

[श्री मूल अख्य डॉगा]

उन पर निर्भर करती है। अगर वे सफल नहीं होती हैं तो उसके लिए कौन जिम्मेवार हो सकता है? आज लोगों के दिमागों में यह बात आ गई है कि राज्य सरकार की नीतियां, भारत सरकार की नीतियां चाहे जितनी अच्छी हों, जब तक प्रशासनतंत्र में रद्दोबदल नहीं होगा तब तक कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। विज्ञान और टेक्नालाजी ने आज बड़ी प्रगति की है। लेकिन आज भी हजारों लाखों लोग जो तकनीकी ज्ञान प्राप्त किये हुए हैं, बेकार फिर रहे हैं, उनका कोई उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। मैं पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी की रिपोर्टों से तमाम आंकड़े आपके सामने रखना चाहता था लेकिन समय नहीं है कि ऐसा मैं कर सकूँ। मैं संक्षेप में यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रशासन तंत्र पर, सरकारी मशीनरी पर अभी तक जिस तरह से हम को कब्जा करना चाहिए था उस तरह से कब्जा नहीं कर पाये हैं। इसका नतीजा यह है कि गरीब आदमी आज भी सोचता है कि जीवन के दिन किसी तरह से काटते चले जाओ और उसको सन्तोष नहीं हो पाता है, जीवन जीने के लिए है इसका आभास उसको नहीं हो पाता है। हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री ने एक दफा कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों में एक चमक और जागृति आई है और लोग अपनी कठिनाइयों और समस्याओं को आगे लाना चाहते हैं लेकिन परेशानियां जो हैं उनको देखते हुए और जिस तरह से पिसे हुए और दबे हुए वे हैं, वे ऐसा नहीं कर पाते हैं, समस्याओं का मुकाबला नहीं कर पाते हैं। चुनावों में मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि एक दम ईमानदार और कर्तव्य निष्ठ आदमी जिसके पास पैसा नहीं है जीत कर आ सकता है। कारण यह है कि जो पद्धति हमने अपना रखी है, पूंजीवाद जो है या सामन्तवाद का जो खंडित रूप है, वह आज भी कायम है।

आप ने राजस्थान के अन्दर स्टडी टीम को भेजा। वह इधर उधर घूम कर आ गई। इटीरियर में वह नहीं गई, आदिवासियों की

हालत को उसने जा कर नहीं देखा, उन से बात नहीं की। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप राजस्थान के अकाल पीड़ित लोगों के लिए जो धन की तथा अनाज की मांग की गई है, उसको पूरा करें। आज राजस्थान की हालत खराब है। उसकी उपेक्षा आप न करें। उस और आप विशेष ध्यान दें।

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF SPACE (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI):

Mr. Chairman, Sir, some of our friends opposite have called the President's Address a ritual. Now it is not a ritual, it is a requirement of the legislature; it is an assessment of the state of the nation and it indicates the work ahead, as the President has said, for the executive, for Parliament and for the country as a whole. If I may say so, as regards the action of some of our friends opposite who chose to boycott the Address, whatever their motives, whatever the reasons that they have given here, I think the country and the general public have taken it as not merely a protest, but as not honouring the President. I am not using strong words.

16.58 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Although many Members have declared that this was not their intention, yet this is the way in which the public looks at it. Merely saying something else will not change the situation. Personally I think that it is a disservice to those who have elected the Members, because this is a part of parliamentary procedure, and if I may say so....

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: What did her party members do in the Madras Assembly?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: That does not mean that I approve of their action there.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We are here to reflect the miseries of the people who have sent us here.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has had his say, not once but a hundred times every single day. So, let him leave this time to me. (*Interruptions*)

Have we not been elected for that reason?

Have the people elected us for some other reason?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We do not say that at all.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Then, why say the other. I consider their abstention an empty ritual. One hon. Member said that there was no juice and colour in the Address. If the hon. Member's idea of juice and colour is what is provided here by the Opposition, I would say that he and they are welcome to it.

