

fault of ours. Overnight we were told the country was ready for partition. As members of the AICC we were not consulted. I think even members of the Working Committee were not first consulted. Gandhiji asked the Prime Minister: "Are you committed to partition?" When the Prime Minister said "Yes, in a way", Gandhiji replied: "In that case I cannot come in your way". We lost Pakistan itself. It is true I feel as sorely as anybody else for this loss here but we should do nothing by which we face in the international sphere. Let me thank you for the few minutes that you were able to give me.

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore): Sir, before you ask the Prime Minister to reply I want to raise a point of order under rule 343. I want to refer to two points. Firstly, while replying to the debate, the Prime Minister should not anticipate certain matters which are pending before the House.

MR. SPEAKER: How does he anticipate that the Prime Minister will refer to them?

SHRI S. KUNDU: It is our experience. Because, in the Rajya Sabha she referred to it.

MR. SPEAKER: Let us not be guided by what transpired in the other House.

SHRI S. KUNDU: Sir, you must listen to me. I have another point. After the Prime Minister finishes her speech on the motion of thanks on the President's Address, voting should not take place because it would prejudice the no-confidence motion, which is a very substantive one. So, first of all, I want an assurance from the Prime Minister that she would not make any reference to the Kutch Award, because she is precluded from doing so under rule 343. You may kindly see that rule. Secondly, no voting should be taken on this motion be-

cause a motion of no-confidence, which is a substantive motion, would be coming in after two or three days when a vote would be taken. Sir, you must give a ruling on this.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not know what to say.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): She should bear this in mind.

MR. SPEAKER: So far as the demand that voting should not take place is concerned, that is not possible, because so many other issues are also mentioned here. Also, I cannot anticipate what she would say.

SHRI S. KUNDU: Reference to Kutch issue is strictly prohibited.

MR. SPEAKER: He may resume his seat. Now, the Prime Minister.

**THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI**

**INDIRA GANDHI):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the hon. Member should have been more alert earlier if he did not want me to mention Kutch, he should have seen to it that other hon. Members also should not have mentioned it. I am here to reply to the points raised by hon. Members. Even in the short time that I was sitting here one hon. Member touched upon this point, and I know many others have also done so.

There are 280 or so amendments before the House. I am sure that hon. Members realise that it is hardly possible for me to touch upon all of them or the very many points which have been raised. Therefore, I shall have to confine myself to only some which are the most important.

It is quite evident from the trend of the debate that our friends opposite have lost the gusto they had last year. This is understandable because whatever the year might have been like for this governments, it has been a year of disenchantment and disillusionment for our friends opposite and

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their colleagues in the States. Hurriedly got together. United Fronts of all kinds of parties, all manner of ideologies, have crumbled one by one, perhaps under the weight of their unity. It is all right to fasten the blame again and again on the Congress Party, or on the Central Government, but the fact of the matter is that this disenchantment is born out of the inherent contradictions and weaknesses of the patterns which were evolved.

Today there are many grave issues before the country, and many of these have naturally been referred to in the debate. But some of them however, serious and grave they seem just now, and however heart-breaking they are, are problems merely of the moment. Despite all the cynicism expressed by hon. Members opposite, we are going to get over these problems.

Some of our friends have constantly expressed cynicism. They may be interested to learn of the description of a cynicism given by an English writer, Oscar Wilde. He said that a cynic is "one who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing."

But there are some grave issues which are not merely issues of the moment.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai): There are better quotations than from Oscar Wilde.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: They involve our long-term interests; they involve higher stakes and they deal with matters of lasting and abiding importance. They involve the question of the very survival of this nation. Two of these issues are democracy and secularism. They are the pillars on which we have sought to build our society. I firmly believe that we must make them secure. This security is not a party matter nor a matter which could be dealt

with on a regional, local or any kind of a partisan point of view. They have to be dealt with on a higher plane.

I was glad to find in many of the speeches a really thoughtful note. This is certainly more welcome than the destructive anger which one sometimes finds in the utterances of hon. Members opposite. There has been a certain amount of passion also exhibited on the question of national unity. I myself share this passion and welcome it at a time when our young people and even some old trouble-makers are taking recourse to violence and perpetrate ugly events in Gauhati, Meerut, Ranchi, Madras and other parts of India.

