

15.57 hrs.

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS  
CONTD**

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ  
(Baramulla) : Sir, certain allegations.

MR. SPEAKER : No. Please sit down. Don't you have any ethics ?

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Three minutes, Sir. Allegations have been made against the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

MR. SPEAKER : I have explained to you that I will allow you time, but not at the present time.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Two minutes :

MR. SPEAKER : Not now. I will allow you later on.

PROF. SATYASADHAN  
CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) :  
You can give him two minutes.

MR. SPEAKER : Professor, don't you realise ?

THE PRIME MINISTER  
(SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) :  
Just the day before yesterday we had a long discussion on the unfortunate and tragic happenings in our neighbourhood in Punjab and Haryana. It was my impression then that we had all agreed that we should try to create an atmosphere in this country which would be more conducive to different elements working together ; and that this could only be done when we all join forces to fight all communalist tendencies, all casteist tendencies and all above all secessionist and fissiparous tendencies. Unfortunately that debate does not seem to have left much impression on many Hon'ble Members here.

The President's Address is not basically dealing with these subjects, although these are the background and are very important ; I shall come back to them at a later stage. I have referred to this only because of the irregu-

lar disturbance which took place just before I got up to speak.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : It is regular.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
If somebody wants to make a statement, the Chief Minister is absolutely able to reply to the questions which we have asked him.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : But a Member of this House has a right.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
I am not speaking to you, I am speaking to the Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this House we those sitting on this side, the Government, do not expect praise, but we do say that proven facts cannot be disputed. I could have gone into much greater detail, but fortunately my colleague, the Finance Minister; presented the Budget yesterday and he has given the detailed figures. So, I need not go into them. But even at the risk of boring my friends here, I am going to repeat some of the things he said.

Now, the most important fact of this year and these last four years has been the big increase in our development effort year by year, not only in physical terms but in terms of the number of people covered and sections of population specially helped. In the Sixth Plan as a whole the growth of the G.D.P. (Gross Domestic Product) is expected to be 5.2 per cent which is the highest in any Plan. Financially, the Plan outlay has been increasing substantially year by year and this year it will be 25 per cent higher than in the previous year. Our sound fiscal and monetary policies have created a sound macro environment for growth, but we are also concentrating on the vigorous implementation of our programmes so as to give greater purchasing power to all sections, specially the poorer sections and alleviating the hardship of our middle classes.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY  
(Bombay North East) : Is it about the  
Indian economy ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
It is about the Indian economy. If  
you were not travelling so much,  
perhaps you would know more about  
it.

As for the coverage, let us see  
what we have been able to do for  
various sections. But I shall go into  
the details only on two or three of the  
most deprived sections. I was aston-  
ished to hear my old friend, Shri  
Banarsidas saying that the purchasing  
power of farmers has gone down. The  
very fact that more and more farmers  
are using in larger and larger quanti-  
ties various modern inputs and are  
thus able to increase to produce, more,  
contradicts this allegation. You need  
only compare the deal which our  
farmers got during the years 1977-79  
and since 1980. I should like to read  
out these figures.

We have substantially increased  
procurement and support prices of  
agricultural commodities. Since  
January, 1980, wheat has increased by  
32.2 per cent, paddy 38.9 per cent,  
pulses 40.71 per cent, cotton 45 per  
cent, ground nut 66 per cent. Sugar-  
cane prices have not been allowed to  
fall and wherever there was any  
remote suspicion that there might be  
trouble, we have gone ahead to give  
support prices and so on. By way of  
direct help, we have reduced fertiliser  
prices by 7.5 per cent in 1983, we  
expanded short-term credit by 47 per  
cent and long and medium term credit  
by 27 per cent. Farmers, specially the  
small and marginal farmers and land-  
less labour have been the focus of our  
attention. It is obvious that all of us  
owe our very lives to their production.  
In fact, I think it is no exaggeration to  
say that our Government and this  
particular government has done more  
for them than has ever been done  
before.

We are trying out the crop  
insurance scheme on a pilot basis.

Irrigation and dry farming have been  
special concerns of mine and I should  
like to give some figures about irri-  
gation. The addition made in 1981-82  
was 2.2 million hectares ; in 1982-83,  
1983-84 and 1984-85 each year 2.3  
million hectares. In just these four  
years, more than 9 million hectares  
have been added. And it is most  
unfair criticism to say that we fell  
short of the annual target by a small  
percentage. We had, I admit, kept our  
target rather high. If there had not  
been drought, I am sure, we would  
have overtaken it.

