

ment intend to introduce measures for fulfilling these objectives.

42. Government will accord high priority to the social, economic and cultural development of women. An important step in this direction will be the provision of free education for girls up to the end of higher secondary stage. Government will frame a new national programme for women. In both the formulation and implementation of this programme, voluntary organisations will have an important role.

43. 1985 is being observed as the Year of the Youth. Our youth have already shown great promise in promoting national integration, undertaking social work and achieving excellence in all fields of human endeavour. The need of the hour is to let the youth come forward to participate enthusiastically in nation-building. Appropriate programmes in this regard will be implemented.

44. Government have constituted a separate Department of Forests and Wild Life in recognition of the vitally important national task of conserving and developing our forest wealth. A new forest policy will be announced soon. A Waste Land Development Board is being set up to give new impetus to afforestation as a people's movement. Steps are being taken to deal effectively with the problems of air and water pollution.

45. My Government are establishing a Central Ganga Authority to stop the pollution of the Ganga. The Ganga is no ordinary river. With it are bound long memories of our past, our song and poetry and our search for Truth. A cleaner Ganga is thus a matter of the deepest satisfaction to our people.

46. Government attach high importance to the preservation of our cultural heritage. Equal importance will be given to promotion of creativity in the arts. Encouragement of science and technology and the application of scientific knowledge for solving the problems of the people will continue to receive high priority.

47. These are some of the priorities of

national effort. Our duty as representatives of the people is to canalise the tremendous upsurge among the masses into cooperative and disciplined endeavour to accelerate development and to prepare the country for the 21st century. I wish you success in this great and exciting task.

Jai Hind.

MEMBERS SWORN

12.34 hrs.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : Secretary-General to call out the names of members who have not yet taken the oath or made the affirmation.

Shri Digvijay Sinh (Rajgarh)

Shri R.N. Yadav (Parbhani)

Shrimati Kesharbai Kshirsagar (Bhir)

Shri Bhausahab Thorat (Pandharpur)

Shri K. Pradhani (Nowrangpur)

Shri Girdhari Lal (Bijnor)

Shri Kedar Nath (Hapur)

12 35 hrs.

OBITUARY REFERENCE

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : Now I move the following resolution :

“This House mourns the loss of one of the greatest Indians of the 20th Century. Future generations, rising above the tumult of our times, will look with love and gratitude on the magnitude and splendour of Indira Gandhi's achievements. Her vision and tireless energy brought India

[Mr. Speaker]

into the era of self-reliance. She breathed new life into the concept of a united modern India. Today we walk upright with pride and confidence, pride in what India is and confidence in what we shall do for ourselves and the world.

Indira Gandhi did not belong to India alone ; she belonged to the entire suffering humanity. Her voice was the voice of the hungry, the weak, the anguished, the maimed and the disabled. She laboured so that bitterness and strife may cease and justice prevail among nations. She fought relentlessly against all forms of oppression. With characteristic devotion, she espoused the cause of disarmament and a just international economic order.

The masses of India adored Indira Gandhi because in her and through her their dreams and hopes of India's great future took concrete shape. In turn, she filled them with unconquerable strength of her vision of India. Indira Gandhi loved India and the Indian people with a passion so sublime that it will live among us for long ages.

She has joined the ranks of the immortals of History. We pay our humble tribute to her memory and pledge ourselves to follow her noble ideals."

Hon. Members, we have gathered in this House to pay the respectful homage of a grateful nation, through its elected representatives, to the late Prime Minister of India, Bharat Ratna Priya Darshini Shrimati Indira Gandhi whose hallowed presence was felt here, for more than 15 years in this august House. She nurtured our parliamentary norms and procedures and continuously sought consensus so as to project the image of a strong, united and modern India. She never flouted or interfered with the functioning of democratic institutions. Her approach was always objective and pragmatic. For her, India was paramount and the people of India were supreme and their wishes were a word

of command. She was a great democrat. In 1977, she gracefully bowed out in deference to the verdict of the people, which she had sought at her own initiative but when she came back to power, hers was not the politics of revenge. She never spoke any harsh word to offend or irritate the susceptibilities of even her bitterest opponents. The future of this country was her main concern.

By the way, I was with her in 1979, and it was an evening, in the Kashmir Valley. We had come out after attending three or four meetings on that day, and we were sitting on the lawns--Shrimati Indira Gandhi and myself. There was something going on against her then and I asked her, "Madam, what do you think ?" She said, "It just goes on like this ; we have to carry on." At that instant, I told her : "Madam, I would like you to do something ; promise me one thing." She asked, "What is it ?" I said, "Whatever may be the circumstances, whatever may be the workings of the people in higher places, when we come back to power, I ask you that we shall not follow those steps in any case." And in what a way she replied to me ! It was not an answer ; it was a question to a question. She asked me, "Have you ever heard any harsh word from me against anybody ?" I said, "No, Madam." She added, "Then, take it that if and when we come back to power, I shall not do anything which will be just personal or anything which can be termed as a sort of revenge." And I think she lived upto that. She never spoke any harsh word to offend or irritate the susceptibilities of even her bitterest opponents. The future of this country was her main concern. She had the vision, energy and drive of a true statesman, who always placed national interest above everything else. To her, individuals or Parties were not that important. The emergence of India as a great nation, wedded to peace and friendship with all, was her objective.

Indira Priyadarshini had trained herself for the service of the country from her early childhood under the tutelage of her grandfather, Pandit Motilal Nehru, her father Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and her mother Shrimati Kamala Nehru, the spirit of dedication and sacrifice was her heritage, and she lived this ideal.—

[Translation]

—And why should not it have been so? India has a rich heritage. There have been many Rishis, Munis and Mahatmas here before Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. Did they not make sacrifices; were they all not imbued with the spirit of sacrifice? A *fakir* wearing a loin's cloth fought against the most powerful empire of the world without raising a finger against anybody. He inculcated in us the spirit of sacrifice and made the supreme sacrifice of his own life to keep the country united and also removed the feeling of separatism. He said that we all are brothers. And Indiraji followed the same ideal. She was very strong; she could have harmed anybody but she did not. But she herself suffered and ultimately faced the bullets. It was her greatness.

[English]

She had campaigned incessantly for procuring economic, social and political justice to the weaker sections of the society and the minorities. She was committed to make India united, strong, prosperous and beautiful. That was her dream.

Her Government, through its long years in the service of the nation, steered it pragmatically and scientifically through the throes of emerging from an underdeveloped economy to one surplus in agricultural production—capable of feeding itself and standing on its own feet. What a magnificent achievement! Nowhere in the world any one has seen like this. The farmers of India, at her behest and on their own, did something remarkable: 340 million people were importing millions of tonnes of foodgrains and now we have more than 700 million people and we are in a position to export. What an achievement! Agricultural development was spearheaded with adequate emphasis on modern techniques and genetic development of new species. This was dovetailed with the development of the public sector and industrial growth in the private sector. The fruits of growth in the agricultural sector and in our industrial sector gave an impetus for further development. India took its first steps in the space sector and in the exploration of 'Antarctica.' The

communication sector too was modernised and tremendous emphasis was given to the use of the INSAT facilities to further national integration.

She was always keen and eager to raise the standard of living of every Indian. While striving for modernisation she laid emphasis on the rich cultural heritage of India—its intrinsic unity in diversity; its great past and its traditions; its arts, literature, music, dance and folk arts, its handlooms, its handicrafts and the wonders of architecture and beauty spread throughout the land.

Her personal interest and touch was a tremendous booster for the scientific development. Her encouragement to researchers and scientists was a continuous source of inspiration to them. Even when they met with failure, she provided them the will to try and try again, so as to ultimately reach the goal. Besides the growth in this sector, she was also aware that the environments be preserved. Her interest in wild life, in the sanctuaries, in the flora and fauna of this country was well known. Whether it was gas exploration, oil drilling, oceanic research, launching of a satellite, sending of scientists to Antarctica, highlighting the need to conserve the environments or the development of sport through ASIAD, she always found time to take special interest in them.