As one looks at these events, one naturally thinks of the basic and fundamental issue which is before this fourth Parliament, which is to maintain and strengthen the unity and solidarity of India. My hon. friend opposite, Shri Viswanatham, spoke at some length on this subject and tried to give the impression that by the Language Bill or other acts we were trying to weaken this unity. But such talk can create misunderstanding, if I may say so, because it is very easy now to say that if this had not been done, that would have happened. At an earlier occasion we were being told, "If you do not bring the Bill, such-and-such a thing will happen."

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN rose—

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am not yielding.

I am a little wary of all these ifs and buts which people think of after the event.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Why did you bring the Bill and the Resolution?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I shall come to that later.

It is for us to discharge this responsibility of maintaining unity and not

allowing the matter to be decided on the streets. It is certainly the business of those who are in charge, not only of the Government and officials, not only of political parties but even of non-political persons to see how these matters can be kept away from the streets, how these matters can be discussed and debated in the institutions which have been set up for the purpose. It is for us to decide whether we believe in Parliament and the parliamentary method or in mob rule.

It set exactly a year ago that the election results were coming in and they set the world wondering about India's stability. If there is stability in India, it is not due to odd combinations of Opposition parties but because the Centre is strong and stable and fully capable of balancing the instability of the States... (*Interruption*). I had hoped that the opportunity to be in power and to bear responsibility would also give the opportunity to the Opposition parties to be more responsible. But our hopes have, unfortunately, been belied. I am one of the people who had welcomed these different governments and had sincerely hoped that the opportunity which our democracy gives even to smaller parties to come into power would have been better utilised. What did we find? I am saying this in sorrow—these parties set about furthering their own ends and did not hesitate to work against their own colleagues in the various governments. For some parties, it has become a pastime to make the Centre a kind of bogey-man for all their failures. I must say that I do not think anybody in this country is taken in by this posture. I hope that the second year after the General Elections will see greater stability in the States. We must now make up for lost time and we have to regain the tempo which two years of drought and two wars have interrupted in the development of our country.

This year, nature, have been kinder to us. But, at the same time, we must

not forget or ignore the human effort which countless farmers, scientists and officials have combined to put in to give us a good harvest this year. We want this record harvest to be followed by many others. In science, there is a saying that miracles occur only when the scientist works hard enough for them. If the House will allow me a few minutes. I may tell a story which I heard some years ago visiting a farming community in America. It is about a Negro who was utterly destitute, living on the charity of the village. There happened to be a very tiny plot of land which was regarded as useless. So, the village people said, "Why not give it to him? Even if he cannot grow anything, it will give him something to do." This poor man laboured day and night and managed to take out all the thorny weeds and all the rocks and other things here and there and even managed to grow something on the plot of land. Later when the village priest passed by, he remarked, "John, that is a fine bit of work which God and you have done together." John thought for a minute and said, "Perhaps, you are right, Sir. But you should have seen this plot of land when God alone was in charge!"

Sir, no nation, not even the most affluent nation, is without its ups and downs. No country is free from problems. In fact, as I have said so many times, I believe, that problems in a way determine the strength and the stability of a nation. One of our gravest problems is the problem of food. The Minister of Food and Agriculture has already spoken on the food situation. I think, Bihar has tested the mettle and proved the capacity of our wonderful people. Even in the midst of our grave difficulties, all kinds of programmes were pushed through there and elsewhere. I should like to emphasize that we are not slackening our efforts either on the production front or on the procurement front. We are installing 2 lakh pump sets and digging 32,000 tube-wells, to mention only two items. In

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the coming year, we shall provide 17 lakh tonnes of fertiliser as compared to 13 lakh tonnes this year. Our effort is to ensure that the spurt in agriculture should spread to other fields also. Some of our new trade agreements are expected to help us to overcome the big slack in engineering industries. I am sorry to say that some Members are annoyed even about the economic agreements with the Soviet Union.