The Address has qualities which are far more solid and far more important, that is, truth, earnestness and determination. We have no need to indulge in verbal heroics. This Government, this party and indeed, I would say, the people of India, are deeply immersed in a very heroic task, not an easy task, but a task that needs all the qualities and all the strength of which this nation is capable.

17.00 hrs.

This time last year, we were in the after glow of a war, a war which fully vindicated our ideals, our policies and our judgment. I said then that this crisis, the Bangla Desh-Pakistan crisis, which had overflowed on to our territory was an interruption in our own national battle for economic and social construction.

Hon. members will perhaps remember that at that time I had also said that our victory would involve a price in the form of great hardship in every field of activity in the country. Each measure we took then had financial

and economic implications and it was obvious that the subsequent months would witness the repercussions of what had happened then.

I mention this bit of recent history not to find a scapegoat as one hon. member said, but to put these problems which are serious, grave problems, about which we are all deeply concerned, problems of price rises, of commodity shortages, of economic hardships in their proper perspective. Hardships are there. We know they would come. We had warned the nation, we had warned Parliament. What we had not known and what constituted an added burden and increased our difficulties was the fact of drought. But I have no doubt that the Government and the people of this country will overcome these difficulties, as they overcome the vast challenge that was posed to us in 1971.

The Opposition has a vested interest in Government's failure. But I hope they will also realise that any failure at this point means tremendous increased hardship on the people. It does not mean a hardship for Government, but it does mean a hardship for the people.

Many Opposition friends are fond of saying that 'you will not be there' or 'this will happen to Government'. I am equally keen on repeating as many times as is necessary that our interest is not in being here, our interest is in pursuing a particular policy and in seeing that that policy succeeds. If in pursuing that policy we do not succeed, it still does not mean that we give up policies which we consider to be right and which we feel have been vindicated by every event that has taken place.

Hon. members would do well to lock back at their own speeches which they have been making. Is there any time when they thought the nation would make good? Is there any time when they thought that anything was succeeding? Yet in spite of those gloomy predictions, we did make good. We

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

did meet the biggest challenge that perhaps any nation, developed, rich affluent or poor, has faced and we did emerge a stronger country with greater self-confidence.

We are used to these speeches. They have been made today, they will be made tomorrow and they will be made for all time to come. But Government is not going to be diverted from its declared, accepted policy or its programmes. Government has no intention of failing. Government is going to succeed in what it has set before itself. We may have shortfalls, we may have setbacks, as every country, every government, every people do have, had and will continue to have. But we have no doubt at all that we face the future with confidence and that just as we have overcome them, in spite of the gloomy forecasts made by hon. members opposite and many other people in this country and their friends abroad, we are going to come through this with success.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Success with monopolists.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: At least I do not monopolise the time of the House.

In 25 years, the country's intrinsic strength and maturity have increased tremendously and have enabled us to face the multitude of challenges. The country must, and will, take the challenges of 1973 in its stride. The Opposition leaders spoke of galloping inflation, of galloping corruption, if I may say so, with galloping rhetoric in the House and outside they have been encouraging disruptive activities of every kind. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: You have been doing it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: No. Please, Shri Mishra, if you will take the trouble to read my speeches, you will find that even at the time of victory, I did not boast of it. (*Interruptions*).

I would like to remind the hon. Member that the elections were held at the right time.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: You betrayed the Opposition at the time of Assembly elections. You were consulting us... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Shri Mishra has his own way of judging how our country proceeds. He might perhaps study what happens with regard to the elections in other countries. In fact, this is the first time we had one election a year ahead. The last elections of the State Assemblies were after due time, just a little later. We had decided that...

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Were you not discussing with us for postponement? (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We were certainly discussing, but what did we discuss? We discussed that since there was a war we could not have the election. But when the war ended, there was no excuse whatsoever to put off the elections, and therefore, the elections were held.

Now, in the Government, the road is a far too steep and difficult one for us to go galloping it, much as we might like to gallop or cantor. I am afraid the road is far too difficult; the task is far too big a one, and the Government has to work hard.

There is no time for any gallops on this side or that.