Our development in the defence sector was phenomenal and our countrymen took pride in our defence prowess and in our forces. She was fully aware of the dangers to the nation from forces of disintegration and continuously worked towards making a strong India. In fact, every drop of her blood will continue to invigorate and unite the nation, even according to her own wishes.

The emergence of India as a world power is a tribute to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's statesmanship, her vision, her thoughts and her depth of knowledge. Her concept of priorities was heralded throughout the world. As leader of NAM and CHOGM, she continuously kept in touch with world leaders and visited foreign countries to keep that rapport. She was posthumously awarded

[Mr. Speaker]

the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding for 1984. In her demise, we lost not only a great world leader, we lost a part of our history, a part of India and part of us, of every home, of every hearth. The loss is in our hearts—the anguish is in the soul—the emptiness is in our beings.

“But, Oh for the touch of a vanished hand and the sound of a Voice that is still”.

Left behind, by her, in her own hand, is a message to us which I quote :

“Sons and daughters of India—be you workers or Kisans, businessmen or industrialists, teachers or students, writers or artists—you are all inhabitants of this great country. Through your veins runs the blood of Heroes and Great Men. Let diffidence give way to confidence ; let despair give way to hope. We will then be able to build a strong nation ; we will then be able to raise the structure of a beautiful BHARAT. We are capable of doing so. We have embarked on an exciting venture. We shall face every difficulty with courage and determination.”

That was Indira Gandhi. There comes her Janata.

The sense of loss to all of us is personalised and the grieving is in our souls. She left behind memories of the softness of petals and the brilliance of a Kohinoor. To the bereaved son—our new Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi—the mantle has fallen, a mantle giving him the over whelming love and trust of a sorrowing nation, a nation despairing and grieving and yet wanting to stay firm, united and one for achieving its dreams and aspirations.

Mr. Prime Minister, your loss is our loss and on behalf of the whole House and on my own behalf, I extend to you and to your family, our heart-felt condolences and sympathy.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDY (Adilabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to bow my head in homage to the greatest leader of our times. She was assassinated in her own house by her own bodyguards and it was the greatest national disaster, the greatest calamity ; and we are really ashamed that we could not protect her in her own house.

Sir, I express my deep sorrow on behalf of my party and I pray to God that her soul will rest in peace.

Sir, I know that at certain times her style of functioning was such that it created very strong feelings for and against among the people and it created certain political problems ; but none would disagree that she was the greatest patriot and what she did was in the best interest of the country and the people.

Political assassinations,—whoever they may be, and in whichever country it may be—are very bad and very sad events. We know that in Bangladesh such a tragedy had occurred. But in this case we have lost the greatest Prime Minister the world had ever produced and we are all sorry for losing her.

I had not known her personally because I was not here at the time when she was the Prime Minister. I had known her father, the great father, and the great husband, Shri Feroze Gandhi. I had known these two stalwarts and I was told that she emerged as the greatest parliamentarian and the greatest world leader and we are really proud that we had such a great leader and posterity will always remember it. I always think that it is very seldom that we produce leaders of that stature. It is a great loss to our country and a great loss to ourselves. I once again express my deep sorrow for the sad demise of the late Prime Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is difficult to sum up the achievements and the contribution of Indiraji in a few words. Her contribution was not limited just to India. Her fight was for the deprived and the poor all over the world, and with her assassina-

tion we lose one of the few statesmen that are thrown up in every generation.

She will be missed not only in India but throughout the world. If one quality is to be mentioned, I think, that quality was her courage and her strength to fight for what she thought was right and correct, for what she thought had to be done for the poor and the deprived of the world. In this she showed a courage and a strength which few people could equal. Whether she was in power or out of power she did not stop that fight. She continued irrespective of the odds that were put against her. And it was because of this struggle, because of this fight for the deprived and the poor of the world that she perhaps had to face the heaviest odds of any leader in the world today not just within our country but from pressures all over the world. Perhaps Indiraji would not have liked that we mourn for her. To remember her, we should try to finish her unfinished task, try to live up to her ideals. That would be the most befitting memorial that we can give her.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. SARADISH ROY (Bolepur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), I express our Party's deep indignation at the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. We could not even imagine when we dispersed after the last session that the new Lok Sabha will be meeting without her presence, that her life would be extinguished in such a dastardly manner by two of her own security men inside her own residential premises.

Shrimati Gandhi was the Prime Minister of the country from 1966 except for a brief interregnum in 1978-80.

A participant herself in the freedom struggle of the country, Shrimati Indira Gandhi followed the anti-imperialist traditions of the national movement when she pursued the foreign policy of non-alignment and friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and socialist countries. She played a prominent role in the non-aligned movement and was its Chairperson at the time of her death. She was alarmed at the nuclear war danger and was a signatory to

the six-power appeal for nuclear disarmament.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi's assassination has revealed more than anything else, the imperialist conspiracy to destabilise our country and dismember it if possible. This, as we know, is the declared objective of U.S. imperialism. We know that imperialist agencies have been patronising and helping divisive and secessionist forces in various parts of the country. We know that the Khalistani secessionists were being encouraged and helped by the imperialists and their conduit was the military regime of Pakistan. We know that the imperialists are encircling India with hostile regimes. And recently we came to know about the U.S. State Department—directed study about what would happen in India in case of the sudden demise of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The foreign hand behind her assassination is clearly visible.

The imperialist conspiracy against India has been a longstanding one. The imperialists have been pressurising India to give up or water down its foreign policy of non-alignment and friendship with the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries. This policy enabled India to resist the imperialist pressures and our Party had supported this policy. India today is the Chairman of the non-aligned movement and we hope this foreign policy will continue in the interests of the country, in the interests of world peace and in the interests of the Third World. This, in our opinion, will be the proper way to honour her memory.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, sometimes it so happens that when one is overwhelmed with emotions, one does not find words adequate enough to express one's feelings for want of words. While speaking on this motion, I find myself in that position. During our long association of 25 years in which we witnessed many ups and downs, we learnt a lot from her, and now all those things are appearing before my eyes. She had many achievements to her credit which would be described by historians for a long time to

[Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao]

come but I recall those difficult days, which probably may not find place in books of history, as very few persons may be aware of them. She visited Belchi. She was sent to Jail. Even when she was out of power, she rushed to sympathise and console the afflicted people everywhere and proved that she was with the people and that she could not leave them.

13 hrs.

I remember the day when she visited the typhoon victims in the coastal area of Avanigadda in Andhra Pradesh. I was with her. When the people saw her amidst them, tears welled up in their eyes. She consoled them. The people said they were quite aware of the fact that she was not in power and was unable to help them but that they would never forget the courtesy she had shown by her visit. I remember the scene in the House before she was taken to Tihar jail. I also remember the scene when she was produced before the Shah Commission, and other similar scenes. It appears to me that the country got her leadership at the time when it was much needed. She did not take poverty as an individual problem but took it as the biggest impediment in the way of progress and fought against it. She fought against all the ingredients of poverty. She did not raise the slogan of "Garibi Hatao" merely as a part of her speech but it was her very way of thinking. She tried to translate this thinking into action through the programme of her party and her Government. She repeatedly said that she used to issue orders from the Centre but she was not aware whether the orders were being implemented in the villages or not. If the programmes were not implemented properly in the villages, the concerned persons were responsible for that, but she knew it very well that nothing else but this programme could eradicate poverty. Poverty cannot be removed so easily. But her views regarding eradication of the deep-rooted poverty in our society had such an impact in the country that no one was left untouched. This created controversy; allegations were also made against her. She was criticised for it also

but we got through all these difficulties and the country continued to make progress.