The Budget will soon be presented to you. This morning my colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister, has placed before us a detailed economic survey which we will have occasion to discuss. Therefore, I need not go into the details of this matter. But the one thing that is rightly distressing to us all and is engaging our minds is the problem of unemployment, specially among our young people and our young engineers. The President's Address defines this problem, with clarity and frankness. It has also put the solution in the right perspective, by linking it to the growth of the economy as a whole at a rate and level which would absorb our growing population and its growing expectations. As economic activity picks up, the economic situation should also improve. But let us keep our eyes on the long-term perspective. Ultimately, it is better to have a sufficient number of engineers and technicians, rather than to be starved for them. Capital and equipment can be found, but talent is more difficult to have, trained personnel are more difficult to find to run our industry.

Hon. members have referred to the public sector. We fully share their concern and we are ourselves anxious and are taking every possible step to see that the public sector attains the maximum efficiency and the maximum success as soon as possible.

AN. HON. MEMBER: It has already attained.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:

Many projects have. But one thing you must also understand. It is very easy for people to ask, why is the public sector not giving profit. The answer is simple. It is because it is busy building a base; you cannot get profit out of certain basic industries immediately. But certainly where there is inefficiency, where there are other such grounds which will create losses, those problems should be looked into and are being looked into.

The Report of the Administrative Reforms Commission has been entrusted to a Committee of the Cabinet and Government's decisions will be placed before this House this very Session, I hope very soon. I see the Chairman nodding his head.

Inevitably, this debate, Sir, has drawn out familiar arguments and counter-arguments on economic policies and programmes, and the solutions are not only varying but, in many instances, contradictory. I can only make our own stand clear and say what we on this side of the House stand for. In the last two decades, we have put our faith in the process of planned development and, I think, this faith has been fully vindicated. But for the work put in this sphere, it would not have been possible for this nation to have overcome the major challenges which were posed in the last few years by repeated external aggression as well as by severe and unprecedented economic problems. I firmly believe that there is no other alternative possible despite the many passing difficulties that we face. I do not want to go into this matter in detail. I have, on earlier occasions, explained the steps taken for the formulation of the revised Fourth Plan and the work done on the annual plan in the intervening period.

It is indeed surprising that my hon. friend opposite, Prof. Ranga is still

harping on a plan holiday, especially since the very captains of industry on whose behalf his party speaks are urging the Government to increase their investment. There can be no holiday for this nation—not so long as this party is in charge of the Government of this country, not so long as their are hungry millions seeking social justice.

Our objective, Sir, is to rapidly promote economic development and increase the wealth of the nation, to promote greater economic and social equality, greater equality of opportunity.

One of the problems which makes us sad is our inability to do more for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and also our landless labour. But I would like to make clear that I am fully conscious of the gaps in these programmes, and that much more needs to be done. We are trying to fill in those gaps. However, at the same time, I think, the House is aware that it is the Congress party which took up this programme initially and it is the Congress party which is now taking it up and trying to push it forward. In the same way, I must express my concern for all the minorities of India. Here again we are deeply conscious of all that we owe them. We are constantly looking at this problem and are in touch with people from many organisations both other political parties and non-political organisations, to see what can be done to deal with it, and with the communal tension which rears its ugly head from time to time.

I had not really wanted to speak on language on this occasion, Sir, but many hon. Members have touched upon it. One of the last speakers, the hon. Member, Shri Viswanatham used a word, saying that I should be 'firm' and suggested that I was not firm on the last occasion. Now, you see, in language, as in many other matters each person interprets words or attitudes from his own point of view. If I agree with Shri Viswanatham, whatever I do, he will consider me

to be firm. But if I agree with some other person, he will think I am not being firm and that I am giving way to him. If I listen to Shri Viswanatham, then the other person will feel that I am not firm because I am not listening to him. It is very difficult to know what exactly the word 'firm' means. I think, Sir, that I have been very firm on the basic issue, and we must understand what the basic issue was. The basic issue was to see that certain assurances which had been given to the non-Hindi speaking people by my father and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri should be honoured. That is why it was important to bring this Language Bill here and that is what we did. Now, it is true that when it came to the House the Hindi-speaking people felt that it was going to create a difficult situation for them. So, what did we do? We did not change any basic thing in the Act. We did not take any position which would take away or lessen the assurance which was given to the non-Hindi speaking people. What we did was merely to add to the burden of whom? Not of the non-Hindi speaking people, but of the Central Secretariat officials, in that they have now to provide translations not only from Hindi into English, but also English into Hindi. This was the one thing that took place. It was made very clear by the Home Minister here in this House that this burden would be on us and not on the those who do not wish to use Hindi.