The biggest concern, and the immediate concern, before us is naturally the question of organising relief. We have, been and we are mobilising all the resources in money and in materials to overcome this crisis. 48 lakhs of people are engaged in relief works in Rajasthan, in Gujarat, in Maharashtra, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura. These relief works are being undertaken on a scale never before envisaged. The difficulties are

indeed great, but this is the first time that the Government has come forward with such a vast programme of help. About 90,000 different kinds of relief work are under implementation

The greatest hardship is due to the shortage of water-supply and certain steps have been taken: massive programmes for loans and grants for the digging of wells, for the production of rigs and arrangements for the transportation of water. There is hardship with regard to cattle. Relief camps, have been opened. Subsidy or loans for the movement of fodder crops have been arranged from forests. We are trying to search out new items which can be used as fodder; for instance, the tops of sugarcane. There may also be other such items. Rs. 445 crores have been released.

There is also a special food plan for 1973-74 which includes an increase of rabi production and inputs for a higher kharif output

I am sorry that sometimes a case is tried to be made out that we are partial to one State and not to another. We are deeply concerned with the hardships in all parts, wherever they exist in different parts of India, and it is our earnest endeavour to see that all parts are helped equally within the resources which are available to us.

One hon. Member remarked that we always have droughts. If I may submit, such a blanket statement is an exaggeration and an over-simplification of very grave issues involved. The drought this year is not a normal drought. It is a very unusual drought. The very fact that even those countries which are not usually importers of grains have imported enormous quantities shows how many countries have been affected this year.

In fact some agency of the United Nations has taken special cognisance of the fact and is trying to mobilise

world-wide resources and funds in order to help the countries which are affected. They have approached us also in this regard. It is as a result of the progress we have made on our agricultural front and our policy of building up buffer stocks that we were able to manage this very difficult year with marginal imports. I do not agree with the hon. friends who feel that there is something shameful in imports. We should like to be self-sufficient but if there is a drought of such magnitude which has affected many people, and if we can help them by imports, we should not consider it as something wrong. Nevertheless we have been able to manage with only marginal imports. I share the agency of the hon. Members at the distress that is being caused in some parts of the country.

I am not one who usually quotes from newspapers nor do I think that what the newspapers print is gospel truth. But hon. Members are very impressed when something comes out in print and since this paper happened to come to me only a few minutes ago, I thought I would read out what a foreign correspondent who has travelled in all the drought affected areas Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Mysore with the exception of Tripura I believe—has said:

“I found the bulk of the Indian farmlands were substantially better prepared than before to withstand the shortage of rain. The green revolution has not failed. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was only a little wrong when she said proudly last year that India has reached self-sufficiency in food” (*Interruptions*).

This is the Christian Science Monitor....

SHRI PILOO MODY: The name of the correspondent? (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Davis.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): I would like to invite him to my area.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Our production has gone up. Your shouting there is not going to change that fact. I do not think that Mr. Piloos Mody could have produced rains at the right time; if he could then I must say it was very remiss of him not to do so just because the Government is not his.

As I said, our economy has the capacity to deal with such situations. What has happened this year is that production of coarse grain in the rain-fed areas has been mainly affected. There is a steady increase in the production of wheat from year to year because of our development activities. The drought-prone areas of the country need to be dealt with on a separate footing. From the point of view of their overall development, as the House knows, a special group is currently finalising the strategy for the development of such areas and I am sure that in the Fifth Plan it will be possible for us to undertake the programme in a big way.

The other matter of great concern to us is that of the rise in the prices of food. A situation of shortfall in agricultural production has been exploited and a psychology of scarcity has been created by painting every effort that is made as failure even from the beginning, leading to speculation and retention of stocks at various levels. The House knows of our scheme to take over the wholesale trade in wheat from the coming season. This is designed to eliminate some of the factors from our food economy which encourage hoarding and speculation.

I know that this is a major structural reform, which will evoke opposition from interested groups and that every attempt will be made to scuttle it. But Government is determined to face the situation squarely. The State Governments will be en-

abled to make all administrative and organisational arrangements necessary for the success of the working of this scheme.