She led a full life and reached the peak of popularity. No other national leader or world leader could aspire for more. It was our misfortune that, in spite of all this, she fell to the assassin's bullets. It was unfortunate for the country. Today, we cannot but say that India is so vast and great a country, having so many complexities that its path shall never be easy; nobody, neither the external nor the internal enemies, would allow India to live in peace. There are many forces today because of which India has to tread on a razor's edge; there is no escape. A great responsibility is, therefore, cast on all the countrymen and on the people who have to govern the country. I, therefore, hope that we shall continue to extend our cooperation to our new leadership in the same manner in which we extended our cooperation to Indiraji. With these words I support this Resolution.

[English]

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam): Respected Sir, it is an irreparable loss not only to India, but to the entire world, especially to the non-aligned nations. I cannot remember a year so monstrous, so dismal, so cruel and so terrifying. 1984 is a year of assassination.

Mr. Abu Abraham said, "Hell has paid agents, entered into the souls of two young men and they shot the frail woman, a grandmother of 66 years, once she walked through the garden of her home." I put it Sir, that she is not only a mother of this nation, she is a grandmother of her grandchildren. We have lost a brave lady, we have lost a brave leader, the bravest of all leaders of the world. Her frame was frail, but her spirit was unconquerable and such a lady, we have lost.

In this context, Sir, I want to mention the services rendered by our mother, Madam Indira Gandhiji, to our ailing leader, Mr. Puratchi Thalaivar M.G. Ramachandran when he was in a private hospital at Madras. She made an air-dash to Madras and she rendered all the help, she rendered all the services as a friend and as a mother to her son. We will not forget, the Tamil

Nadu people, the All India Anna DMK people will not forget the services rendered to our State. And I want to put it Sir, that mother Indira Gandhiji, because of her programmes and schemes, is alive in the hearts of the poor and down-trodden people in India.

Even though she is dead, she lives in our hearts, and we convey our deep sorrow to Madam Indira Gandhi's family. The leader of the younger generation, the son of the great mother, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has come forward to help the younger generation to grow rapidly in all respects, especially in India. His speech so far, as I have heard it, certainly reflects that approach.

Indira Gandhi had drafted many schemes, and implemented them in India. They will be carried by our hon. Prime Minister; and new schemes will be formulated by him in order to make the country flourish.

On behalf of the All India Anna DMK, I express our deep sorrow.

[Translation.]

SMT. MOHSINA KIDWAI (Meerut): Sir, words fail me in paying homage to Indiraji. It is my good fortune that I had an opportunity to work with her and in those few years I found that she was an embodiment of all the virtues a good human being should have. She was replete with motherly feelings for her countrymen. A mother feels happy to see her child grow, but gets worried whenever he suffers even a little, and shows extreme courage and strength to save him when he is in trouble; the same feelings I had seen in her for the country and its people. So many instances come to my mind when I was with her throughout the period till 1978-79 and she used to tell us how boldly she had been facing the difficulties. At the time of difficulties, she did not merely express sympathy with us but told us to face them with courage. I also recollect how kind-hearted she was towards people in need and victims of calamities. We travelled the whole night, met flood and drought-affected people. I also recollect that even when it was two or three o'clock at night, wherever Indiraji

reached, people with torches and lanterns in their hands reached there to welcome her. They felt as if some goddess had arrived there to alleviate their miseries.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you were also with us at that time. I am unable to encompass her good deeds in words. I remember the occasion when she became Prime Minister again. The biggest quality in Indiraji was that she neither uttered nor allowed anyone else to utter even a single word against her opponents. Her biggest virtue was boldness, harmony and truthfulness.

I feel that she never worked against her conscience. Whatever she thought was right on the basis of her judgement, she did that. There is a line "*Ekla Chalo Re*" from a song in Bengali. She was of the view that it was better to be alone on the path of righteousness than to be with a large crowd which puts you on a wrong path.

Once a very poor girl Hamida, who was a heart patient had written to me a letter in which she had sought financial help. I advised her to write to Indiraji. Within three days, all the necessary arrangements for her treatment were made in the Jaslok Hospital and she was successfully operated upon.

At the time of crisis and difficulties, Indiraji used to act very fast; she steered the nation to safety out of every danger with great skill. I am reminded here of a couplet:

*Chala Jata Hun Hansta Khelta Mauje
Hava Ke Sath
Agar Asanian Hon To Zindagi Dushvar
Ho Jae.*

I very well remember the time when she was in difficulty, but she never lost heart. Even if we got angry sometimes, she would check us and ask us to follow the right path to attain our goal. Ancient and modern cultures both had an amalgam in Indiraji and she gave equal importance to the old and new values. While she loved the old values and culture, she also liked the new techniques and developments helpful in the progress of the country.

[Smt. Mohsina Kidwai]

One thing more. Her death is a personal loss to me. I used to feel proud in the sense that only a few of us had got an opportunity to be with her and knew her personally. But after her sad demise, I realised that not only the people of this country but thousands of people from other parts of the world also knew her personally. She was such a great personality that we cannot forget her. The real tribute to her would be to follow the courage and boldness which she showed to us as a mother, as a political personality, as a good human being and as a patriot. When I came here, she was the Prime Minister, I always considered her as my elder sister. The way she used to treat us, was not that of a Prime Minister ; it was that of an elder sister. The award of Bharat Ratna was rightly conferred upon her. She was really a jewel now cruelly snatched away from us. I feel that our young Prime Minister who belongs to the new generation also possesses all these qualities.

He is her son and same blood runs through his veins. We hope that he will complete her unfinished task. So far as Indiraji is concerned, I am reminded of an Urdu couplet which I may recall :

*Hazon Saal Nargis Apni Benuri pe Roti
Hai
Bari Mushkil Se Hota Hai Chaman Mein
Didavar Paida*

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE (Rajapur) : Mr. Speaker, when you from the Chair moved the condolence resolution, really speaking, you gave voice to the sorrow of the entire House and through you the entire nation. In our democratic polity, the nation decided to give a high place and high office of Prime Ministership to Indiraji, but the history was destined to give her a higher place, the place of martyr ; and that is the place that she is occupying in history. I have been one among those who have got the good fortune for long 13 years to share various debates with the former Prime Minister, exchange arguments ; but arguments remained mere arguments ; there was

never any bitterness ; and permit me to say that even those of us who differed with the perspective of Mrs. Indira Gandhi on various issues, we shared with her the love of the country ; and the manner in which this great personality in our country was extinguished, I think, has caused pain to every one.

As far as Indiraji is concerned, the history will always say that she gambled with history with high stakes and risks. I think those of us who want to pursue our own cause, there is one quality which we will have to emulate and that is the indomitable will and the preparedness to face any risk, in order to achieve the goal which we want to accomplish. The entire story of her life in politics is a story of calculated risk for the cause for which she wanted to work.

I remember the Presidential Election when Mr. Giri was elected.

I think she risked her entire political life and career. A little different result and her entire political life would have changed. But she took a calculated risk. In her own party when she wanted to rebel against the establishment, she did that at a great risk. Sir, when she wanted the image of politics to be radicalised, she did not hesitate to nationalise banks in the country. Sir, when she found that the princes were building a pressure lobby in the country, she did not hesitate to abolish the purses of the princes and, Sir, when the question of Bangladesh arose, when there were powers, big powers in the world to exert the pressure, she withstood those pressures and correctly decided to stand by the freedom-fighters of Bangladesh. And, Sir, there are so many other occasions on which we could remember this. Whatever came in the way she was prepared to change it. There might be differences. But if she felt that the Constitution came in the way, she did not hesitate to modify the Constitution. She wanted to take calculated risks.

Sir, the Emergency was over and when she announced elections in 1977, that again was a great risk that she took and she paid for that. She went out of power. But that is another instance which shows that she was prepared to take a calculated risk.

And lastly, when to our own humble convictions it appeared that to tackle the problem of extremists of Punjab military action was necessary—with which there can be differences—she did not hesitate to take that risk, and, Sir, today it has been established that she resorted to military action in the Golden Temple at the risk of her own life. Probably if she were not to take that risk, we still would have seen her here occupying the seat of the Prime Minister. But that did not happen so.