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN** (Wandiwash): The Home Minister definitely stated in this House. He said in this House that the burden will be on non-Hindi speaking people. It was said in this House.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN** (Mettur): On a point of order. She just now said that the Home Minister did not say that there would be an unequal burden on the non-Hindi speaking people.

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN**: Shri Chavan is here. (*Interruptions*).

15 hrs.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: This is very relevant.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Members have had their say.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: What the Home Minister said on record, that that this is an unequal burden. But she says he has not said that.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I did not say that. I am saying what the fact is.

Now, it is true that there will be a burden on everybody. I happen to come from a Hindi-speaking area (*Interruptions*). Let Prof. Ranga please listen to me.

SHRI RANGA: Did he not say so?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I was sitting in the House when the Home Minister was speaking. I remember perfectly what he said.

SHRI G. VISHWANATHAN: You have forgotten the whole thing.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Naturally, when a new step is taken, it imposes a burden. It imposes a burden on those who have to learn a new language. But those hon. Members who come from the non-Hindi States perhaps do not realise that the burden of learning Hindi is only slightly lesser on most people who live in the Hindi-speaking States. I can say for myself that the language that is now spoken here is for me an entirely new language, and I have had to learn it a new.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: It is a childish argument.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA (Bangalore): He ought to be more dignified.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: The Prime Minister just claim that this is a burden for the Hindi people. what

does she mean? This is an impossible position (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: Let the Prime Minister have her say.

AN HON. MEMBER: He must behave properly.

MR. SPEAKER: May I tell hon. Members that all of them have had their say?

AN HON. MEMBER: Not all.

MR. SPEAKER: Of course, not all.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: We can appreciate that she is Hindi-speaking, but not this kind of argument.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: She should be reasonable.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: This kind of statement should not be made on the floor of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: She is Prime Minister of the country. You may not agree with her, not all of you. I do not expect that. In a democracy, cent per cent agreement will not be there. But still I am sure you can all give her a patient hearing.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Not this kind of reasoning.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Obviously, those hon. Members do not know the languages that are spoken in the north or the great diversity which we have within this area. Anyway, if they object to this remark, I do not want to make it. But it does not change the facts. If you object, it does not change the facts.

SHRI RANGA: It is certainly your language, not ours.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Any new step does impose a burden on somebody or the other. What the Home Minister said was that the burden would be a little more on the non-Hindi-speaking people. He had said that, but he added that whatever this difficulty, we would discuss it and we would find ways

of minimising it. It was necessary for us to sit and talk and see what were the difficulties of the people of the different States as well as the difficulties of the administrators. He did say that also.

Therefore, from the beginning we did not say that we had closed minds or that we were not going to do anything about the matter, but we said that we are quite willing and anxious to discuss this matter. I repeated it yesterday in the other House, as my hon. friend, Shri Viswanatham, mentioned just now. I think this question is still exciting too much passion and emotion to speak more about it now. Therefore, I am sorry I initiated it. I think the least that is said about it from now until tempers calm down, the better it is; then we may all be in a better position to sit together and to discuss it and try of find a way out which will strengthen the unity of the country and facilitate communication not only between all of us who have had the privilege of a higher education but even amongst those who have not had that privilege. The time has now come when we should give them also this equality of opportunity and lessen this class distinction which has grown through language.

My hon. friends, Prof. Ranga and Shri C. C. Desai, have advised me to quit. I thank them for the advice. Prof. Ranga gave the same advice, as many older members of this House will remember, both to my father and to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, I am glad to be in good company. The hon. Member, Prof. Ranga, has been a true nationalist. But what can I say about the other hon. Member? He has held high positions in Government. He has been in the Indian Civil Service. He has been in the Indian Civil Service at a time when the rest of us were in prison, when some of our colleagues were shot and others were being hanged. (Interruptions.) Thereafter, he established himself in business.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : आने ही तो गिरजा शंकर बाजपेयी का रखा था।

SHRI NATH PAI: Your father made him the High Commissioner in a foreign mission. You pampered them and you rewarded them. You depended upon them and you continue to depend upon.... (Interruptions.)

किसने उनका हाई कमिश्नर बनाता ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: After having been in office for a long time, he has chosen to enter politics now.... (Interruptions.)