So far as dry farming is concer-  
ned, a national scheme for dry farming  
was formulated and launched ; more  
than 4000 water-sheds identified and  
crops and practices suitable for them  
have been devised. One hon. Member  
spoke-may-be more than one spoke-of  
our importing foodgrains as if this was  
some big secret we were hiding and  
which they had managed to unearth.  
Sir, I have spoken on this openly and  
publicly. As you know, we did not  
import foodgrains because of any  
compulsion but because of abundant  
caution. This is nothing new. I have  
spoken on this the last time we impor-  
ted grain. On both occasions we were  
able to buy at a time when prices were  
low in the other countries. Whatever  
the monsoon and weather forecasts  
may be, one has to be careful and be  
prepared in case of trouble or of  
drought. We should not find ourselves  
begging as happened in 1966. I should  
like to remind the House that when I  
became Prime Minister in 1966, it was  
a time of famine-not just drought but  
famine. When I toured the States of  
Bihar, Maharashtra and at that time  
Mysore, the only point that farmers  
put to me was : Don't bother about  
relief ; don't bother about anything.  
But do something so that when there  
is drought in future, we should be  
stronger in facing it. So, since then,  
this has been my major concern. Now,  
this time in 1982-83, there was drought  
which, I think, has been called the  
country's very worst affecting hundreds  
of districts. Its impact was not felt by

the people, and the Opposition was denied the opportunity to raise a hue and cry as they would have liked to do.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
 That is because of the good work done earlier.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
 That is because of our success in managing the crisis. Yes. There were good buffers/stock from internal procurement and we augmented them by importing 4 million tonnes in 1982-83 and 2.7 million tonnes in 1983-84. There was no knowing last year how this year's monsoon would turn out. So, it is an example of taking advance care as any good housewife would do for her household.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
 Spare the children.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
 Now, I mention certain special categories. It is not that these categories are more special than others or as someone has said "more equal than others." I think, we are all equal. But some categories have suffered over the centuries. I am not talking merely of our programmes for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because they have been discussed in detail and the figures are known. There have been questions and answers about them in this House. I am speaking for some of those who are not so well-known. One such category is that of fishermen. We have formed 5,331 fishermen's cooperatives. We are giving them credit for the purchase of boats and equipment. We have set up training institutions. We have reserved 5 kilometre zones from the shore for traditional fishermen, so that those who are now going in for deep-sea fishing will not harm the interests of the poorer fishermen. We have developed infrastructure facilities—roads, schools and welfare activities. There is a Group Insurance Scheme. The Central Government has approved a scheme of subsidising 50% of the premium for accident insurance. The

remaining 50% is to be provided by the States. Rs. 39 lakhs has been provided in 1983-84 for this scheme. The scheme is applicable to marine as well as inland fishermen. Originally, we had announced it only for the sea going ones. But some months ago, my attention was drawn to the fact that river and lake fishermen were left out. So; we have included them also.

We have also asked the States to create a Natural Calamity Distress Relief Fund.

A large section of our poor people are weavers. We believe in encouraging handloom production. Not only is this the means of livelihood for millions of people but it is an old Indian tradition of which we are proud and which we want to retain in all its traditional beauty. In 1978-79, only 126 million sq. metres were produced by the handloom sector. In 1983-84, 350 million sq. metres are expected to be produced.

There is a special scheme for hill area development which is more liberal in its terms. Cooperatives are being encouraged. The coverage of cooperatives at the beginning of the Sixth Plan was only 30 per cent. By 1983-84, we expect to achieve a coverage of 52 per cent. The level of the annual outlay is being increased from about Rs. 16 crores in 1979-80 to about Rs. 33 crores in 1984-85.

Many Hon. Members have spoken about unemployment. This problem is causing great anxiety to us all. We have taken some measures earlier and we continue to press on with them. There is no doubt that, as an Hon. Member mentioned just now, the increase in population is not helping this or any of our programmes for development.

Apart from our regular Plans which cover all these sections, hon. Members will remember that we called out from them 20 points. They are to focus attention on those aspects

[Shri Mati Indira Gandhi]

of the Plan which we felt needed much more concentrated attention and which tended to get pushed into the background by bigger programmes, probably unintentionally.

The thrust of this 20-point programme is higher production and direct help to weaker sections, specially in creating employment in our rural areas. No programme has evoked so much enthusiasm and expectations amongst our people as this one. Is it working ideally? I must confess, no. But it is making an impact and I think, this is what you can expect of any programme. No matter how good our intentions are, no matter how much money we have, and we do not have enough money, we can only do our utmost to take the programme forward and to try to reach more and more people with each step that we take.