The other great problem is that of unemployment. But again, in spite of what some hon. members have chosen to say on the floor of the House, these programmes have not crashed. On the contrary, although they took some time in taking off, they are now in full swing in the States and a large number of people have been provided with employment on worth-while schemes. I do not say that we have solved the entire problem nor had we said that we would be able to do so. All that we had said was that it was a beginning and a help in the midst of a specially difficult situation and that is what has happened. The major effort made in this direction in the last two years and the achievements gained so far cannot be simply brushed aside. It is Government's determination to go ahead and expand these programmes in the coming year, as announced in the President's Address.

Some people, of course, have made up their minds that nothing can succeed and the minute a programme is announced they start announcing what a big failure it is, even before it has begun to function and they start deriding the programme.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is based on past experience.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am afraid the experience is rather limited, with all due respect to the hon. Member. Let me say modestly that the programmes launched by Government have succeeded to some extent. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: What is the success? *(Interruptions).*

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Had we not succeeded, we could not have

faced the challenge. You cannot get away from that, no matter how much you try. This time two years ago hon. members were all saying that we could not face the Bangla Desh situation. Well, now it is proved that we did face it. I say here and now that two years hence we will show that everything you have said today was wrong.

In the field of power, a group of Ministers have looked into the whole question during the last few months, and as a result of various studies that have been made, a concrete programme of obtaining additional power of nearly 500 MW by May, 1973 from the existing thermal generating plants has been drawn up. Production programmes for all the generation plants will be drawn up within the next three months and implemented in a coordinated and time-bound manner. Selected power projects will be accelerated to obtain an additional capacity of about 1300 MW by the end of 1973 and another 1750 MW by the end of 1974. The transmission projects necessary for this will also be accelerated. I am sorry for the difficulties which the Tamil Nadu Government is facing, but let me say that they are not more than those being faced by U.P. or Punjab or Haryana and perhaps some other States as well, just to quote a few instances. Effective measures will be taken for the linkage of power plants with coal mines and rail transport and control room operations for this purpose. These measures have already begun.

Similarly time-bound action programmes have been drawn up for fertilisers etc. Our public enterprises have had their share of teething trouble and opposition members should be happy, because it gave them many talking points all these years. But now these enterprises are about to make good.

One hon. Member has spoken of uncertainty in the industrial climate. I think the answer to that is that there are some people who always feel uncertain. I do not know what

we can do to make them feel less uncertain. Our industrial policy is quite clear... (*interruptions*) I am very sorry, Shri Banerjee, we cannot oblige you. Because there was talk of uncertainty, we decided to re-state our policy very clearly a short time ago. Governmental decisions are taken in the light of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, which clearly lays down the fields reserved for the public sector and fields which are reserved for the private sector and others in which both sectors could play their respective role. The priority given to them has been revised from time to time, according to the needs of the plan and our development. When the management of a mill or mine is mismanaged or is allowed to deteriorate without modernisation or re-investment, and it is taken over by the government in order to ensure continuity of production and employment and in order to modernise it, the bogey is raised that "government is going to nationalise everything" and "there is a climate of uncertainty". This uncertainty, if any, apart from being in the minds of the hon. Members opposite, is largely the making of some elements in the private sector.

So far as we are concerned, our socialism is not coterminous with nationalisation. I have said it many times. Where nationalisation is necessary for the better running of anything or for the public good, we shall not hesitate to do it. But we do not believe that there should be nationalisation merely for the sake of taking over concerns or factories.

One hon. Member asked me for my definition of socialism. I have spoken on this subject quite a lot in various forums and I believe my views have been made perfectly clear. My socialism does not envisage government doing everything. We neither expect this nor do we desire this. What we want to create is a climate of equality of opportunity in which vast millions can help themselves.

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

I am not a Marxist. But I must say that the word does not frighten me either. Some of the insights given by Marx have been acknowledged even by apologists of the capitalist system. Men like Marx or Gandhi or other great men are too big to be imprisoned by isms, of Marxism or Gandhism. Their ideas are too solid to be affected by this sort of criticism.