Sir, in this House, I, recollect so many instances. I do not want to take the time of the House. But permit me to quote two interesting experiences of mine. One was during the Bangladesh war. One day when we were all debating certain issues after the recess, we found Mrs. Gandhi running to the House like a child with beaming smiles on her face. She came to the very same seat and with the permission of the Speaker she announced, "Sir, I have come here to announce that Dacca has become the free capital of free Bangladesh". Sir, to that announcement a full-throated support was given by the entire House and there was some sort of an earthquake in the House. There was a joyous atmosphere. And I again remember on that occasion I just got up immediately, I remembered an old poem which the freedom-fighters and martyrs sang for them :

Oh liberty, can man resign thee ?
Once having felt thy generous flame
Can dungeons, bolts or bars confine
thee ?
Or whip thy noble spirit tame ?

I just said in the end that I did not remember who was the poet, and she immediately gave the name of the poet ! I remember that experience.

Sir, there was another experience of mine with a personal slant, when I was occupying the Treasury Benches in 1977 and I remember the day Mrs. Gandhi was elected from Chikmagalur constituency to this House. Unfortunately I was not present in the House. I was present in the Rajya Sabha answering questions about the Railways. I was not present when she took the oath in this House. After the recess,

if I remember aright, along with Mr. Vasant Sathe she was moving through the Library corridors, and I found her and just said, "Indiraji, congratulations." She looked back and she said same thing with deep affection. She said, "You have brought distinction to your Government." And then she said, "It was my misfortune that you were not in my cabinet." And I said, in my humorous vein, "Madam, I was fortunate not to be there." And she laughed and laughed and smiled. Those smiles I still remember. In the midst of tears and agony I cannot forget those shining smiles. Those smiles remain with us.

Many have lost many things in this country when Mrs. Gandhi died. Congress (I) lost its president. The nation lost its Prime Minister, Rajiv lost his beloved mother. Congress (I) could get back a new president, the nation could get back a new Prime Minister. But Rajiv has lost his mother for ever. And, therefore I pay my homage not only to the former Prime Minister ; I am one among those who believe, what of the Prime Ministership, all the power of the world can never be a substitute for a mother's love and affection, and therefore, Sir, on behalf of the entire House let me give my heartfelt and sincere condolences to Rajiv Gandhi. Remember that whatever be your policies and perspectives, it is the indomitable will of your mother that should be the heritage that you will carry with you.

[*Translation*]

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have given a magnificent start to the proceedings of the new Lok Sabha by paying homage to the great world leader and an outstanding personality of the present century, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. This Lok Sabha and the whole country is grateful to you for this.

It is very difficult to find words to pay homage to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, difficult especially for those people who got an opportunity to serve the country under her

[Shri Buta Singh]

leadership and who got her personal affection.

Our country is an ancient country. Our culture is replete with the thoughts of great men, Rishis and Munis, and great saints. What these great saints of this ancient country have said about an ideal man, is evident from the couplet of saint Kabir which appeals to me. He said :

*Janani Jane To Bhakt Jane, Kai Data Kai Shoor,
Nahin Te Janani Banjh Rah, Kahe Gawawe Noor.*

The imagination, the picture of an ideal man in the above couplet of saint Kabir, compares in toto with the life of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her personality. A true devotee, liberal, broad-minded and brave, Indira Gandhi attained martyrdom. We do not find any moment in her life when she found herself aloof from her motherland—whether as an infant playing in the lap of her respected mother Kamlaji or after that, associating herself with the country's freedom struggle, holding the finger of her respected father, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, or organising Monkey Brigade as a little child before the very hopeful eyes of her respected grand-father, Shri Motilal Nehru, or later on serving her country for about twenty years as Prime Minister—every aspect of her life compares well with the thought-content of the above quoted couplet of saint Kabir.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi had control over her activities. She did whatever she thought best for the country. She did not care for the circumstances prevailing at that time or the thinking of contemporaries. She always proceeded in the direction chosen by her as if she had got some divine message or her path had been carved out for her by God.

It appeared as if the Gurbani—*Hum Yehi Karya Jagat Main Aaye*, used to inspire her again and again. She came to this world with a mission and left us while fulfilling it. We may glance at any aspect of her life and we shall find that she shone with a

bright light of patriotism and whatever she resolved to do, she accomplished to the last.

Our country has peculiarities of its own. The feelings, the respect and the trust the countrymen reposed in her, gave ample strength to her to stand like a rock and provide the countrymen shelter in time of need.

I remember the historic split in Congress in 1969. After the split, she decided to invest the entire capital of the country in public interest for the cause of poor people, farmers, labourers and other neglected people of the country and for this purpose, Shrimati Indira Gandhi made the historic proposal of bank nationalisation. As Prof. Madhu Dandavate has said there was need to abolish the privy-purses of ex-rulers—the last remnants of Jagirdari—Shrimati Indira Gandhi got that proposal passed. But some factions of people in the country challenged these laws and got them annulled in the Supreme Court.

You will remember that taking it as a challenge, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had said in this House that if influential people could challenge the laws which were enacted, the Bills which were adopted in Lok Sabha, she was the least worried but she would go to the people and ask them to elect such a Lok Sabha, whose enacted laws and motions could not be challenged in any court of law. Thereafter, in 1971 she went to the people to seek their mandate and in the general elections to the Lok Sabha in 1971, she got a massive mandate and an unprecedented victory. By getting these two laws passed from that Lok Sabha, she proved that she always did what her countrymen desired.

Thereafter, she achieved so many landmarks which have been just enumerated by Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. Whatever she suffered after 1977, in Marwari we may say '*Begha bhi paraya ho gaya*,' at that time in that atmosphere of hostile attitude towards her all around, she remained steadfast and continued her march towards her desired goal. Thereafter, she returned to Parliament with the help of people's power and the trust reposed in her by them.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi treated all the people of the country as one irrespective of their caste, creed and religion as well as their status. As, after the fall of all the rivers into the Indian Ocean, it becomes difficult for any scientist to classify the waters of Indian Ocean riverwise, that is, whether it is the water of the Ganges, the Narmada, the Sutlej or the Beas, likewise, she thought about the people of her country. She had this belief during her last days too. Everyone told her that in the wake of disturbances in Punjab and army action, she must be careful. But about her security guards, she said that she had full faith in the people of India and, therefore, she would not at all transfer them. The manner in which she died had proved this not only in India but also in the whole world as diplomats from 102 countries came to attend her funeral. I was deputed at Palam airport along with my colleague Shri Shiv Shankar to escort these people to her residence. At that time, many people were weeping as if their own mother had left them for the heavenly abode.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi was mother not only to the people of India but to the people of the whole world. She was a guiding-star, an apostle of peace and a world leader.

All of us are aware of the achievements made by the country during her regime. She had endeared herself to the down-trodden people, the backward classes, minorities, farmers and the workers to such an extent that all of them believed that she was leading the country only for them. Shrimati Indira Gandhi is no more with us, but the ray of hope is there. Whatever Shrimati Indira Gandhi had achieved for three generations, all that is before us in the youth leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi who is at present amongst us. This country is, therefore, fully confident and has a ray of hope that in whatever Shrimati Indira Gandhi achieved by following the path of the Father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and with the training she got from late Jawahar Lal Nehru and all that which she strove for during her lifetime and tried to achieve by sacrificing her own life, the whole country stands behind Shri Rajiv Gandhi

today like a rock to complete her unfinished task.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi has joined the galaxy of the great men of the ages, about whom there is a mention in our holy scriptures, Vedas and the holy Geeta ; she was a 'Karmyogi' in the true sense. I fail to find any true comparison for her personality. Her personality, perhaps, cannot be compared with that of anybody else. Our Guru Teg Bahadur Sahib Ji has written a 'Shabad' about such a personality. I will conclude with that. He has said that—

*Jo Nar Dukh mein dukh Na maane,
Sukh sneh aur bhay na jaane,
Kanchan Maati maane,
Na hi ninda nahi stuti jake, nahin maan
abhimaana,
Harakh sog na rahe niyari, tahi jag tat
pachhana,
Guru kirpa jih nar ki keeni, tih yahi jugati
pachhani,
Nanak leen bhayo Gobind sang, jiyon pani
sang pani.*

Shrimati Indira Gandhi had merged herself in the God Almighty in the same manner as the river Saraswati merges in the great ocean. It is difficult to differentiate what is God and what is Indira Gandhi.