The allocation for the 20-point programme is being raised by 47 per cent next year. Whenever, I get grievances whether from MPs or MLAs or other people about the programme not working well, we look into them. The State Governments are monitoring the programme; the Central Government is monitoring it. Apart from that, we also send out our own people to let us know where there are shortfalls or mistakes. They do find shortfalls; they do sometimes find discrepancies in numbers. As you know, I do not hide these things. The programme on the whole is going well. What we need greater people's participation.

In many places where the programme is not functioning so well, it is because the people do not even know about it. They do not know their rights; they do not know what they can ask for. And, of course, a major point to keep in view is that even if they do know, we cannot possibly cover 680 million people all at once. Therefore, those who are left out of the first or the second or the third groups of people who take advantage are bound to feel discoura-

ged and frustrated. I can only appeal to the hon. Members in the Opposition not to encourage the sort of discouragement and frustration which will obstruct the programme itself.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
We do not believe in the Programme.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
That is the whole point now. That is exactly the point. The opposition does not believe in Programmes which will help the poor people. They do not believe...

*(Interruptions)*

That is why we are facing this extremely difficult situation. For three years, the whole talk of the opposition has been "We do not believe in these Programmes. We do not want to implement the Plans. Therefore, we are going to roll it up", which is what they did. These are not my words, but theirs. I am merely quoting them.

SHRI SATYASADHAN  
CHAKRABORTY : We believe in the Programme. But do it sincerely.

MR. SPEAKER : For once he is right.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
Thank you very much.

SHRI SATYASADHAN  
CHAKRABORTY : We believe in the Programme but, we doubt your sincerity.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
Anyhow one of our colleagues does not agree. Please do your fighting in your own meetings, not in Parliament. Do your fighting in your conclaves.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
We shall roll up your Government also.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
Reserve the conclave for such debate.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 Here I agree with you.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 Under the IRDP, we have already helped 9 million families including 3.2 million Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes families and this year another 3 million will come under this Programme.

We are expanding the National Rural Employment Programme; the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, and Self-Employment for Educated Unemployed.

*(Interruptions)*

Perhaps many of you are parents here and some of you are not...

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 Some are not officially.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 Again, this particular quarelling of yours is internal, not against me.

You all know that small children think that if they close their eyes, they are hiding themselves or the thing in front of them will go away. And there is also a story—I forget whether it is Indian story or of some other country—of a philosopher who thought if he closed his eyes, the thing would go away.

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI P. SHIVSHANAR) : Like Dr. Subramaniam Swamy.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 I would like to close my eyes and you go away.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 May be that is why the Hon'ble member does not attend the House so often. He thinks that will make us disappear.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : But they do not see.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 Anyway, this philosopher kicked a

rock and you can imagine what happened. He hurt his foot.

AN HON. MEMBER : Dr. Subramaniam Swamy will hurt his head.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 Somebody made the complaint that we had given up the "Food for Work Programme".

No. It has not been given up. But, it is true that it was not working well. I myself visited many areas when I was out of power to see how this Programme was functioning and I did not find a single place where they said that they were actually getting what they were supposed to get. And this complaint...

*(Interruptions)*

This has actually happened to me. This is nobody else's report.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 You must have gone to West Bengal.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 I could have but, unfortunately, at that time, I did not.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 West Bengal is the best.

MR. SPEAKER : It is Dr. Swamy who is speaking ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 I am not talking of West Bengal just now. So keep quite.

There was spuerious work and there was the problem of middlemen who were in charge of distribution. Some States did not lift the grain. As you know, there was also a time when we had acute shortage.

However, we tried to retain this Programme to the extent possible and now we are giving one measure per manday in lieu of a part of the wages under the NREP.

There has been a lot of criticism of banks. Hon. Members may have noticed that I have also raised my

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

voice on that point, not because no bank is doing any good work but because some banks or, rather, some individuals in some banks have not behaved as they should.

I have drawn the attention of the Finance Minister as well as others concerned to see that there is closer monitoring and I have also asked those who have complained that instead of making sweeping complaints, they should give specific instances which can be inquired into. Those particular incidents would be examples for others. But you cannot inquire into a general and vague complaint.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): I have given specific instances.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : One can inquire into specific instances. I think many Members even on the opposite side will agree that in the old days banks were for a extremely limited section of the people ; the banks were for the rich. This was one of the issues on which some of our friends left us. Now banks are for all and especially, for the poor and hard-working...*(Interruptions)* No, I am not saying that everybody gets loans. But the door has been opened for them to get them. That is the big thing. We are free to-day but we have not got the sort of freedom that we had dreamt of. But at least the door is open for us to work towards it. Similarly, we are opening the doors, we are opening opportunities and we must see that these programmes are implemented in the proper way. And in this we seek the co-operation of all the general public, including politicians.

