

[MR. SPEAKER]

both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 17th February, 1969".

The hon. Prime Minister will now reply to the debate.

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने मुझे थोड़ा समय दिया था कल, उसमें से कुछ समय बच गया है।

MR. SPEAKER : You were raising the quorum question when everybody was speaking, I gave a chance to others to raise it when you were speaking. The hon. Prime Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI) : Mr. Speaker Sir, in our method of parliamentary working, this debate is the annual occasion to discuss the entire field of Government's organised activities as outlined in the President's Address. Some of the significant and important points have already been discussed at considerable length in the debate on the motion of no confidence, which we had just a few days ago. History may not repeat itself, but historians do and so do parliamentarians. So, some of the points which I am going to mention will naturally not be novel, because the problems are the same and party attitudes are also the same.

This time, the number of amendments is even more than the total membership of the House and therefore, it will obviously not be possible to deal with them all.

SHRI NAMBIAR (TIRUCHIRAPPALLI) : That shows how much discontent prevails in the country.

SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI : The major points which dominated the discussion naturally concern themselves with the improvements in agriculture and industry. I spoke on this only a few days ago and in a few days, my colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister, will indicate the steps which have been taken and which contributed to the arresting of the price spiral. The progress in the agricultural field has been striking. I do not know if the hon. members can deny the improvement during 1967-68, which raised the national

income by 9.1 per cent over the previous year. The index of industrial production for the first nine months of 1968 stands at 159.3, which is 5.6 per cent higher than the figure for the same period in 1967.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगरे) : इन्द्र भगवान की वजह से।

श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज (बम्बई-दक्षिण) : बिल्कुल ही गलत आंकड़ हैं।

SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI : Surely our balance of payments is better than it was last year. Our exports have gone up and our imports have come down. This is not guess-work. It is a question of facts. My hon. friend opposite just now spoke of Indra Bhagvan. I believe yesterday also some hon. member said so. Nobody is denying that a good monsoon has made a world of difference. At the same time, we cannot deny that there was a very serious drought before that and that this drought had very wide repercussions in all spheres of national life, in agriculture as well as in industry. There is no doubt that the good monsoon has helped, but Government was responsible, as the hon. member Shri Mahadeva Prasad remarked, for the new agricultural strategy, and it was the impact of those new programmes which enabled many of our farmer to take full advantage of the rains. The agricultural production did go over even the peak reached earlier when the rains were normal. As I have said on previous occasions, it was the will and hard work of the Indian peasants which enabled them to reap this rich harvest and it would not be fair to ignore their contribution to it.

SHRI S. KUNDU (BALASORE) : Also our engineers and scientists were responsible.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Certainly. I am glad the hon. member has reminded me. I have not forgotten them. On previous occasions I have mentioned that it was the hard work, the perseverance, the imagination of our scientists and our engineers and the others involved in the various institutes, in extension work and so on which made this possible.

President's Address (M)

No body claims that there are not some areas of concern. Many hon. Members yesterday said that the President had painted a very rosy picture. But if you read the Address carefully, you will find that he has drawn attention to the areas of concern or the areas where we are not satisfied with development or which pose very serious problems.

The President did point out are that the demand for the products of some industries in the machine building sector, for instance, continues to be inadequate as compared to capacity. We fully realise this and I think my colleagues who are concerned with these ministries have also drawn attention to the fact that there is considerable scope for improvement in management and other matters concerning both public and private enterprises. None of this is denied or sought to be hidden or glossed over in any way. Continuous efforts are being made to reassess, to review and to improve the situation,

As hon. Members know, agriculture has been accorded top priority in our Plan and there is consensus on the need extending irrigation to many parts of the country. Mention has been made of Rajasthan, of Telengana, of Rayalaseema and so on. There are other areas in north-Mysore, in Uttar Pradesh, in Bihar. Partially in every State there are areas which are in need of irrigation. A high-power commission will go into the needs and programmes in the light of the development which has been taking place in the past years.

Many times one hears that although it is twenty years since we are free, people are still poor, poverty is still there. Obviously, Sir, there is poverty. I do not know how anybody could have imagined that poverty could possibly be wiped out in a period of twenty years (*Interruptions*). No country of this size and population with the problems which we faced has done this (*Interruptions*). As I have said on a previous occasion, the situation has improved in some respects and in other respects because of increase in population and other problems difficulties remain.