There are many forces in the world which do not want India to succeed. They are disturbed at the mood of self-assertion and the splendid performance of our people in facing the challenge. India can only follow an independent foreign policy, and our successive actions have proved this. Since December 1971, a new theory is being evolved, that of being a dominant power. I have never regarded this as a compliment. In fact, when I first read the phrase, I told a newspaper correspondent, who was interviewing me, that in my view this was a crude attempt to sow suspicion against us amongst our neighbours. I have made the same remark during my visit to Nepal and on various other occasions. So this is not in reply to the speech reported in today's newspapers. We in the Government of India do not believe in power politics. We do not desire the status or the perquisites of what is known as conventional power. Events in Asia have proved that this kind of thinking by anybody that he is dominant or that a big power has some kind of divine right to a sphere of influence, just does not apply in the contemporary world.

We of course, have never believed in this. Now it has been proved to the entire world. If India has any strength, its strength is first to be used for the solution of our own national problems and then for the support of the independence and individuality of other countries, specially, developing countries.

This is the philosophy which was the basis of our position in Simla.

We are sorry that some countries still choose to indulge in anti-India tirades. Any indulgence in dramatics by certain elements will not encourage friendship or understanding.

I heard one hon. Member saying here that it was a matter of shame and sorrow that we kept on talking about friendship with certain countries when those countries did not wish to be friends. Now, it is not a question of who wishes to be friends: it is a question of what we consider to be in our national interest. Other countries cannot be interested in our national interest. They will be interested in what they consider to be their national interest. But we have to pursue whatever steps, whatever policies, serve our interests and which we think are going to ultimately strengthen this nation. The Government of India is not ashamed to pursue friendship. Saying that we want friendship with a particular nation is not going to weaken us. We have always stood for friendship with all nations. This does not mean that we beg for friendship. Not at all. We state our point of view when we are asked for it. If we are asked, "Do you want to be friends?", either we have to say yes or no. We cannot say anything in the middle. Therefore, we do believe in friendship with all nations. But we believe in friendship with honour, friendship with equality and friendship which is to our mutual interest and benefit. It is that sort of friendship for which we are working.

There is some concern in the press and elsewhere about the prisoners of war. I heard that one hon. Member was also very unhappy over this matter. The question of prisoners of war is not insoluble. Neither Bangladesh nor India has put any obstacles in the way of its solution. But to expect India to free the prisoners of war without the concurrence of Bangladesh is wholly illogical and unrealistic. Also, how can we take seriously

the plea of those who raise the humanitarian side of the question when they are so strangely and suspiciously silent over the fate of over 4 lakh Bengali civilians and military personnel who have been dismissed from their jobs and herded into camps? All the so-called world opinion which is agitating today about the prisoners of war has no thought of these poor people. So far as we are concerned, we are not interested in keeping them. It is a burden to us and it does not help our policy in any way. But certain international realities have to be understood and faced. You cannot ignore the existence of Bangladesh or the interest which Bangladesh has in this question.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Why don't all the three heads meet?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am only one head of Government, Misraji. We are not stopping any meeting; we are not interfering in this matter. Bangladesh is an independent sovereign nation and must be treated as such.

Now, a rather very important problem is that of law and order and of violence. It has been stated in this House that violence has grown and that the law and order situation has deteriorated because we have roused the expectations of the people. I hope the hon. Members will consider this statement in some depth. What is the alternative? Either you tell people about their right or you tell them that they should remain suppressed. There is no middle way. If you want to change society, then the changes must bring certain benefits to those who have not so far had them. The only other way is to keep the *status quo*, which means that those who have so far been neglected remain neglected.

One of the weaknesses of our country was the apathy of the so-called weaker sections..

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: You want to change the *status quo* through promise or performance?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The performance is going ahead. If some people do not want to see anything..

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Spectacular performance!