I consider this to be one of the biggest achievements of our Party and our Government. In fact, Bank Nationalisation was a turning point in our economic history and we are not allowing the banks to rest on their old laurels. There has been a big growth

in rural deposits and in the number of branches opened. We cannot possibly give loans to absolutely everybody. This is where the difficulty arises and also the test is one of credit-worthy purpose. Obviously a person with such a purpose becomes a credit-worthy person...

AN HON-MEMBER : With your recommendation.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We have said that when there is a special problem and when the person is absolutely unable to pay for a very good reason—this is, of course, my suggestion, I am not saying that the banks have accepted it—in those cases, some debts should be written off. But this is something which I cannot dictate to the banks. They have to study and decide. My suggestion to them was that where they ignore delays in the repayment of debts by big concerns, they should certainly give the same advantage to the poor. This is what I am saying.

Now we have also said that a greater proportion of deposits should be disbursed within the region of collection...

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI : This is not happening in Bihar.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Some people do not want us to succeed in this objective. So obstacles are being created and false propaganda made in order to bring this credit programme into discredit. In fact one political party took large number of people to the banks to demand such loans and when the banks could not immediately give them...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (New Delhi) : They are all poor.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : They may be all poor. But, as I said, we cannot yet cover the 680 million population of India. It can only proceed little by little. . . .

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :**  
 If I recommend a case, it is not being considered sympathetically by the banks. . . .

**AN HON. MEMBER :** Unless recommended by a Congress (I) MP it is not considered.

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P.C. SETHI) :** Your Party is doing it.

**SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER (Delhi Sadar) :** Sir, all the MPs of Delhi were told, 'In your constituency you please give the loan to poor people.' Mr. Vajpayee never attended one meeting and even he has not given a loan to a single person.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :**  
 I represent New Delhi.

**SHRI SUNIL MAITRA (Calcutta North East) :** Will the MPs of other Parties also be extended the same privileges given to the Congress (I) MPs ?

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore) :** This is only for Delhi.

**SHRI SATYASADAN CHAKRABORTY :** In Ram Lila, there was another Lila by Mr. Tytler and others.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
 It was a Lila which benefited the people. It has not been misused. The loans are going to the poor people.

I remember the time, Sir, Shri Vajpayee will forgive me—when there were floods in one area of Delhi. At the time they did not give rations to our people. I went there myself. It was only after we made a big noise that rations were distributed. Don't lecture me here, Shri Vajpayee. I know what I am saying.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :**  
 The Prime Minister is in the habit of making baseless allegations.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
 This is not true. Never in my life have I made a false allegation.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT) :** It is a fact. The floods were in my constituency.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
 I am sorry to say that not only did it happen then but it has happened very recently in another State also. I am not naming the State to avoid further shouting. People know it well. This talk about taking political advantage is utter non-sense. Why should be not take political advantage of our good programmes and after good achievements ? The opposition wishes to take political advantage out of disruption—we, out of construction.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** After thirty-seven years of uninterrupted rule, you cannot keep the nation together. We are disrupters ?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
 I do not want to get into questions of ideology now. There can be no doubt in anybody's mind anywhere in the whole world that had the Congress Party not been at the helm of affairs here, India would not have been one, India would not be united and integrated. (*Interruptions*) Some of you opposite are sitting with those parties which were at the root of the disruption. Some of you were not even born at that time. What do you know about it ?

**श्री रामवतार शास्त्री :** मेडम, हम लोग भी थे ।

**श्रीमती इन्द्रा गर्गी :** मैं आपको नहीं कह रही हूँ, आप क्यों उठ जाते हैं ? अगर आप मेरे साथ दिल्ली की सड़कों पर होते, तो देखते कि कौन दंगा कर रहा है । उनकी शक्लें मैं आज तक भूली नहीं हूँ ।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : फ्रीडम मूवमेन्ट में हम भी थे ?

श्रीमती इन्द्रा गांधी : मैं फ्रीडम मूवमेन्ट की बात नहीं कर रही हूँ। फ्रीडम मूवमेन्ट के बाद की बात हो रही है। इन्द्रजीत गुप्त जी, जरा इनको समझा दीजिये। We are talking of the disruptions that were created after freedom.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : We are all patriots.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Now, everybody may be a patriot.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : फिर ठीक है, आप बोलिये।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : But, there were people who were spreading communal disharmony at that time. With my own two eyes I saw people killing people. Do not tell me that this is untrue. It was because of that Gandhiji allocated that work to me. There are many here who do not know what has happened before they do not know the history—what happened in Kashmir or what happened in Delhi or elsewhere in those years.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : To whom you are pointing ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am not pointing to anybody. I say there are many people.

I do not know your age. I do not know when you were born.