President's Address (M)

We are certainly not fully self-sufficient yet. Some hon'ble Member said that we claim to be self-sufficient and yet we are importing. We do not claim to be fully self-sufficient but we do claim that we are going towards self-sufficiency, and while we are nearer self-sufficiency in wheat, we have some way to go with regard to rice (*Interruptions*). I am not yielding at all. Mention was also made with regard to dry farming. We are duly conscious of the areas which are still not covered by irrigation and progressive steps are being taken to extend to them various agricultural practices. New varieties of seeds and other forms of more intensified cultivation in dry areas are under way and research work on varieties of seeds suitable for dry areas is in progress.

There is also the question of flood control. I am told the total area liable to floods is estimated at 16 million hectares.

The average annual area affected by floods from 1953 to 1967 was 6 million hectares, of which the area under crops, was about 2 million hectares. At the end of the Third Plan over 7,000 kilometres of new embankments have been constructed, over 8,700 kilometres of drainage channels have been constructed, 164 town protection schemes were completed and over 4,500 villages were raised above flood level. As a result, nearly 5.2 million hectares of land which was usually subjected to flood damage has been given reasonable protection and during the past three years another one million hectares have been covered under the programme, making a total of 6.2 million hectares.

The question of land reforms has come up here many times. There is legislation for the abolition of intermediaries, for ceiling on holdings, security of tenure and consolidation of holdings in most of the States. However, we are deeply aware of the need for a comprehensive look at the whole problem and the need for land reforms and I do sincerely hope that every state will consider this matter.

As I said, we have plagued by flood and drought simultaneously in one part of the country or another. These severe

[SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI]

and serious problems have received prompt attention of the government and help has been given in whatever way possible. I believe a statement has been laid on the Table on the drought situation in various States and the steps taken to tackle it.

For West Bengal a total assistance of Rs. 23.73 crores has been sanctioned of which Rs. 17.50 crores has already been released; as the assistance is utilized more is provided. Similarly, for Rajasthan Rs. 8.96 crores has already been agreed to by Central team. Then another team of experts is likely to visit the State next month to re-assess the situation and to make further recommendations of the needs.

In this period the railways have provided various concessions and facilities and have done a tremendous job in moving food and fodder. Even today, under various programmes, about 1.25 lakhs of persons, mostly children, expectant mothers and others are being fed daily and this number is expected to rise to 2.5 lakhs per day.

Another problem which is one of great concern to the government and the people is that of unemployment. The Fourth Plan is not an isolated plan; it addresses itself to all major national questions. It is only through economic progress that we can solve the unemployment question, which is faced even by the advanced countries today. Naturally, we have special problems because of the vast size and the rapidly growing population of our country.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Despite family planning.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The Planning Commission, as the hon. Members know, has appointed an expert committee which will make recommendations on the various aspects regarding employment, unemployment and under-employment, both in the rural and urban areas, as also on the methods of estimating the labour force and employment potential. The report is expected by the middle of this year. This problem must be tackled both from short-term

point of view as well as long term point of view, because the addition to the labour force is faster than the growth of work opportunities.

Employment in the organised sector increased from 12.1 million at the end of 1960-61 to 16.2 million at the end of 1965-66. It is a rise of about 34 per cent and an annual average growth rate of 6.8 per cent in the Third Plan period.

In various sectors, growth in the percentage of employment went up appreciably. In trade and commerce, it went up by 112 per cent between 1961 and 1968; in power and supplies it went up by 53.8 per cent; in the manufacturing sector it went up by 31 per cent; in agriculture and related sectors it went up by 29.4 per cent. In the public sector alone employment rose from 5.2 million in 1956 to nearly twice that figure, that is, to 9.8 million last year. But no one denies the problem. And some aspects of it, such as the problem of the educated unemployed, specially of engineers, is causing us immediate and grave concern.

Whether one takes the question of unemployment or the equally important problem of regional disparities, disparities between one State and another or within a State, to which some hon. Members have referred, the answer lies in the approach of an integrated, comprehensive plan for the speediest possible growth growth of the economy as a whole.

The other day an hon. Member talked of the problem of literacy. I believe that an amendment has also been moved on this subject. This is an important problem and we attach importance to this. We also realise that a great deal has to be done and that much ground still remains to be covered. But it would not be fair to overlook what has been achieved in this field.

The number of literates in this country has nearly doubled in the first decade of planned development, rising from 55.3 million to 106 million. The most significant fact, however, was that the low percentage of 16.6 per cent rose to 24 per cent during this period, in spite of the colossal increase in population. More

President's Address (M)

recent projections suggest that the current percentage is around 30 per cent and figure of literates is 152 million or so.