श्री रवि राय : चन्दूलाल तिवेदी को किस ने बनाया ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It is very amusing to see the hon. Members opposite. They feel that they can say anything they like but if we say the smallest thing, you see the anger in their faces. What does it show? It is only when you have no argument that you show anger like this. One Member said that I made a childish remark when I said that there were many dialects in the North. But it is not childish for Mr. Nath Pai to say that my speeches are written by the officials! I should like him to come and see whether they write my speeches.... (Interruptions.) It is upto them to make any kind of remarks they like.... (Interruptions.) I am not angry. I have to shout like this only because they are shouting. Anyway, it is only we who have passed through the ordeal of sacrifice who know better where the shoe pinches and how to conduct our affairs and evolve policies and programmes calculated to promote the interests of our country. It is presumptuous on the part of the people who have not gone through this, who have no idea of the hardships of people who live in the villages or what sacrifices are our poor people forced to make, to tender us advice.... (Interruptions.)

SHRI RANGA: Is it not presumptuous on their part to talk in this manner? Is this not the most irresponsible manner to talk? What does she think of this House? They are here by contesting elections, by getting the votes of the people. She is a baby compared to these people. Does it lie in her mouth to speak in this irresponsible manner? Nobody else is childish.... (*Interruptions.*) Go to another subject.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I shall go to another subject only when I want to do so.

SHRI RANGA: Do not talk in such irresponsible manner about your own services.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Is it not being irresponsible for hon. Members to ask us to resign on every single question?

SHRI RANGA: You ought not to talk in this irresponsible manner.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I was only referring to Prof. Ranga's remarks which he makes on this issue. It is not for them to say who should be our leader. That statement was equally irresponsible if my remark is considered irresponsible.... (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI RANGA: Your Government depends upon their advice.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The ICS people are welcome to give advice in matters in which they have been trained. They have not been trained in the political school of service and sacrifice.

SHRI J. MOHAMMED IMAM (Chitradurga): Sir, on a point of order.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Sit down.

MR. SPEAKER: The Prime Minister is not yielding. Please sit down. (*Interruption.*)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Let the Prime Minister sit down.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. Let us hear the point of order raised by the hon. Member and let us hear the Prime Minister. I feel I am helpless now!

SHRI J. MOHAMMED IMAM: I have listened to the speech of the Prime Minister; I would like to submit that it is expected of the Prime Minister to show all courtesy to the Members who might have opposed the policy of the Government and her policy. But I regret very much that she has cast aspersion on the Members of the Opposition. Firstly, she says that the Members of the Opposition have never lived in any village.

MR. SPEAKER: This is not a point of order. You are commenting on her speech.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is a point of disorder.

MR. SPEAKER: That is not point of order. You are making a speech. Please resume your seat. May I appeal to both sections of the House?

SHRI J. MOHAMMED IMAM: She cast aspersions on the Members of the Opposition; and secondly, she said that ICS officers were not trained in the political school of service and sacrifice.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. After all, we have had five days' discussion; not one or two days.

AN HON. MEMBER: She was angry.

MR. SPEAKER: Angry in the sense that, when interruptions were there on both sides, there is bound to be a little loss of temper. After all, when you interrupt and do all that, naturally she is also—(*Interruption.*)

SHRI HEM BARUA: Sir, do not try to defend the Prime Minister's anger. She is very angry. (*Interruption.*)

MR. SPEAKER: I appeal to both sides of the House. Let us hear the Prime Ministers reply. You have so many opportunities in this House when you can raise the points through so many motions later on, if you do not agree with them. You have the right later on to move so many motions; the no-confidence motion is also coming. So many other motions are coming. You have the right to say something. Will you all kindly listen now to the Prime Minister?

SHRI D. N. PATODIA (Jalore): Can the Prime Minister speak something which goes against the fundamental right of a citizen?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. Now, please sit down.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: Can the Prime Minister say that an ICS officer is not trained to take any action in politics? Is she permitted to say so?

MR. SPEAKER: She did not say that.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: She did say. I request that those words should be expunged.

MR. SPEAKER: She did not say that nobody can take action. She only said he has not gone through this mill of political suffering and all that. She did not say that ICS men cannot do that. (Interruption).