Now, Sir, one of the questions which is bothering all of us and I share and understand the concern of the opposition, is the question of periods. The Economic Survey and budget speech have dealt with this issue at great length. My colleague, the Finance Minister has also put it in

its historic perspective but I want to repeat just a few facts.

Two huge increases in the prices of oil some years ago triggered off world-wide inflation. No country has really recovered from it since of course the problem is not there for countries who do not need oil, or those who have oil. We were able to control inflation in 1974-75 in a manner in which few countries did. Other countries have acknowledged this in public statements and international conferences.

Price stability was maintained until 1977. But in 1979-80 things went haywire. Prices went up by more than 22 per cent. That was the situation we found in 1980. I don't like repeating these things but since you keep repeating your allegations. I have to answer. We worked hard to control inflation and in 1980-81 it came down to 15 per cent. In 1981-82 it was about 2.5 per cent. Just look at the difference from over 22 to 2.5 per cent. Unfortunately nature took a hand and we had if a very severe droughts. Even so we managed to keep inflation at 6.5% in 1982-83 but the pressures generated by these two successive years of failure of rains have created problems in the current year. Even so, Sir, skilfull Management has prevented the kind of situation which had developed in 1979-80. What did we do ? We had an intensive programme to develop agricultural production. Even in such a very bad year, the decline of production was much less as compared with 1979-80.

Yesterday or day before an hon. member remarked : 'What have you got to do with production. Rains were good'. Rains have been good in many years and rains have been bad in many years. I have just shown how in a year of very scanty rains we still managed to control the situation. The rains were exceedingly good during part of the Janata Party period for two years. I forget which year but for two years they were very good. One year was bad. But pro-

duction did not go up. How does production go up? It is because of the manner in which we come forward to help farmers. We have also had a sizeable expansion of the public distribution system. You will, perhaps, remember that most of the shops were closed down in the Janata Party period:

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
 We did not believe in them. We did not need them.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
 You don't believe in them. But we do believe in fair distribution. Therefore, it is our duty to do everything we can do to expand it.

In 1980 there were 2.36 lakh fair price shops. Now, there are 2.97 lakhs. Distribution of essential commodities through this distribution system has been stepped up. A record 15 million tonnes of foodgrains were released in 1982 and we think that in 1983 it was more. I don't have the exact figures with me at the moment. Public stocks were augmented through timely imports. Action was taken to control money supply and monetary policy was tightened. The budgetary situation was kept under control and we made every effort to curtail government expenditure. It has been curtailed in some areas but I confess not at all to my satisfaction.

Incentives such as Excise Duty reliefs were given to stimulate industrial production. This policy package has yielded results.

The rate of increase of prices was fairly steep up to September, 1983. After that, the rate of increase has slowed down. We are continuing our vigilance and will not hesitate to take further steps as and when necessary.

The Budget has reduced levies on many items of essential consumption. It has to be ensured that these benefits are passed on to the consumer. This

is our major difficulty. The Government will monitor this.

My hon. friend opposite questioned our claim of 5 per cent industrial growth because the average growth rate between 1978-79 and 1982-83 was much lower. The fact is that in 1979-80 there was a fall in industrial production with a negative rate of growth—minus 1.4 per cent. But in the three years 1980-81 1981-82 and 1982-83 the average growth rate of industry was 5.5 per cent. I am confident that the growth of industrial production will be sustained. We are concerned with industrial production and we are worried where it has gone down, and it has in some areas. But no one can deny the substantial gains made in the last four years nor should they be decried by anybody. A simple example is Oil, where we have struck it luckily. But it is also a question of policy, of being able to exploit the oil properly and to make it available.

As you know, there has been a phenomenal increase in indigenous oil production. How did it come about?—By national determination. Fortunately this is a sector which is not subject to natural calamities although it is also an endangered area. Many industries are subject to natural calamities. But, in several industries, such as Cement, Electricity Generation and Coal, we have made impressive increases.

The main problem is of higher capacity utilisation. We have been going into this, sector by sector and plant by plant.

The house knows that there are some long-term structural programmes. The biggest of them is the modernisation of out-dated plants and out-dated managerial methods regarding which we are taking suitable policy action.

We are deeply concerned about problems faced by Industrial Labour. If the farmers are the foundation, I would say that Industrial labour is the spin of a modern nation.

[Shri **Ma. Indira Gandhi**]

A matter of concern—and which crops up again and again—is that of the phenomenon of corruption. It is there. It is a fact to be reckoned with, and it is something which we must fight with all our might at every level and in every possible way. Government agencies are doing their utmost to check this and to punish the guilty. The issues are complex and they do not yield to simplistic solution. We need vigilant public opinion, that can bring specific cases to our notice. Whenever such cases are brought, I assure the House, that I have done this in the past, and shall continue to do so, that is, to look into every case and see that it is properly dealt with. But cynicism is a protector of corruption. It does not help to be cynical about these matters. The fight against corruption has to be relentless. Certain firm steps have been initiated for which we will need public cooperation. In fact hardly any programme can be successful without full public cooperation.