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: No. It was spectacular until 1962. After that there were many many difficulties. As I said earlier, there is no galloping, it is a slow forward movement. Nevertheless it is a forward movement. It is not a static situation... (*Interruptions*) But what is strange are the methods employed by the opposition. I do not know whether this is supposed to improve performance or to improve the law and order situation—these methods seem to be intended to create as much agitation and disturb as many things as possible. So far, I have not been able to see any constructive method nor, with all respect to the hon. Members opposite, have I heard a word from the Opposition parties condemning such violence or the sabotage which has taken place.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: CRP atrocities.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The CRP is normally asked for by the State Government when they feel that the situation cannot be met by ordinary means. There is no doubt that in many places the loss of property and life would have been far greater had it not been for the C.R.P.

I see that friends from Andhra and Telangana are present in force. I do not know what they are expecting me to say. Obviously, I cannot say very much. This problem has a long history. We did not create the

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

problem. We are not writing on a clean slate. Whatever the situation to-day, it is the result of a number of things that happened over the years, involving many issues. The present trouble has not arisen out of anything which we have initiated.

I am deeply concerned about what has happened in Andhra Pradesh. I have heart-felt sympathy for those who have suffered, for the loss of lives and other hardship. I have respect for the emotions of the people and, especially, of my sisters of all parts of Andhra Pradesh. I can understand their agony. The manner in which the situation has developed, the manner in which, if I may say so—I hope my friends would not mind—when misunderstandings arose, there was hardly any effort to explain the correct situation, and the misunderstandings were allowed to grow. And developments took quite a different turn.

I have deliberately not spoken on this issue because I felt that it was not fair to pronounce judgements in such a highly emotional and surcharged atmosphere. We all know that whatever the motives, whatever the emotions—I am not passing judgment on them here—I am not saying whether they are right or wrong, but we know that the movement has resulted in a great deal of violence. It has resulted in acts of sabotage. The people who have interfered with the railways and other installations, are not ordinary people. They are people who obviously knew just what to do, in order to disrupt communications, the railway line or whatever it was. We know also that there was a certain amount of coercion. Several people have written to me telling how they were forced to put their names on to a statement or to say something etc. All these things have happened.

SHRI PILOO MODY: That must be your own M.Ps.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:

They were not M.Ps. and they were not legislators. They happen to be a very large number of people in Andhra Pradesh and even though Mr. Piloos Mody has been there, I probably know a larger number than he does.

The students and the NGOs who have taken a prominent part in the struggle have been the ones to have suffered most. The students in their studies and the time they have lost, and the N.G.Os. and their families in many other ways. And, of course, the ordinary, common people have also suffered great hardships. I am deeply sorry for all this, but we are told that one of the reasons for this agitation is economic backwardness and economic disparity or that some people have been made to feel second-class citizens. All kinds of things have been said and there may be some justification for them. But, backwardness can only be fought by pooling our resources in unison, not in isolation. And, the destruction of public property cannot but make the country poorer. Most of the property destroyed,—apart from a couple of houses and so on,—are utility services used by the ordinary, average citizen.

Not only has there been suffering during the struggle but hardship due to interruption of communications and other things is going to continue for a long time; since it is not possible to repair them, I don't know whether it is fair to ask that other projects be given up in order to give priority to this work.

All I want to say is that decisions cannot be taken on the streets, or under any type of pressure. There must be calm and rational thinking. There must be discussion on all aspects of the problem. We know that no solution, however good a solution it is, can ever be the last solution or the perfect solution. Any solution to this problem or to other problems raises a number of new questions and problems. I should like to know

what the answers to these problems are. Some problems we already know. Others will arise. What will be the answer to them? I have met and am meeting a large number of people, M.Ps. and others who are coming. I have met those who stand for integration for one State. I have met those who are today speaking of separation, and I have also met those who are trying to bridge the gap between the two. I have told them, as I have stated publicly, that all aspects and all opinions will be given due consideration. (*Interruptions*) As I said, all opinions that are expressed, all aspects of the problem which have been brought before me, will be given due consideration, but the decision must be taken in a calm and unexcited atmosphere.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: We are waiting for your announcement. We are peacefully agitating for it. There was no violence in Telengana. It is better to announce it immediately. There is agony among the people.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: These decisions cannot be made that way. Maybe, the Telengana people, having had their agitation, have remained peaceful afterwards. But now the other people are having an agitation. One cannot say that there is peace.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I would like to know, is there no democratic process by which this decision can be taken? Does it have to be left to you and to you alone?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It has certainly to be left to the Government,—not to me alone, but to the Government. In a democratic system, the decisions are taken by Government and not just by the Opposition or by people collecting on the roads.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: How long is the gestation period going to be?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Only when people are calm and they can talk about it rationally and in an unexcited manner can the discussions go on properly; and anyhow, at this moment we are in the midst of the discussions.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I am not excited. But she is excited. Why do we not talk about it?