SHRI C. C. DESAI (Sabarkantha): In so far as election is concerned, I fought the elections in villages on principles and not on names. (Interruption).

MR. SPEAKER: Now, let me appeal, for Heaven's sake, do not make any more interruptions.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I welcome the point which the hon. Member has made just now, about courtesy being shown to all Members, and I only hope that he will

see to this aspect from the side of the Opposition on other occasions also.

Now, turning to External Affairs there was hardly any new point raised; the usual points were there on Viet Nam and West Asia, and there is not much to say on this, as this opportunity is given to us time and again. The conflict in Viet Nam and its escalation is something that saddens us very greatly, and it is of great concern to us. What happens in South-East Asia is of very great concern to us in India. We have always maintained that the solution cannot be a military one and later events have proved the rightness of our assessment. Today our view is shared by a growing number of nations. We still maintain, as we said many months ago, that the first step should be the stoppage of the bombing of North Vietnam and that this would lead to other steps which could take the conflict from the battlefield on to the conference table.

There were references here to West Asia. Here again, we have always stood for the principle that no party should be allowed to keep the fruits of aggression and that every country should be able to live in peace and security.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: (Delhi Sadar): What about Pakistan?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Regarding Pakistan and China, the President in his Address has stated our stand....

SHRI HEM BARUA: What about China enjoying the fruits of aggression in Ladakh?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not think I have anything to add at this moment about either Pakistan or China.

Some hon. members have referred in their amendments and otherwise to the new situation in the

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Indian Ocean area. We maintain a close and careful watch over the political and other developments in this area and have noted the intention of the British Government to withdraw militarily from there in the near future. Our relations with all these countries of South and South-East Asia are very friendly and cordial and continue to grow satisfactorily. We feel that the security of these countries can best be ensured not through military alliances but by the strength of their national economies and by their political stability.

One hon. member said that I should not say anything about the Kutch Award. But as I mentioned at the beginning of my speech, I feel that this omission would be conspicuous.

SHRI S. KUNDU: On a point of order, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: When Mr. Viswanathan and other members were speaking about the Kutch Agreement, you were there and you did not raise any point of order. I have given my ruling.

SHRI S. KUNDU: With all respect to the Chair, I submit that no point of order was raised at that time. Now I am raising it. Rule 343 says:

"No member shall anticipate the discussion of any subject of which notice has been given, provided that in determining whether a discussion is out of order on the ground of anticipation, regard shall be had by the Speaker to the probability of the matter anticipated being brought before the House within a reasonable time."

Within 3 days, on Tuesday next, the no-confidence motion is coming up. There are several earlier rulings also. Shall I refer to them?

MR. SPEAKER: Not necessary.

SHRI S. KUNDU: The only thing is, she is not to read her prepared text on this.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): May I make a submission?

MR. SPEAKER: No submission. I do not want any reply to that point of order, unless you have a point of order.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: My point of order is...

MR. SPEAKER: That he cannot raise a point of order? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Mr. Kundu's point of order has not been disposed of yet. (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order. On what issue your point of order is I am not able to understand. He may kindly resume his seat.

When the no-confidence motion was admitted I had mentioned that it was a single-line motion. Now the Prime Minister is speaking under Rule 20 which says:

"The Prime Minister or any other Minister, whether he has previously taken part in the discussion or not, shall on behalf of the Government have a general right of explaining the position of the Government at the end of the discussion....."

If all the hon. Members of all parties had a right to speak about this, she has also a right and she can explain the position.

SHRI S. KUNDU: Sir, you have given your ruling and we accept it. But your predecessor has also given some rulings on this.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not want any further explanation.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, I would have very much liked to oblige the hon. Member and agree to his request had this not been such an important matter and had we not to

wait for three full days before the House meets again. Then I will be replying only on the 28th. Therefore . .

SHRI S. KUNDU: I am only saying that it will prejudice the discussion. . (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, since I made my statement in the House on this subject, the introductory and concluding chapters of the Award have been received.

With your permission, Sir, I lay on the Table, of the House a set of these documents.\* Copies of these are under print and as soon as they are ready, perhaps by Sunday or at the latest by Monday, they will be made available to the Lok Sabha Secretariat for hon. Members who are interested.