[English]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : Sir, on behalf of my party, the Communist Party of India, and my own behalf, I offer my respectful homage to the memory of our departed Prime Minister. She was one of the most outstanding statesmen of the world, who fought for world peace, fought for non-alignment, fought for a new economic order, fought for friendship with the socialist countries. And this fight was in accordance with the ardent wish of our nation to have friendship with all forces of peace and for economic development.

Sir, her assassination and the tragic circumstances of it shocked our nation very deeply. Even today the question remains ; who were the conspirators behind this dastardly assassination ? While paying respect to her memory, I would naturally like to

[Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee]

again remind that we have to find out how it happened and have also to uncover the real culprits of assassination as well as the foreign imperialists who are particularly interested in destabilising our country.

I was not with her for long, but only for five years I had been in Parliament, but among many other things, one thing that struck me very forcefully was that if any of India's wealth was discovered, be it oil or be it anything else, we could really see the Prime Minister's face beaming. I respect her for that India marched forward in many ways under her stewardship, though economic disparity also grew.

Just now I would like to say one thing. She enjoyed a very important place among the women. Those of us who agreed with her or those of us who disagreed with her, all really are proud of her as being the most outstanding woman of our nation and the most admired one.

Everybody has mentioned about her qualities and I also cannot but mention, the most attractive quality in her was determination and courage. Whether we agreed or disagreed, with her in public life, we really and sincerely appreciate that courage and determination for her own conviction, whatever the conviction may be.

With these words, I pay my homage and I also express my heartfelt sympathy to Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as Mr. Narasimha Rao has said, it is very difficult within the time that one can take on an occasion like this to sum up even a few of her great qualities and achievements. I subscribe to every word that has fallen from you, Sir, and from every Member who has spoken, more especially the leaders of our Opposition, Mr. Dandavate and of the two Communist parties and others. All those things that have been said by both sides, I take them as my own words of tribute, of appreciation and of homage.

I would like to bring to the notice of the

House what I have felt, what the people have been feeling and thinking, what the millions of people have been feeling and thinking. The people of my constituency are only a sample of them. She is the Yashoda, she is the Fatima, she is the Yashodhara and she is the Mariamma. The people of Punjab out of their gratitude for their great martyr Bhagat Singh, have acclaimed his mother as the mother of Punjab; without waiting for the sanction of this House or of any Government, people have already acclaimed her as their mother. I have seen hundreds and hundreds of people, almost everyday during the thirty days of my tour in the last election shedding tears and some of them collapsing just because they felt that I was their brother and to some I was their father, and I lost my child, a fearless child, the like of which has not been produced anywhere in the world during the history. Many great men there were, many great prophets there were among men, but there was no other leader of 700 millions of people who has come to be acclaimed by the masses, men and women, as their mother, as their sister and as their child. She loved people and they loved her too. Politics there is, and different sides happened to be in this House; they found fault with her for many things. Most of us have shared that kind of an experience as we do in the family. She was another kind of a woman, Sir, who was loved so much. To admire a woman is nothing special. To acclaim a woman as a beauty or as a poet is nothing very special. To accept and acclaim a woman like Indira-ji with all her politics, with all her determined ways of life and public activities, to love her in the manner in which our millions and millions of people have come to love her is a thing which I can only consider to be a celestial tribute to anybody.

When she declared her war of '*garibi hatao*', and as she was carrying on that war, she had in her mind the huts and hovels and the poor people living in them—lakhs and lakhs of people lying down on pavements and on streets and railway platforms, anywhere and everywhere, provided they could find six feet this side and that side for them to rest. She had them in her mind. Whenever there was a natural disaster, if she could not be there as the

first person, she used to send her supporters, her friends, her followers, to rush there, to offer sympathy and succour. That was the woman. You have all spoken about her statesmanship, her leadership of our people, the protection that she has offered in the name of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru to all those millions of people in more than 100 countries, who have achieved their freedom only recently and who have been terribly frightened of the threats that are coming from the east as well as the west for support or for opposition ; she stood for them like a rock. They hail her as their mother too.

I have not yet overcome my sorrow. The sense of loss is haunting. My friend, Mr. Dandavate has consoled our Prime Minister, her son. He could have done that, I am doing it—I condole the people of our country, the women of our country, the children, the have-nots, the helpless and those who have suffered from the wrongs that were inflicted upon them as a result of our bad history.

Sir, I thank you for the words that you have uttered and thank all the other friends also as if they have offered their tribute to my own daughter.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHARADCHANDRA GOVIND-RAO PAWAR (Baramati) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, a great world leader has been lost in the assassination of Indiraji. After Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, she alone was the most effective leader. It is very difficult to describe Indiraji in a few words. It had been her dream throughout that the prestige of this country should soar high and India should become a strong nation in the world. Her contribution towards enhancing the prestige of our country in the world can never be forgotten by our people.

She not only followed the foreign policy of Panditji but also made it more effective. She worked hard to strengthen the developing countries of the third world and the smaller countries who have been very poorly benefited by the progress made in the world. Indiraji worked for infusing a sense of self-confidence in all such countries.

As has been rightly said by Prof. Dandavate, Indiraji became a martyr for the unity of the country. We can quote many instances about her concern for the unity of the country. I remember that Mir Qasim was Chief Minister of Kashmir in 1975. Indiraji wanted Kashmir to enter the national stream and called Sheikh Abdullah. Mir Qasim stepped down and Sheikh Abdullah was appointed Chief Minister. The people of Kashmir developed interest and confidence in India. She was of the view that one should be prepared to step down from power in the interest of the unity of the country whenever the situation so demanded.

She strove hard to strengthen the pride of the North Eastern and other small States and make them strong which ultimately helped in making India strong.

Indiraji contributed a lot for the formation of united Maharashtra which is my State. There are certain things which we cannot forget ; she always dreamt of modern India. We should pay more attention to modern science, modern technology and space research for building modern India for which she was making continuous efforts.

Atomic energy is a means for betterment of the society. Many countries in the world think of destroying entire humanity with the help of atomic energy, but Indira Ji always thought of attacking poverty and making the country strong by removing poverty with the help of atomic energy. She always kept this ideal before her.

Indiraji's life was unique. Her personality appeared to be more dynamic when confronted with challenges.

This House and the people of the world have witnessed many instances when she appeared to be stronger at times of crisis.

As I already said in the beginning, the world has lost a dynamic leader in the assassination of Indiraji. Her death has been a great loss to India and to non-aligned countries. As a result, a big responsibility has come upon us. Our first responsibility is to do all that she did for strengthening

[Shri Sharadchandra Govindrao Pawar]

the unity of India. In order to strengthen the unity of India, we should put into practice the views of Panditji and Indiraji. The best tributes to Indiraji will be to pay more attention towards secularism and the integrity of the country.