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्ता (दिल्ली सबर).
इल्लिट्रेट कितने हैं, यह तो बतलाइये।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I would like to say one thing more which is that although it is shameful that illiteracy remains - and I am not making any effort to hide it--

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : It has increased.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :...the people's awareness of problems and the people's understanding has greatly...

AN HON. MEMBER : People's wisdom.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I think, our people had the basic wisdom but now it is a question of the actual knowledge of certain matters. Whether you go into the villages or anywhere else you see the change and even people who are not able to read and write are very much aware not only of their problems but also of their needs and what should be done ; also, when they are helped, how to use that help. Their whole attitude of resignation, apathy, helplessness is changing.

SHRI S. KUNDU : It goes to the credit of the people and not of the Government.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It is certainly to the credit of the people and I am saying so.

The question of Harijans, Tribals and other underprivileged people is a matter which is constantly before us. It is also a very serious problem. Government is certainly not indifferent. We have had numerous debates on this matter. Much has been done in the past years. Very concentrated effort and programmes are being undertaken to see how this situation can be improved.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Crocodile tears.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The welfare of all these people is not only an article of faith for us but also an imperative necessity for the development and progress of the country. A con-

President's Address (M)

siderable amount of work has been done but it is nothing as compared to what remains to be done. In many ways the people who indulge in some of the atrocities which have taken place or the attitudes of mind which they display are similar to the race problem which we see in other places. There is a feeling that some people are superior or some people are inferior. We all know there is no such thing as a backward caste and that if any group has been backward, it is only because it has not had the opportunity of education or other knowledge and training which could help it to go-ahead.

The recent attacks upon the Harijans wherever they may have taken place are a blot on the whole nation. Constitutional safeguards do exist. But we have not been able to change the hearts or the mental attitudes of many of our citizens. This is where we must all join in creating the right sort of social climate.

We have already debated the question of the Shiv Sana. All groups have condemned such acts, such attitude and such bodies in the strongest possible terms.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA (Madaya) : Could you give any compensation to those who have suffered ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Government action alone in this is no solution. All parties must join together and put an end to the activities of such organisations which can only result in disrupting national unity and creating hatred and bitterness between one Indian and another.

We all listen to Acharyaji with great respect. He talked of law and order. Of course, it is Government's responsibility and Government cannot evade that responsibility. But all these are not merely law and order problems. People do get emotionally involved in issues and emotions cannot always be subdued by a big stick. That is why all responsible persons must come to the conclusion that no matter how strongly they feel on any specific issue, they shall not indulge in violence, they shall not allow other people to indulge violence specially, people with whom they may be allied on other fronts.

[SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI]

Acharyaji has also taken exception to the word emotional integration. I am not at all attached to this word. Provided that all feel and act as Indians and are willing to co-exist and be good neighbours to other Indians regardless of different faiths, different languages, different customs, it does not matter what words are used to describe our integration, or even if you want to change that word integration.

My hon. friend, Prof. Ranga referred to the Integration Council. We cannot always agree on all points and, indeed, we differ very much with his party on many points.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Now, you must agree because coalition is coming.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Nor can we expect quick results from such a Council. But, I think it was remarkable that so many different parties could sit together and agree even on some points. I know that immediately we did not achieve the result which we would have wished for. But this does not mean we can give up. We must find the solutions. I hope Prof. Ranga's party and the S.S.P. will reconsider their attitude, because their staying away does not help and, if their voice is also heard, may be, it would be a little easier to implement our decisions and to take along more of the people with us on these issues.

Several hon. Members have referred to inter-State questions, river and border disputes. The M.Ps of various parties who represent Andhra Pradesh or who represent Mysore have come to me and, on earlier occasions, the M.Ps from Maharashtra and other groups have also been to me. It is agreed that the Krishna-Godavari question should be referred to arbitration. But some details about jurisdiction, terms of reference and so on are still being worked out.

A reference was also made to another matter, that is, the Maharashtra border dispute. This is an economic and political matter which has acquired emotional overtones. I cannot say much on this occasions nor would it be right to pre-judge the final outcome here. But, as I said earlier, we should emphasize that the matter be approached by all

concerned in a cool and level-headed manner, in a spirit of co-operation, tolerance and give-and-take. Government cannot yield to pressure or ultimatums. We have to help emotions to cool down before lasting solutions can be found to such very complex problems. Some steps were contemplated soon after the mid-term poll and I had hoped to have talks with the two Chief Ministers, but then the events in Bombay intervened. Whatever decision is taken, we must be concerned about the possible trial of bitterness which it may leave behind. If there is delay or if we are consulting more people, it is merely to try and avoid this trial of bitterness and hatred which some of these problems leave behind...