The day before yesterday, Punjab believe was discussed at great length. I believe Just missed the beginning of his speech—my hon. friend opposite accused me of not clarifying Government's mind on the subject. Since that was stated in detail in the Home Minister's speech, I thought there was no point in my repeating it.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
What he said, is it Government's view, because we have seen that there are contradictions in Government's view?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
There is no contradiction in Government's views. Sometimes we have offered a solution. But if it is not accepted naturally we have to look at the whole matter again. But there is no difference of view amongst ourselves on these issues. Our stand was very clearly explained. The basic point which I mentioned yesterday and which I should like to repeat, is that communal violence and terrorism have to be routed out from our body politic.

Communalism was the biggest threat to the initial unity and stability of the country and it remains the biggest threat to our present unity and stability. It is the Indian version of fascism and my struggle against it has been uncompromising. Our fight is against extremism and the separatist philosophy of extremism. Extremism is against the interests of all sections of our people, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and other people and of the nation as a whole. The Sikhs are dynamic and enterprising people who have contributed much to the country, not only in Punjab. If you travel all over India, you will find that there is hardly a place in which you don't find Sikhs. Initially we were told that certain races were martial races, certain races have some qualities and not other races. Now we know that after people get training, the people of any State show those qualities, of courage or other types of ability and capacity.

I have had a special feeling for the Sikhs, because of what they suffered during Partition and because of the manner in which they got on their feet again without complaint. This is one of the qualities I admire most in people I have specially mentioned this is number of time. Their prosperity and progress are linked with the progress and prosperity of the whole country. But this progress and prosperity can only take place when there is also progress, prosperity and harmony amongst the other people around them, with their neighbours in Punjab or in any other State. I do not think a community which has itself suffered so much should allow the bonds of brotherhood and trust to be weakened by a tiny minority of extremists. I do not know whether this particular group is anti-national or what is motivating it but there is certainly a very small element—I do not know what, word to use—that is bent upon creating confusion, discord, mistrust and suspicion which has led to violence and terrorism. I agree with my hon'ble friend who said that the Sikh masses should

not be confused with any one political party and certainly not with the extremists. They are not identified with this small group of terrorists.

While I condemn the killings in Punjab, I equally condemn the killings and other happenings in Haryana. This type of retaliation does not achieve anything, it does not strengthen anybody. In fact, it is counter-productive because it increases violence, it increases suspicion and feelings of Communalism. The same is true of other communal incidents which have taken place earlier, that is, between Hindus and Muslims in some parts of the country, between Christians and others in different parts of the country. These tendencies are divisive for the country. They weaken our country and the States in which they occur. They weaken our whole country and we must get together at least on this one issue and categorically state that we are not going to allow such incidents to take place. Not only is it very bad for us but it is bad for the communities themselves and for the character of individuals. Apart from its being damaging economically and socially, as individuals, we deteriorate. Even those who may not take part merely, by living in the midst of such an atmosphere of hatred and bitterness, deteriorate as human beings.

Unfortunately, there has been some false propaganda, much of it is abroad, by misguided elements. It is against the country's honour. We cannot ignore the danger of such groups acting as tools of foreign agents. As I said earlier, they may be very few in number, but if you see the foreign press, they got publicity out of all proportion to their number or to what is happening, and generally the impression is given of the whole country being in flames, everybody killing everybody else, whereas as people of all religions will testify, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, that wherever there has been trouble, there are numerous instances of people of other religions saving their

neighbours and helping them in threatening situations. This is the atmosphere which we must build together.

A suggestion was made by my hon. friend opposite that we should have peace brigades peace committees, or peace marches. I am all for it, but we have to be sure that all those whose who take take part in these marches are actually for peace, but some times our experience has been a little different.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 Please make sure about the World Peace Council also. . . .

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 Again, in-fighting on the opposition benches. Please do it outside the House. . . .

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 They are with you on foreign policy.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 They are not with us on anything. They sometimes say so because they think it might help them.