[English]

SHRI G.G. SWELL (Shillong) : Mr. Speaker, a life such as that of Shrimati Indira Gandhi was rare, very rare. But even rarer was the manner of her going. There is no logical, scientific explanation as to why a person should be born in a particular family, of particular parents, in a particular place and in a particular community. But what a person makes of his or her life, is all that matters. Indira Gandhi's life was glorious, full of achievements. It was a rich life, rich in the best and the purest sense of the term. Her richness was not in terms of money, not in terms of earthly property. Her richness was in the love and affection of more than 700 million people of their great country and of millions and millions in the world outside. I had often wondered what was the secret in Shrimati Indira Gandhi that made her personality reach almost every home, every hut in this country, even in the remotest part of this country, such as the part from where I come, the tribal areas of the North-Eastern region of India. I remember distinctly the time when the news reached our parts that Shrimati Indira Gandhi had been shot and we knew that she could not survive. Immediately after the report came, the streets were deserted, shutters were down in all the shops. It was as if a hurricane had broken out and after a brief spell of violence, there was the eeriness of silence. Women in the villages broke down in tears. It was a phenomenon that was to be seen to be believed and I put myself this question : Why, and how, could it be? I have said that Shrimati Indira Gandhi's life was rich. It was because her life was pure, because she had the capacity to derive strength, to derive happiness, from her surroundings. She had the rare capacity to appreciate poetry. Even a few days before

her passing away, we read reports in papers of her effort to put down in writing a little bit of her life, a little bit of her autobiography, where she had said that, with the people of India beside her, she had no reason to feel humble. This was her strength. Her strength was from the people of India that she loved, more than 700 million people of India. She had her strength because she could derive peace and comfort from the Sun, the bright Sun, from the wind that blows, from the trees, from the flowers and from the people whom she met and whom she served. That way, she was a true humanist. I would not like, at this time, to go into her various achievements because that would take a long time, and some day somebody of competence would put down her life in autobiography.

14 hrs.

I would, however, like to refer, in particular, to what my friend, Mr. Sharad Pawar, had said just now with reference to the north-eastern areas. I came to this House in 1962 with the sole purpose of winning for the people in that area a sense of dignity and status in the shape of a separate State. It went through various stages through the time when Panditji was here—and I was a little more than youngster—to the short period of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. I had almost despaired. It was only when Shrimati Indira Gandhi came on the scene as the Prime Minister that she had the boldness of conception and to decide to give to the people of that area a sense of exquisite dignity and status. On the day when the Bill was passed to create a separate State, I stood here and I said that, for all that greatness of the nation, we would repay by making that part of India a patch of beauty and grace and a shining outpost of India. That promise of mine remains unfulfilled. Things are moving rather in an opposite direction. I am happy that the Prime Minister is here with a new hope of youth and his promise to take this nation to the Twenty-first Century. I believe, on this bandwagon towards the Twenty-first Century, the north-eastern part of India will have a full part.

I had said that Shrimati Indira Gandhi's

life was rich. But she had also known sorrow. Her life was washed marvellously with sorrow. She had personal tragedies, she had gone through personal travails, but she never lost her balance and her capacity to be happy. She had felt the quick stir of wonder. She had known music. Dawn was hers and the sun-set and the glories of the Earth.

This was Indira Gandhi. But that life is ended ; it has ended suddenly. Death with her grip took her away, but she remains a gathered radiance, a shining piece under the night, for us to derive guidance.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHD. MEHFOOZ ALI KHAN (Etah) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, many members have expressed their feelings on this occasion. At the outset I would like to narrate a couplet :

*Hazaron saal Nargis Apni Benuri Pe Roti
Hai,
Badi Mushkil se hota hai chaman mein
didavar paida.*

This couplet symbolises all aspects of her life. Indiraji's personality and stature was an example by itself and there are no two opinions about it. We were much pained to hear the Radio news about her assassination. She was so delicate, so practical and a woman of firm determination. She contributed a lot for the cause of the country and yet she was gunned down and we were shocked. It is really shameful and tragic that the Prime Minister of India was shot at by our own people.

People who were close to Indiraji have narrated some incidents. I read about her only in newspapers. There is no second opinion about the fact that Indiraji was a bit adamant and she did what she wanted but that is entirely a different matter. We who are from different parties may be against her policies but some of her acts were really laudable and this has to be recognised by us. An astute politician, a great intellectual of not only national but also of international renown has left us. On behalf of my party, D.M.K.P. and on my own behalf, I pay homage to her and convey

my condolences to her son Shri Rajiv Gandhi and his family and I pray to God that her soul may rest in peace.

SHRI G.L. DOGRA (Udhampur) : Sir, I am thankful to you for having given me an opportunity to speak on this important occasion. Our country is not only great but it also has an important place in every sphere of life. So far as the political life is concerned, I think there have been great personalities in the history of our country who illumined our country in the world of politics. Prior to independence, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, was there who won us freedom through non-violence. The way he successfully led the Freedom Movement and got us freedom, glorified the name of our country in the eyes of the world. Thereafter, Panditji gave us the concept of planning and a foreign policy which added to our dignity. The non-aligned movement which was started together by Panditji, Marshal Tito and Col. Nasser, attained great heights under the leadership of Smt. Gandhi. Nobody took the movement of peace in the world to such heights as Smt. Gandhi did.

I had an opportunity to visit some foreign countries. There, on enquiry by the people there whether our people were with Indiraji, I used to ask them why they were putting such a question. Thereupon they said that a dangerous war was in the offing, the possibility of confrontation between two big powers of the world was posing a great threat to human life in the world and Smt. Gandhi was thwarting that possibility. If she remained in power, war would not break out in the world. Now this responsibility has come on the shoulders of our new Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi and he is shouldering it in a very commendable way.

So far as modern India is concerned, we have earned a name in the spheres of industry and science and are enjoying a place of pride in the world in other respects too. As regards agriculture, Sir, you have also mentioned how she inspired the people and made resources available to them. The most important thing is that under the 20 Point Programme, arrangements were made to make new fertilizers, seeds and water available for every field whether it was

[Shri G.L. Dogra]

in the hilly areas or in the plains. As Mr. Swell has also said, even in the remote areas of the country, people were familiar with the name of Indiraji. I would like to tell you that Indiraji was the hope of the people and they had devotion for her. During elections, two Harijan ladies were going to cast their votes. When they were asked for whom they would cast their votes, they replied that they would vote in favour of Mother India's hand—their own mother's hand. They used to call her mother. In fact she was their mother. People were of the opinion that only she could take care of the poor and none else.

So far as Kashmir is concerned, when she was not the Prime Minister, she had been to Poonch and Rajouri twice and there she instilled the feelings of secularism and nationalism among the people to an extent that nobody else could do.

Poor people loved her and she loved them too. I think, not only the poor people of India but the poor masses of the whole world looked towards her. All the developing countries were trying to make progress with the help of our technology and assistance.

Now we should all follow the path shown by her and try to complete the work left unfinished by her. To achieve this end we will strengthen the hands of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

[English]

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated Anglo-Indians) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have to thank you for your general references and tributes to the late Indira Gandhi. May I say this, Mr. Speaker, that no resolution of condolence can really encapsulate the shock, horror and the unspeakable anguish and indeed the unspeakable anger of the people at this brutal murder? The Prime Minister has, in a brief tribute, done extremely well. I was surprised at his poise and dignity. But here also I believe that in spite of all the speeches that have been made, the general references can never be a semblance

of any adequate tribute to the outstanding qualities of Indira Gandhi, qualities not only as a national but as an international leader, a dedicated secular worker. Nobody has referred to her qualities as a woman, not much to her qualities as a friend and not much to her grace and compassion. I knew her for almost three years during perhaps the most difficult period of her life and I came to know her very well. Although I was not a Member of the Congress Party, she asked me to defend her which I did and because of that not only I but my wife became personal friends of hers.

Mr. Speaker, I put out a Special Number of a Monthly—*The Review* that I edit—it was a 36-Page Special. The frontispiece showed what I regarded as a rather beautiful picture of Indira Gandhi and the caption was 'Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi'. Under that, the sub-caption was 'a legend in her life-time' and under the photograph a quotation :

"To live in hearts, we leave behind is not to die".