SHRI S. B. GIRI: How long would this go on?

MR. SPEAKER: Let not Shri S. B. Giri do this every time. He may resume his seat now.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: My request and appeal to students would be to resume their studies and to all Government servants, especially the NGOs who have suffered so greatly and are undergoing hardships to resume their duties. (*Interruptions*).

As you have seen in the newspapers, whenever and wherever peace is restored and there is no longer danger in a particular area, the CRP and the Army units are being withdrawn.

Therefore, let us all think calmly on these questions and on all the likely repercussions of whatever decision is taken.

Some hon. Members felt that we had not said enough about education or about students.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: So, Andhra is over?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Obviously, this is a question with which we are all deeply concerned, and Government is trying to deal with it. It is not an easy problem because it is touched by all that happens in the country.

The other day, somebody came to see me, I cannot remember who; he

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

said that a person was scolding some students and others for making a noise and the manner in which they were behaving. One student turned and said 'Sir, are we worse than Parliament?', and no answer could be given.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Therefore, she must give tickets to better people next time.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: So, his point is that we are . . .

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is a very unkind remark, so far as Parliament is concerned. If the Prime Minister is speaking this with approval, then it is the unkindest cut of all, and the Prime Minister should not feel proud of it . . .

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: This was a thought which arose in a person's mind. (*Interruptions*). I am not feeling proud at all. Nobody will and nobody could possibly feel proud. But this is the view of some one who has nothing to do with our party or politics. This was a spontaneous remark by a young person . . .

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Why does she bring in a juvenile remark?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not think that it is a juvenile remark . . .

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: She is a grown-up person and she should not have brought in this juvenile remark.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Obviously she said this to blame us in the Opposition. That was the only purpose for which she was recalling this remark by that person. But she is exempting her own party from this . . .

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: No matter what the purpose is . . . (*Interruptions*). I am not exempting anybody. But anybody who sits in the

visitors' galleries or sees the record will know who makes more noise. (*Interruptions*). The Opposition is welcome to attack the Government; and if they think that making baseless personal allegations is going to strengthen them, let them make them. I do not wish to comment on what happens in the House, because you, Sir, are witness to it all the time . . . (*Interruptions*). On the rare occasion when one of our Members tries to rise to say something, then the entire Opposition gets up to shout him down. If this is the opposition's version of democracy—we'll, it is not my version—nor do I think that this can work.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: She has never been in the Opposition, and, therefore, she does not know what being in the Opposition means.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are not in Parliament to play political games; we are here to build the nation. I think the majority of our people have accepted the path which we have outlined. It is true that we have made mistakes, but we try to correct them. We have shortfalls in our programmes. But as I said earlier, we are nevertheless going ahead, in spite of the most tremendous difficulties which any people have ever faced in the long history of the world or especially this continent.

Parliament should reflect the people's will and by the quality of discussion. I think they should educate our people . . .

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: We do not require these homilies from the Prime Minister (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The Prime Minister will say what she feels like saying. The Prime Minister always listens to your homilies (*Interruptions*). No, if homilies are not allowed, let nobody give homilies. The right is not going to be reserved for Shri S. N. Mishra.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Let us not quarrel between homilies.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Nothing at all whatsoever. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: When we see that smaller loyalties are being pursued, it is certainly the duty of all of us here to put the larger picture. Therefore, it is a matter of some pain and sorrow when we see what often happens here. I am not laying blame on one or the other because each person should really see . . .

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: But they are always together. They function together. After consulting outside, they come in and have a united forum here.

