meeting and the decisions

taken specially when the results of it cannot unfold immediately and will take time to show results. In some of the things that are said—they are discernible, if I may put it that way—a hint of certain vested interests and sometimes chauvinism is there. Now, these are matters which we must try and steer clear of.

Last time, when there was this No-Confidence motion, I said that there was an air of unreality. This time, of course, there is even a greater air of unreality because, as you all know, we will be put to the test in a very short time. We have to await the verdict of the people and I am fully confident that our Party will receive a renewed vote of confidence from the people themselves. Ours is a democracy. Let us go to the polls in an atmosphere free from coercion of one form or another. If we wish to maintain democracy, there should be no place for those who wish to abuse democratic freedom to destroy the very basic rights of democracy.

Let us all uphold our democratic system and the Constitution which we have adopted and let us, as I said earlier, seek the verdict of the people themselves who are the ultimate persons to decide. Let us hold together as a people. Let us uphold the values which we have always cherished. Gandhiji was also telling us that means were as important as ends. This is what we have tried to do. We may fail but it must always be our ideal and, that is—again I come back to the original point that I made—in asking for things, in ventilating our grievances, we must bear this aspect in view that we must act in an Indian way, what is being recognised all over the world as an Indian way, and which has increased India's stature in the world and all the more so when this is a period which is an extremely difficult period for our country. Our President, Dr. Radhakrishnan has, more than once, deplored this mounting tendency to violence and he pointed out how to

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remove this from the Indian tradition and what danger it imposes on democracy itself. I look to Parliament and to hon. Members to set an example of dignity and decorum and constructive thinking and emphasis on the right priorities.

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी (मंदसौर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर आज प्रजातंत्र का तकाजा न होता और मुझे इस बहस का जवाब न देना होता, तो मैं इस सदन में न आता। मैं इस सदन से बाहर चला गया था, लेकिन प्रजातंत्र की प्रणाली में विश्वास होने के कारण मुझे इस बहस का जवाब देने के लिए यहां आना पड़ा।

यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि हम यहां सदन में बैठे हुए हैं और बाहर गोलियां चल रही हैं। (ध्यवधान)

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि पी० टी० आई, आल-इंडिया रेडियो और रिजर्व बैंक को फूका जा रहा है। (ध्यवधान)

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : बाहर प्रजातंत्र बोल रहा है।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : बाहर अग्नि का धुंआ बोल रहा है।

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : अगर माननीय सदस्य मेरी आवाज को दबाने के लिए जोर से बोलेंगे, तो कोई अर्थ नहीं निकलेगा।

श्री राबेलास व्यास : माननीय सदस्य बोलें।

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : हम सब यहां पर प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करने की नीयत से यहां बैठे हैं और इसी नाते मैं यहां पर बोलने के लिए आया हूँ। (ध्यवधान) कुछ माननीय सदस्य चाहते हैं कि प्रजातंत्र न चले, लेकिन मैं हृदय से चाहता हूँ कि प्रजातंत्र चले। इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि जो

कुछ बाहर हो रहा है, अगर माननीय सदस्यों ने उसे देखा है, तो वह सच्चाई से यह कह दें कि उरुके साथ उनकी सहानुभूति नहीं हो सकती है—मेरी भी नहीं है और जिस कारण से वह स्थिति पैदा हुई, उस कारण से भी नहीं है। अगर प्रजातंत्र में इस तरीके से होता रहा, तो प्रजातंत्र एक डूबती हुई नैया है।

आज जो कुछ हुआ है, जिस प्रकार से हुआ है, अगर गवर्नमेंट जूडिशल बेसिस पर उसकी एन्वयारी करेगी, तो वह इस नतीजे पर पहुंचेगी कि किसी न किसी आदमी ने जान-बूझ कर सारा मामला पैदा करवाया है। सरकार को यह सिद्ध करना पड़ेगा कि इसके लिए दोषी कौन है—पुलिस या दूसरे लोग। लेकिन सरकार को यह एन्वयारी करानी पड़ेगी कि यह दोष किस के माथे मड़ा जाये।

मैं आप से सच्चे दिल से कहता हूँ कि वाकई मेरी बोलने की इच्छा नहीं थी, लेकिन तकाजा यह है कि बोलना चाहिए। मेरे भाई, श्री हरिश्चन्द्र माथुर, ने कहा कि यहां पर नो-क्वांटिफिकेशन मोशन पर जो डीबेट चली, उसमें बोलने वाले एमारफस थे, यानी बरीर शवल के थे।

श्री हरिश्चन्द्र माथुर (जालौर) : मैंने नो-क्वांटिफिकेशन मोशन को एमारफस कहा था, न कि बोलने वालों को।

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : मुझे ताज्जुब यह होता है कि उन जैसे आदर्मी का मेतामोर्फसिस हो गया। एक धक्का खाया, तो स्वतंत्र बने, दूसरा धक्का खाया और कांग्रेसी बन गये और आज हम को सांख देने चले हैं। मैं उनको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि हम, पब्लिक एकाउंटस कमेटी के मेम्बर, कभी यह महसूस नहीं करते हैं कि मैं कांग्रेस, जनसंघ या किसी खास पक्ष का हूँ। उन्होंने फ़िजल ही हमारे पब्लिक एकाउंटस कमेटी के चेयरमैन को