We are closely examining the Award. But in the meantime, since some anxiety has been expressed about the position relating to certain points, I should like to share with the House the information that the Award has determined that Point 84, Sardar Post, Biar Bet, Karim Shahi, Bavarla Bet, Sarf-Bela Bet, Vighokot, Gainda Bet, and the entire Nara Bet Chain, lie on the Indian side of the border. A marginal area to the south of Rahimki Bazar, including Pirel Valo Kun and Kanjar Kot, and Dhara Banni and Chhad Bet are determined to lie on the Pakistan side of the border.

श्री मधु लिनये : इस निर्णय को फैंक दो ।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: As I have said earlier, as soon as the examination is complete, a further statement will be made. We shall naturally honour our commitments. I feel it would be a sad day if we fail to meet an international commitment.

श्री मधु लिनये : बहुत गलत बात कह रही है ।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, I would like to repeat the point with which I started. It is the question of violence on the streets and the feeling of parochalism. This is a national problem. I fail to understand how it is that a handful of people can create so much trouble even when a majority are not with them on some of these occasions and on some of these issues. How can a small minority terrorise a larger majority into either just tolerating them or encouraging them? It obviously shows that there is a great need to mobilise the entire community against these acts of violence and against the tyranny of the minority and this is where political and non-political citizens of this country should also take a hand and help to control such activities. As far as the average citizen is concerned, it is not right for him to say that he is not concerned. It is something with which he is very much concerned, because it affects not only his daily life but the future of his children.

In this connection, I should like to say a word about the various *senas* which are cropping up all over the place. I cannot understand what battles these *senas* are going to fight. As I see the Indian situation, there is only one battle to fight and that is the battle against poverty. And it requires only one *sena* and that is the *sena* of a united, determined Indian people. I was greatly heartened to hear one or two voices from the other side—Acharyaji's and hon'ble member, Shri Vajpayee's recognising this. Since Shri Vajpayee is the leader of a party, if he feels this way, I am sure he will exercise his influence to see that on these national problems we can work together.

श्री कंवरलाल मुस्त : अध्यक्ष महोदय में निवेदन करूंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने हमारी पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कहना है, वह

[ श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त ]

स्पष्ट तौर पर कहें। हमारी जो जिम्मेदारी है, हम उसको निवाहेंगे।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं यही चाहती हूँ कि सब अपनी अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझें।

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : वह बतायें कि हमारी पार्टी की क्या गलती है, हम ने कौन सा गलत काम किया है। अगर हम यह महसूस करेंगे कि हमारी कोई गलती है, तो हम उसको सुधारेंगे, वरना हम पर जो आरोप लगाया जायेगा, हम उसका खंडन करेंगे।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं सिर्फ यही चाहती हूँ कि सब लोग अपनी अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझें।

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : क्या सरकार को कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है? सब गड़बड़ तो वह कराती है।

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): If you want to get some more territory, you will get our co-operation, but not for the loss of territory.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I was talking about the communal situation and the violence that goes about due to communal tension. I think these are issues which deserve to be placed above party, region, caste and creed. As I said earlier on, and as Shri Nath Pai said the other day—I am saying this only to attract his attention to this side—we should be Indians first and Indians last. I ask the same question, I repeat the question which Acharyaji put to us: are we likely to secure this objective if the opposition always adopts a negative and opposing role, regardless of the issues before us?

AN HON. MEMBER: What about

श्री मधु निमये : सहयोग का मतलब है हाँ में हाँ मिलाना।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: There is clear evidence that we are following the policies and measures which the Congress have evolved after years of consideration and deliberation. They are in accord with modern trends. But the difficulties in solving these problems have not been mitigated by the opposition but, I am sorry to say, they have been increased. However, it is still not too late for us to get together to evolve methods of working together on certain issues which can be recognised or identified as national issues. As the President said, on our part, we shall continue to work for such a national co-operative approach toward the major national problems. Indeed, we shall welcome every effort towards a united and determined effort by this nation to solve these problems and to march ahead and I am convinced that it shall do so.

MR. SPEAKER: Before I put the motion to the vote, I have to dispose of the amendments. I will put separately those amendments which are pressed.

I shall first put amendments Nos. 30 and 31 moved by Shri Nayanar to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 30 and 31 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I now put Amendment No. 80 moved by Shri Kanwarlal Gupta to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for abolition of food zones in country." (80).