The day before yesterday I said in this or the other House, that the basic problem in Punjab is not the demands put forward by the Akali Dal. The legitimate demands of any group are to be met through discussions and negotiations in a democratic system such as ours. But here the basic problem is the kernel of extremism with its irrational and destructive philosophy of violence. Violence and terrorism should not be allowed to become a premium in resolving a problem. An hon. Member said that some people were interested that the talks did not succeed. That is what I meant. When I said, I do not know, what would be achieved, this is what was at the back of my mind ; I knew that certain people were interested in keeping distance between us.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA  
 (Bāsirhat): I said there is no alternative to talks even if you fail at first.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am not objecting to what you said. You said, before this or after this particular remark, that my expression shows that I thought that the tripartite talks would not succeed. Something like that you said.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You were reluctant.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It is in answer to that I am speaking I am not saying that we should not have talks. What I said was that it was because I felt on the basis of certain information that there were individuals interested in breaking the talks, that I expressed certain doubts about the success of the talk. There is no doubt in my mind whatsoever, the negotiations are the only way out for the ending of any dispute, whether national or international. There is no question of anybody encouraging these funds to be taken to the streets. We oppose this vehemently. I am again stressing the responsibility of all political parties and non-political people to realise the danger of terrorism, the danger to ourselves and the danger it throws up the chance it gives to those who may wish greater destruction so that they can interfere.

In Kashmir also the situation is a disturbing one, because of the concerted activities of secessionists and certain communal organisations. They pose a threat to national security and to the integrity of the nation. As one hon. Member has pointed out, insulting the national flag is no less serious than insulting the Constitution. Why has the opposition not spoken up about this? The Central Government have written to the State Government. Firm and effective action and continued vigilance is needed, and we keep pressing for it.

The murder of our official in the United Kingdom, Shri Mhatra has to be viewed in the context of the anti-national activities of certain such organisations,

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : At least JKLF has no connection with Jammu and Kashmir which is a part of the country.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Irrespective of political differences, all should unite in isolating and combating such elements. The question is not one of victory or defeat of any political or other party in Jammu and Kashmir. The question is of preserving the unity and integrity of our country, on the basic principle of secularism and democracy. When we see that these precious objectives are threatened, we have to raise our voice against it. If we did not see that there were some signs of such a threat, I would not have raised my voice.

Now, we have got used to the fact that sometimes Pakistan says that India is not reconciled to its existence. It is an old complaint which we have refuted time and again. The creation of Pakistan was something to which we agreed. Whether we liked it or not liked it, is beside the point. We agreed to it, we have accepted it and we are living with it; and we believe in co-existence. Because I said that our system is a democratic one, in answer to a question from a Pressman—he or she asked, I forget who it was—viz. “Well, what about Pakistan?”; I replied: “Look; we believe in democracy; but it is for other countries to decide their own system of Government.” Because we believe in democracy, we may like other countries to be democratic. But it is for them to decide what system they will have. That is the extent of my remarks regarding which hon. friend opposite blamed me for interfering in Pakistan’s internal affairs.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : What about democracy in Soviet Union? Why don’t you speak about it?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Unfortunately, you do not wear a bonnet. Otherwise, there is a saying in English, ‘You have a bee in your

[Shri Indira Gandhi]

bonnet'. That is your bee which buzzes all the time. You cannot see realities. That prevents your understanding these issues clearly. We have not said that we support the Soviet system. That is our quarrel with these friends, this side.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 Hear, hear.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 We have our own system. They have their own. We are not interfering in their system, and I don't think they are interfering in our system.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 You don't think.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 Yes, I don't think.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHARRA-  
 BORTY : Send him to Soviet Union for practical training. I would request you to send Dr. Swamy to Soviet Union.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 They have their own. . . .

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :  
 There was a letter from you addressed to the late Soviet leader, Andropov. Was it not an interference? Were you not inviting him to interfere in the internal affairs of the country?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 No. Mr. hon. Member. I can tell you I was not. I have exchanged numerous letters which. . . .

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :  
 What were its contents?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 If I discuss the substance, you will then want the letter to be laid on the Table of the House. I am willing to tell you if you come to my office because there was nothing secret in it. It was just a short, about five or ten line letter.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :  
 Only five lines?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 It was a very short letter, for a parti-

cular occasion. But I am not going to lay it on the Table of the House. Therefore, I am not going to tell you here. I am prepared to tell you outside.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :  
 Why were the services of a CBI member utilised to despatch that letter?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 There was no question of his services. Suppose you come to me and say : "Would you mind giving me such-and-such a message?", I shall say, 'Yes'; if I agree with what you are saying, of course.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 But if you wrote to Andropov saying that please discipline Mr. Indrajit Gupta, it took only five lines; not more than that.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 But, well, this much I can say that I did not write that.