SHRI R. K. AMIN (Dnandhuka) : What about the Narmada dispute ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The same applies to it also.

The basic point is that we must live together. No State can change its geographical position and say, 'I can choose other neighbours'. Since we must live together, we have to find a basis on which there can be good neighbourly relations and solutions which will help towards creating such a relationship. The key to harmony is not imposition but agreement.

Much was said on the results of the mid-term poll. I have talked on this earlier and I have no intention of saying much about it again. I would like to welcome the Governments in West Bengal and Punjab. To these States we shall give the fullest consideration and co-operation. We must at all times realise that the whole is greater than the part, and that the welfare and prosperity of the Indian people and the nation should be the objective of all of us, regardless of our party affiliations. I hope that each State Government, regardless of what party or parties it may be composed of, keeps in mind that, while it is responsible for the governance of one State, that State is only one part of this great country, and it is our duty in the Centre as well as in the States to uphold and foster the unity of the nation as well as any special identity of the States. In fact, there is great need

President's Address (M)

that whichever State a particular person may be born in—I have said this before, but I would like to say again—he should be able to work and to prosper in any other State. All our far-sighted educationists have stressed it as important that India should be one intellectual entity just as it is one economic common market. This is also the underlying reason for having a unified judiciary and unified all-India services. They really represent an apparatus in the nature of a joint partnership of the Union and the States, and must be preserved and fostered as such...

SHRI NAMBIAR : We hate the unified bureaucracy. Bureaucracy must be ended.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We attach the younger importance to the problems of young people. The younger generation has new urges, new demands, here as well as elsewhere in the world. The problem is not merely one of jobs or of security or insecurity although that does exist; it is a question of a change of outlook. New knowledge, new opportunities, new freedoms, are coming their way. Contact with the outside world is also influencing the situation. They have tremendous energy—in fact, I would even say, there is an 'explosion of energy'—and they have a desire to forge new paths, they then shall desire to grope towards a future which has meaning for them.

Government are fully aware of these factors, and we want our Ministry of Education to give special attention to youth services and to think of follow-up measures. But here too there is an area of governmental responsibility but an equally large area for professors, for political leaders, for the non-political elite, for parents and for the community at large to share the responsibility and to find ways of bridging this generation gap. Just as in some of the border and other disputes, all parties join on a particular issue, this is something in which all of one generation are on one side of the bridge and the younger generation is on the other side of the bridge. How to have a better understanding of the problem is something that we can work out...

President's Address (M)

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: And she stands between the two.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I used to, but now as the hon. Member can see, my hair is greying. This is a matter which we must work together to solve.

Many amendments have been proposed seeking to draw attention to certain alleged failures of foreign policy. I believe that the policy which we have been pursuing during the last two decades and more represents a national consensus. Its basic structure has found wide acceptance in the country.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Question.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The Swatantra Party will certainly question it. This is to be expected...

AN HON. MEMBER : The Jan Sangh is also there.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Yes, the Jan Sangh is also there.

I am sorry for having left you out.

In the light of changing circumstances in the world, it has served our national interests.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : No.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : This is perhaps the reason why there is no attempt on the part of the Opposition to elaborate upon an alternative structure of principles on which our foreign policy could rest. The attack was more by implication than in the nature of a frontal one. There will probably be occasions to go into the details of foreign policy during this budget session. However, I should like to touch briefly on a subject which is naturally of deep concern to us all. I refer to the question of security. On what does our security depend?

SHRI ZULFIQAR ALI KHAN (Rampur) : Shri Swaran Singh).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Obviously, no one can defend this huge country with its 500 million people unless the people themselves are ready and willing to lay down their lives for the

[SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI]

defence of their Motherland. Our security, therefore, depends in the first instance, on the patriotism and the spirit of self-sacrifice of the people as a whole.

SHRI RANGA : In spite of the Government.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The validity of this proposition cannot be challenged. No nation can effectively bear arms unless its citizens have the spirit to bear arms. The second essential element in our security is the industrial and economic strength of the country. Without such strength, we will be condemned to live on borrowed strength, and this borrowing can be done temporarily but it cannot be a principle of foreign policy. We have seen that military alliances had not succeeded in guaranteeing security. Even countries covered by military alliances today feel insecure. There is a questioning of the principles on which these alliances were brought about at the height of the cold war. Each country today realises that it must build its own economic strength if it wishes to safeguard its security. This is precisely what we have been doing. Finally, our security depends on the strength, the morale, the fighting efficiency and the patriotism of our Armed Forces. Let us not be diverted from the prime necessity of increasing the fighting efficiency of our conventional Armed Forces.