SHRI PILOO MODY: What do we consult on? On matters of corruption, maladministration, bad Government (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: What happens? (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It does not matter what (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Well, they can see what happens. (*Interruptions*). What image of Parliament is being projected outside? (*Interruptions*). What image of the country is being projected? (*Interruptions*). Does this help the poor of the country or does it help those who do not have the interest of India at heart? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY: . . . cheating, thuggery, we want to consult on these to attack the Government.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Shri Piloo Mody, if you wanted to speak, you could have spoken before. I do not know whether you did or not. But anyway I am speaking now and I would like to say . . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We are not here to be carried away by your gimmicks; we are here to reflect the feelings of the people.

SHRI PILOO MODY: You should have known that I did not. I only comment on what is worth commenting.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: One hon. member has spoken of scapegoats. I seek no scapegoat. I have never been one to shirk my responsibility. It is the Opposition which is seeking scapegoats for its inability to formulate any policy which they can put before the country or for them to find popular support.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We are not a bagula party; we are not opportunists.

One hon. member spoke about a sort of what he called the motley crowd in our party. We do have people of different opinions in our party. We have a range of opinions, but that entire range is contained within the main policy which we want to pursue and to which we are committed. But look at the Hon'ble Members opposite. What is there in common between the policies of the Swatantra and the CPI(M), for instance?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: In all seriousness, I should like to say that what the Opposition is doing in India is weakening the will of our people (*Interruptions*.) It is belittling the achievements of our people (*Interruptions*). Why are they so touchy Sir? They abuse us in the worst possible language and we are supposed to listen to them and we do, but they are not prepared to listen to even a small remark.

The world situation is changing. The situation in Asia is also a fluid one. If I may repeat what I said in my party meeting, this is a time when long-established patterns in many parts of the world are changing, are shifting. It is a time when the entire

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

Indian nation must be extremely vigilant and on its toes, so as to be aware of any nuances that take place. (Interruptions).—including the Opposition—that is what I am just trying to say.

In these situations which are forming and un-forming, we must be on the look-out for the dangers that can arise for India. We must all keep before us a picture of a country which is socially better, economically stronger and intellectually and morally freer.

AN HON. MEMBER: Convenient Opposition.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not want a convenient Opposition at all. Not at all.

AN HON. MEMBER: A silent Opposition.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Neither a silent Opposition. (Interruptions). But I don't think that it is necessary to shout together all the while to make a point. A point can be made more firmly and effectively by speaking normally rather than by people getting up together and everybody shouting and shouting down the other people.

Therefore, Sir, I appeal to my party, to the Opposition parties, to rise to the great challenge of the moment, to justify the faith which the people have reposed in Parliament. We are, as I said, at the juncture where faith and hard work can and will see us over this difficult hump. Let us not fail the nation.

So, Sir, I request all hon. Members not to press their amendments and to support the motion on the President's Address.

SEVERAL HON MEMBERS rose—

MR. SPEAKER: Order please. Now, Shri Vajpayee's amendments are, 1 to 20, 47 to 57 and 233. Which one does

he want of press? (Interruptions). Kindly keep sitting. Now, Mr. Vajpayee is absent. Then, I shall put his amendments together.

Amendments Nos. 1 to 20, 47 to 57 and 233 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: Then, Mr. Madhukar, should I put your amendments all together?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS rose—

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down. I will call you. There are hundreds of amendments. (Interruptions). I have not been able to listen.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Sir, there is my amendment No. 21. I want to press it to a division.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS rose—

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down. I will call all of you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: After you disposed of Mr. Vajpayee's amendments, there is amendment No. 21 moved by Shri Banerjee. He wants to press it.

MR. SPEAKER: I have already noted it. I shall put amendment No. 21 of Shri Banerjee.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: If you take them on issues basis, it would be better and we have our amendments, Nos. 461, 462 and 463 on the same issue.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: On the same issue we have our amendments too.

MR. SPEAKER: There are so many Members who have their amendments on the same issue. There is a change of a word here, or a comma there, a change in the sense.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I am prepared to club nine with his.