During the three years of her—and I use the word advisedly—persecution by the then Government, I met her almost every day, sometimes twice a day. She looked frail, but as I came to know her better, I saw that through that seeming frailty there was indomitable courage and an amazing inner strength. She was arrested on the 3rd October, 1977 and I did not know that I was going to appear for her that day.

Sanjay Gandhi phoned me on 4th morning. I said : 'I have not had a bath as yet'. He said : 'Please come and appear because my mother wants you specially to appear'. We did not even know where the police was going to put her up. I rushed off with two of my juniors to the New Delhi courts.

The police prosecutors refused to show me any papers. Then I asked the court. Fortunately—in the context of a viciously hostile Government—the court showed amazing courage. I said, they were not showing me the papers or telling me where the First Information Report was. They

would not show me the First Information Report. I asked whether there was any single statement remotely suggesting any kind of culpability. The court said : 'Mr. Anthony, there is not an iota of evidence of any culpability in respect of any offence'. And the court released our former Prime Minister from a deliberately *mala fide* false arrest. Then, there was a spearhead of this deliberate persecution and attempt to destroy her politically. I will not mention the name of the person who presided. He was a former Chief Justice, a very able Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. I appeared for three days and I was shocked at the obvious personal animus of the Chairman.....(Interruptions) I am not naming anybody...(Interruption).

SHRI SUDINI JAIPAL REDDY (Mahabubnagar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a solemn occasion... *

MR. SPEAKER : You have come for the first time. You learn something. It is all right. What has happened, fact is a fact.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Will my utterly ignorant friend sit down and I will tell him something which actually happened ?

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Anthony, I want you to sum up please.

(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : There is no question of sentiments. Please sit down. You learn something.

Nothing should go on record, because he has been speaking without my permission. All that he has said will not go on record.

You learn something, do not get agitated.

Mr. Anthony, please sum up now.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I come to actually what happened. The country does not know what actually happened.

MR. SPEAKER : There is no time for that.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : The world does not know about it. I am showing how Mrs. Gandhi's courage came through....(Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : It is all right now.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Do not allow this barracking, which is deliberately** I am only showing that this is very incidental.

I went to the High Court. I made objections before the Commission and I was summoned for contempt, because I told the commission that everything it was doing was arbitrary, was illegal. Mrs. Gandhi was ordered to be prosecuted and I appeared for her. I went to the High Court and this is what I would ask.....(Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : What does it matter to you ? It is all part of history.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : He is incorrigible.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I don't want to learn corrigibility even from you, my good friend.

Mr. Speaker, there was a classic judgment which has not been given the credit it deserves. It was a *tour de force*, 347 pages. It stripped naked that Government, it stripped naked the Chairman. My friend knows about it. Have you read that 347-page judgment ?

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur) : Don't talk all that **. Don't spoil this occasion by this kind of a speech. We don't want to hear to this speech. . . .

(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : This is not the occasion, please. I gave you permission because you wanted to leave early.

*Not recorded.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I only gave that as an instance of what she had to pass through for a period of three years. Don't let us forget it so easily.

(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Don't record. Why can't you sit down now ?

(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Why can't you restrain him, Sir ?

MR. SPEAKER : I am trying. He is not listening. This is not the occasion for controversy.

(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you getting so agitated unnecessarily ? There is nothing wrong.

Please sum up now. I am asking you so many times.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I am only giving one illustration. You talked about Mrs. Gandhi's compassion and forgiveness. I gave notice in this House....

MR. SPEAKER : This is not the occasion, chronological order and all that we do not want anything. . .

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I gave notice of a Resolution, *vis-a-vis* Vaidyalingam Commission which had indicted the son of a former Prime Minister and the Prime Minister himself. I am showing what Indiraji did. I wanted to give a notice. Then she sent for me, as a measure of her compassion. . . . Because these people shout and won't hear the truth, why should I not say. . . .

(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : You just complete. In deference to your age, I gave you time.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : She asked me to withdraw my Resolution, out of her sense of compassion, in spite of the Vaidyalingam Commission which had indicted them, and I did not move that Resolution.

MR. SPEAKER : All right. Please sum up. There is not much time.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Now, I am coming to her humaneness.

MR. SPEAKER : One minute more please.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : When I was speaking at one of the Jawahar Lal Nehru Anniversary occasions, I referred to Jawahar Lalji as a highly civilised person in the highest sense of the word. Indira Gandhiji, who was nurtured in the Nehru traditions, was civilised in the highest sense of the word, because she could mix easily—and I say this without any comparison,—even more than Jawahar Lal Nehru could do, with every section of the people, irrespective of caste, community or religion. I am giving you my personal experience...

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Everybody has taken his own time. Now, please sum up. Everybody is given his own time.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I am giving an instance of her grace and her compassion. She happened to become friendly with me and my wife. When my wife was dangerously ill for three months in the All India Medical Institute, Mrs. Gandhi, in spite of her gruelling schedule, used to visit her regularly.

(Interruptions)

What is wrong with our friends ? I am giving you her personal attributes.

MR. SPEAKER : There is not much time now.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I do not know how she knew when my birthday fell,

but she never lost an opportunity of wishing me for my birthday. What touched me personally was this: In 1983 when she was on her way to America, she took the trouble of writing to me from the plane.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Let me finish ; I have not finished. Don't submit to this kind of barracking. (*Interruptions*) She was an avowed friend of all the minorities. I can speak with particular reference to the tributes that she paid by giving an amazing spectrum of the contributions of the community to which I have the privilege to belong.

I want to refer to another thing : my friends would not like it. I knew her personally. What I noticed about Mrs. Gandhi is this. As a person with a penchant for reading I found that Mrs. Gandhi had a tremendous range of reading.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you. Now take your seat, please.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Let me say this : she was an outstanding administrator. Why was she an outstanding administrator ?

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Sir, please listen. You did not deal with it because you did not know Mrs. Gandhi as well as I did, personally. You did not know her as I did. She attended meticulously to her correspondence.

If I wrote a letter, she used to reply within 48 hours.

MR. SPEAKER : I have to tell you now about the time you have taken.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : She was an exemplar to many of the Ministers. I noticed this, because I discussed with her some difficult legal problems. She was able to get to the heart of a problem in the shortest possible. She had an ultra tenacious memory. The only other person in my

40 years in Parliament, and 50 years as the leader of the Bar, who could get to the heart of the problem as she did, in the shortest possible time, was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. She had this amazing administrative capacity.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you now. I have to look to the other Members also.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Give me two minutes. In no other case have you asked anybody to stop. Only because of barracking from a few **here. . .

MR. SPEAKER : They have also spoken according to the time given.

AN HON. MEMBER : Sit down.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : I never asked you to sit down.

MR. SPEAKER : I have given time, according to the time available. I have tried to help you. You should also help me.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY : Do you mind if I finish in two minutes ? (*Interruptions*) In an editorial that I have written—may I say this—this is what I said :

“Indira Gandhi lived aye, and died for the nation.”

One day before she died, prophetically she inscribed her own epitaph. You read out a few lines. I am reading a few more. This is how she described it :

“Every drop of my blood, I am sure, will contribute to the growth of my nation and to make it strong and dynamic.”

The people of India have sanctified that epitaph by giving a historic verdict in favour of her party led by her son, nurtured in the tradition of the Nehrus, so that he may lead this country to become a strong, dynamic and united nation.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) :
It is very difficult for me to represent and express the feelings of anguish that the people of Jammu and Kashmir State felt over the dastardly assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. As we knew her, she was the most prominent citizen of India, one of the greatest patriots and a powerful leader, who wanted to make India strong and great.