This is what we have been endeavouring to do.....(*Interruptions*).

There was reference to nuclear power, especially since it is possessed by one of our next door neighbours. Let us not be panicky about it ; let us not undermine the growth of our economy by diverting resources towards that end.....(*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER : Atom Bomb must be built by this country.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I should like to say something about the criticism that this country is isolated and forlorn. Some hon. Members seem to take delight in self-humiliation. The fact however remains that our country is held in high regard by the world and we continue to play our role in important international organizations and

forums. I think it is only those who lack confidence either in themselves or in the country who indulge in denigrating the country. If we are friendless, it would be interesting to hear from the hon. Members which country they consider does have friends. The world situation today is in an extremely fluid state.

SHRI RANGA : It has been.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It has been; it is more so now. At one time countries had well-defined positions. Today they do not. Today, many of the alliances have blurred and there are many new factors which have arisen in all parts of the world. There is friction not only between one State and another but also within almost every country. This is true not only of developing countries but even of the so-called advanced countries. Therefore, I should ask the movers of the various amendments to withdraw them. Many of the amendments emanate from the mistaken notion that the President's Address should refer to each and every act of the Government...(*Interruptions*). It can only deal with the general outlook and the policy of the Government. An objective reading of the Address should provide optimism and not gloom. I should urge on the critics of the Government to shed their chronic pessimism and become constructive participants in working for the continued progress and prosperity of our country. I am aware that many gaps have to be filled and many difficulties have to be solved. Many challenges have to be met and we have a long way to go. But I am comforted by the thought that we are on the right path...(*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER : Question.

SHRI NAMBIAR : You are on a very wrong path ; you should change it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : My hon. friend would certainly like to see a change in our path and he would like us to go along his path. The hon. friends on the other side, of the opposition, would like us to change our path and go in an entirely opposite direction.....(*Interruptions*). The question today is this : At a time when in different States there are Governments with entirely different points of view, the major question is how all

President's Address (M)

of them* can stand together. Whether we can find areas of agreement and attempt to increase those areas. We cannot possibly agree on all questions. I may agree on one point with Prof. Ranga and on another point with another party. Still, we shall obviously have many differences. That is why we are in different parties, otherwise there would not be so many parties. There would have been just one party.

SHRI RANGA : She has to be the Prime Minister of a party.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am ; I naturally belong to a party and I am also committed to a particular programme and a particular policy. We shall follow that programme and that policy. We have to follow a path, which may not be fully agreeable to hon. members here or fully agreeable to Hon. Members there. That by itself shows that one path is trying to take the majority of the people along, because it is finding disfavour with those who are at the two extremes. This is the only way in which we can go ahead and work hard to solve our many problems and bring a better life to our people. Therefore, I hope that the entire House will support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipur) : Are you going to respect the verdict of the ballot box and remove Mr. Dharma Vira or not ? (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER : I cannot compel any particular point to be answered. I am not preventing anybody from answering. I have absolutely no objection, but she is not answering it. You will have another opportunity.

Now, there are about 558 amendments. Hon. members may indicate the numbers of amendments they want to press and to be put separately.

SHRI RANGA : We would like Nos. 544, 545, 546 and 558 to be put separately.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (वलरामपुर) : हम संशोधन संख्या 1 और 13 को प्रस करना चाहते हैं ।

श्री रामावतार झास्त्री (पटना) : हम संशोधन संख्या 317 और 351 प्रस करते हैं ।

President's Address (M)

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : We would like to press Nos. 101 and 105.

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR (Palghat) : Nos. 395 to 411.

SHRI S. KUNDU : No. 107.

MR. SPEAKER : I will now put Shri Ranga's amendments Nos. 544, 545, 546 and 558 to vote.

Amendments Nos. 544, 545, 546 and 558 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : I would like the parties to tell me which of the amendments they would like to press to a division.

SHRI RANGA : On the main Motion of Thanks we want to go into a division and all our respective amendments may be put to a voice vote.

MR. SPEAKER : I will put amendments Nos. 1 to 9 to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 1 to 9 were put and Negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall now put all other amendments to vote.

All the other amendments were also put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall put the Motion of Thanks to vote.

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 17th February, 1969."

The Lok Sabha Divided :

AYES

Division No. 2]

[12.57 hrs.,

Achal Singh, Shri
Ahmad, Shri F.A.
Ankineedu, Shri
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha
Babunath Singh, Shri
Bajaj, Shri Kamalnayan
Bajpai, Shri Shashibhushan
Barua, Shri Bedabrata
Barua, Shri R.