I am unhappy at the frequent complaints that India is not reconciled to the existence of Pakistan; and I am sorry that hon. members sometimes also say something along those lines. This does not serve the national cause. I frankly tell you that I am at a total loss to understand such a sentiment when I myself have not only declared my policy but acted upto it. You will remember that it is I who have taken all the initiatives to re-establish friendly relations with Pakistan and with China. I hope you are happy with that.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
 Now he is happy. You have taken care of it. I hope you will keep it up.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
 I am keeping it up. But in spite of that fact, from across the border statements are made which are not conducive to the creation of a better atmosphere. I do not want to go into

the question of arms, but it is something that is concern to us.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
Give me also some letter.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
If you come for a letter, I shall be happy to write, please do not get these arms.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
Give me one-way ticket.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
So, there is no doubt that we want better relations with all our neighbours, not just Pakistan and China. You know with what great restraint we have acted in Sri Lanka, although on that issue our hon. friend had quite different views. You will remember what demand be made about sending our army.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
Only sensible demand.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :**  
In that you are isolated in this House, which is a good thing. Now, as I said, it is our policy to respect all our neighbours like Bangladesh, Shri Lanka Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan and China : and we shall not spare any effort to promote good neighbourly relations with them. We have taken an active part in the establishment of the South Asian Regional Cooperation which was launched last year by the Foreign Ministers of the 7 countries concerned and which has now gathered a certain momentum. We welcome this development.

But the situation in our region cannot be divorced from the general environment in the world as a whole. Hon. members know that the international atmosphere is marked by a complete collapse of detente which had begun to create a new atmosphere, if

not, a friendship, at least a direction of cooperation and friendship. But today there is heightening of tension and confrontation. The casualties in the war between Iran and Iraq both of whom are—good friends of ours have now reached enormous proportions and cause us deep anguish. We want a climate of peace, trust and mutual respect ; in other words, adherence in letter and spirit to the principle of peaceful coexistence. This is necessary now more than ever before. India is working hard for the ending of the nuclear arms race. These are the two main international questions which have been of concern to everybody who has been here ; and we have had leaders from the East and from the West both the political East and West, as well as the geographical East and West who have also expressed their concern over these two matters, first, the stock-piling of nuclear armaments and taking the war into space and so on ; and the second is the growing disparity between the affluent and the developing countries. This must be diminished. My government remains decided to support all efforts to achieve these objectives. The whole world needs peace but we, the developing world, need it more than the industrialised countries, because we have another war to fight, it is the war against poverty, the war against underdevelopment. We need peace and harmony internally externally to win this war and to take our country forward.

The President's Address, Sir, is an opportunity for annual stock-taking. Criticism of policies and programmes is a normal feature of Parliamentary life and of this debate and we accept it. But I do hope that the honourable Members will look at the broad direction of movement. I certainly do not want to minimise the enormity of the problems, or the long distance yet to be covered on the road to progress, but I do have full faith in the Indian people and I am sure that if we can work together at least to combat the disruptive forces, then we can achieve far greater progress which will help

the whole country. All our programmes should be seen in the overall context in which we are functioning today. The people should realise the difficulties of nation building in the sort of situation that exists in our country as well as in most other places around us.

I thank all the Members for their patience, I commend the President's Address for adoption. I request all those who have moved amendments to withdraw them.

Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER : A number of amendments have been moved by the Members to the Motion. I shall put all the amendments to the vote of the House.

*The amendment's were put and  
negatived*

MR. SPEAKER : Now I shall put the main motion to the vote of the House.

The question is :

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms :

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 23rd February 1984."

*The motion was adopted*

17.03 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE :  
DISAPPROVAL OF INDUSTRIES  
(DEVELOPMENT AND REGULA-  
TION) AMENDMENT ORDINANCE AND INDUSTRIES (DEVELOPMENT AND REGULATION) AMENDMENT BILLS

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up the Statutory Reso-

lution at Sr. No. 12 and the Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Bill, at Sr. No. 13, together for which two and a half hours have been allotted.

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
(Bombay North East) :

I beg to move :

"This House disapproves of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Ordinance, 1984 (Ordinance No. 1 of 1984) promulgated by the President on the 12th January, 1984."

I oppose this Ordinance on a broad moral principle that, firstly it is inadequate, it is peace-meal, and secondly, that there has been a general neglect of small industries by the Government in the last four years.

First of all, all that this Ordinance establishes, or tries to achieve is the question of certain exemptions, outlined in the Industries Act, 1951. But the fact of the matter is that from the very beginning in 1947, following the Gandhian path, we had planned to give small industries a great deal of importance and focus. But in fact what we have found over the last 37 years is a neglect—progressive neglect—of the small industries, as a group and from time to time this Ordinance or these changes have been brought about and as a collection of notifications given by the Department of Industrial Development shows, that from time to time this nit picking as I might call it, small tinkering of the concept takes place. So, I would; therefore, rise to oppose it on this ground is not that this a very sincere effort in prompting the small industries as a group.