If one wishes to remember Mrs. Indira Gandhi, one will recall that she used to come to the House very hurriedly, occupy her seat and get engrossed in the papers relating to the parliamentary business with a kind of alertness of mind and unique confidence with which she answered questions and participated in the debates, without any kind of anger. I believe in politics she was pragmatic and politics is like that. When I had not come to the Seventh Lok Sabha, from a distance I had watched Mrs. Indira Gandhi. On economic issues with which the country was faced, particularly science and technology, I found—when I was not in the Parliament and also when I was in the Parliament—that she exhibited a kind of child-like sincerity, when she came to discuss science and technology; and when she talked of pollution, she expressed a kind of anxiety by saying that our cities and the countryside should be free of pollution. I mentioned particularly science and technology because in that field I found she was idealistic like her great father.

In the international arena, as Chairman of the NAM and as champion of world peace and international understanding, she brought dignity to India; and if she inherited a great India, she left it as a greater India. Unfortunately, for us, some of the enemies of the people, vested interests, tried to draw a wedge between the National Conference and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, but I can assure this House that the National Conference led by Dr. Farooq Abdullah and his colleagues, all of us, held Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the highest esteem; and the mourning in the Jammu and Kashmir State was led by no other person than our mother Begum Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah.

At this point of time when Mr. Rajiv

Gandhi deserves sympathy and support from all sections of people and at this point of time when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has already started very well, let us hope that he will take India to greater heights of progress and prosperity.

SHRI PIYUSH TIRKI (Alipurduar) :
Sir, the House feels the absence of Mrs. Gandhi. She has attained a lustrous position for herself and her country. She was proud of herself, proud also of her family, but proudest of all in so far as the dignity and the greatness of her country was concerned. She always fought valiantly against communalism and parochialism and became a symbol of national unity and integrity. In the international field Shrimati Indira Gandhi earned great reputation, as a protagonist of peace and organiser of the Non-aligned movement. She always voiced the problems and demands of the third world countries and advocated strongly the idea of a new international economic order in favour of the developing countries.

Indira Gandhi was the darling of seventy crore people of India. She was referred to as "Durgadevi," "Indira Amma," "Mother India," "India's Joan of Arc" and what not. She was the strongest political figure in the world who was also considered the most powerful woman and intellectual genius the world has ever known. She stood like a pillar to face any and all eventualities and vagaries of destinies or come what may.

The loss cannot be expressed in any words measured in any breadth and fathomed in any depth. The death reads a sad apathy in the form of long sorrow. No words are strong enough to condemn the heinous crime of assassinating her. 31st October, 1984 was the blackest day in the history of India when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two of her personal security guards in the lawns of her residence.

Sir, she had often talked of socialism. She could not fulfil that task. I hope our young Prime Minister will go ahead to get our country towards socialism and though there are so many difficulties ahead, I hope that he will be able to face them and shoulder the responsibility.

I pay homage to the departed Prime Minister and recall with gratitude her abiding service to the nation, on behalf of my party the R.S.P. and on behalf of myself.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the 31st October, 1984 was the darkest day in the history of free India when Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our former Prime Minister fell to the bullet of a savage assassin. This was an assassination, most terrible and also at the same time most deplorable. This was a tragedy when the entire nation stood shocked and dazed. Nobody could have dreamt that such a tragedy would take over the country on that dark day. Indeed, I am at a loss to find words to adequately express the grief and sorrow felt by the entire nation at this great national tragedy. I can only say that her dedication to the country was total and her contribution towards solidarity and progress was unparalleled. She was a towering personality in the comity of nations and she enjoyed admiration and respect not only of the people of India but the entire world. Her assassination, therefore, is a great irreparable loss not only to our country but to the entire world.

I am reminded here of an Urdu couplet which describes the situation correctly.

Ai bagbane gulshane hasti yeh kya kiya ?

Jane chaman tha gul jo, wohi tu ne chun liya.

Permit me to say that my relations with Shrimati Indira Gandhi had been very cordial for the last more than 15 years. I must say that she had always a great consideration for my Party, the Indian Union Muslim League. No doubt, the bereavement of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is an irreparable loss not only to me and my Party but to the entire nation.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi was great in her life. At the same time, in her death also she was great. Such personalities are not born always. They are born once in century.

Hazaron Saal Nargis Apni benuri pe roti hai

Badi mushkil se hota hai chaman men didavar paida

Now, our new dynamic young Prime Minister has taken over the responsibilities in a very critical period. After this great tragedy, he has also got the massive mandate of the people. He has got a very great responsibility to discharge. In this hour, while conveying my condolences to him and the entire nation, I wish him all success in taking the country towards peace and progress. As far as my party is concerned, I offer all my cooperation.

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDUPATLA JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, not only in India but in the whole world there is nobody who can fill the vacuum which has been created by the assassination of Smt. Gandhi. If we ponder over the qualities of Smt. Gandhi, we would find that she was a bold lady. After the split in the Congress in 1978, those who had deserted Mrs. Gandhi joined her again because she was the main force behind the Congress.

It is only because of the influence of Smt. Gandhi that the MPs. of Congress (I) have been elected to this House even after her passing away. Indiraji glorified India and its history and we can never forget all that she did for the poor people of the world through non-aligned movement.

I, on behalf of my party the B.J.P. and on my own behalf pray that Smt. Gandhi's soul may rest in peace and we convey our condolences to her son, Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

[English]

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar) : On behalf of my Party, Forward Bloc, with sorrow and anguish I rise to join you to pay respect and homage to the great memory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who was assassinated in her own house by her own securitymen.

[Shri Amar Roypradhan]

In Indira Gandhi we lost a great and courageous person of our time. We might have fundamental differences with Mrs. Gandhi on ideology. We might differ with her on political and economic point of view. But nobody can deny that she made a supreme sacrifice for the cause of the nation. She was assassinated and she became *shaheed*.

I do not forget those days of Bangladesh movement and the role of Mrs. Gandhi in support of the movement. Mrs. Gandhi's name cannot be wiped out from the foundation of Bangladesh.

We cannot forget her distinct role in the non-alignment and her positive steps for world peace. I once again pay respect and homage by quoting a few lines from her favourite song, the Ravindra *Sangeet* :

*Jadi tor dak sune keo na aase
Tabe ekla chalo re.*

If nobody responds to your clarion call, then alone go ahead.

SHRI GEORGE JOSEPH MUNDACKAL (Muvattupuzha) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I also share the feelings expressed by the other hon. Members of this House. The assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is indeed a great national calamity and shock to the peace-loving people of this country. Her martyrdom has put her in the pinnacle of glory and international tribute. She always stood for and fought for the national freedom, integrity and unity of our country. I would like to mention that we, the minorities, especially the Christian community, have been deprived of the great champion of our rights. After her 1977 defeat, she came to power with glory like phoenix from ashes. For centuries we have to wait to get a Prime Minister like her, with affection and ability. I, on my own behalf and on behalf of my party, Kerala Congress, express my deep sorrow and sympathy over the untimely death of our great leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

[Translation]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISE (Hyderabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party *Itihadul Musalmeen*, I associate myself with the Obituary Resolution moved here on the death of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Death is an inevitable denouement of the drama of life. But the good deeds of a person during his or her life-time leave footprints for others and he or she is remembered for the same. Mrs. Gandhi has left an imprint on the hearts of the Indian people by the achievements she made during her regime. She gave India an opportunity to earn a name in the world.

I remember the days when there were serious riots in Hyderabad. Mrs. Gandhi herself came to Hyderabad accompanied by the Chief Minister to visit the riot-affected areas. In spite of the fact that her security personnel had told her that it was dangerous for her to land there, Mrs. Gandhi landed there without any hesitation and consoled the people there. Then she visited each and every place where people were affected by the riots.

I associate myself with the sentiments that have been expressed in this House and I am sure that her son would accomplish the task left unfinished by her. I hope that her successor and son Rajiv Gandhi would pay attention towards solving the difficulties and problems of the Muslim minority in the same manner as his mother did. Keeping in view the situation through which Andhra Pradesh is passing, he should give his special attention to it and keep the memory of his mother alive for ever.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I think the House now agrees with the resolution unanimously.

The Resolution was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the Members may stand in silence for a short while.

The Members then stood in silence for a short while.