

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** माहिलपुर में यह एक प्राइवेट इंस्टीट्यूशन है। उससे पता लगाया जायेगा कि क्या हुआ है ?

**श्री जगजित सिंह औरत (भटिंडा) :** वे दोनों प्रोफेसर हैं और एम०ए० हैं। उन्होंने अपनी मर्जी से शादी कर ली है और उनको निकाल दिया गया है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** जो बात यहां आये उस का बेरिफिकेशन तो करना होगा। उसके बारे में इनफॉर्मेशन तो लेनी होगी।

**श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद (बलिया) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय सुरतगढ़ फार्म में कृषि मजदूरों पर हमला किया गया है उनको मारा गया है और उन पर अत्याचार किये जा रहे हैं। उन के तार आये हैं कि वे लोग 4 मास से हड़ताल करने जा रहे हैं। जरा निवेदन है कि कृषि मंत्री इसमें हस्तक्षेप करें, उन अत्याचारों को रोका जाये और इस बारे में बयान दिया जाये।

**SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH :** Probably my hon. friend Shri Kachwai who raised the point about the Anti-defection Bill, is not aware that it is already before the Joint Committee. Regarding other matters, so far as they are relevant to the business before the House, I shall faithfully convey them to my colleagues. . .

(Interruptions)

**श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छबाय :** जब श्री पन्त गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री थे तो उन्होंने घोषणा की थी।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** जो बिल इस हाउस की कमेटी के सामने है उसके बारे में मिनिस्टर माह्व क्या कहेंगे ?

So far as these matters concern the Business Advisory Committee, they will be put there; so far as other matters are concerned, they will be conveyed to the Ministries concerned.

12.23 hrs.

### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

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

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there has been a wide-ranging debate reflecting not only the mood of the House but the mood of the country. There has, perhaps understandably, been much talk of the people's anger and hunger. Unfortunately hunger has been an old companion of the Indian people. And it was to eliminate hunger and injustice that we fought for Swaraj and we are now struggling for socialism. It is true that in the last few months the difficulties of our people have been aggravated because of price increases and scarcity of essential commodities which are themselves due to a variety of factors, domestic as well as foreign. I am not one to shirk responsibility, nor have I done so. Government may have made mistakes, and this would not be unnatural in view of the vast size of our problems and our crises. While focussing attention on them, would it be right or honest to ignore the magnitude of the challenges which have confronted us during the last few years and what we have been able to achieve in spite of challenges and difficulties ?

The question before us, here in Parliament and in front of the country, is how to face the crisis, how to lighten these burdens. Can this be done merely through anger, by giving vent to helplessness and by condoning violence and encouraging violence ? Or through a sense of responsibility and through grim determination to act ? I think the President's Address reflects this determination and sense of responsibility, and I am glad that this was also the tone of most of the speeches from this side of the House.

I should like to deal with some of the points raised by members. Quotations from English literature enliven our debates. But when quoting figures, there should be greater regard for accuracy and relevance.

For instance, what is one to make of the statement of the hon. Member opposite, and I quote his words "In the 1942 Quit India Movement the British could not take more than 12 lives". He and we were in opposite sides during the Quit India Movement.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I stand by them.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have taken this from the record.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have taken this from very reliable documents.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: There is no other reliable document than the printed records of the House. Anyway, he and we were on opposite sides during the Quit India Movement. Still, I did not imagine that there would be an Indian today to speak approvingly of the moderation of our foreign rulers. The string of miscellaneous figures which he flung at us, rather indiscriminately, seems to be of the same order of accuracy.

We have been accused of dictatorship. The House is fully aware of the effusion and some of the antics of the hon. Members which we witness here. They are ample evidence of our tolerance.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I stand by the figures I have given. Let the hon. Prime Minister contradict them. Do not try to mislead the House.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The same member misquoted me as having claimed some advantages for dictatorship. Far from condoning dictatorial rule, I was stating the case for democracy. Some peoples' statements have appeared in the newspapers. I was answering the recent statements which seemed to indicate a loss of faith in democracy. I had stated, as I have done on many occasions, that although democracy by its very nature is a slower process, it is a process which strengthens the people as a whole, and that

we as a party and as a country are deeply committed to the democratic process.

The most astounding statement of all was made by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. It is the substance, if it can be so-called, not the fact of making a statement, that I call astounding. There was a lot of thunder but no truth and no attempt at any serious assessment of what is happening in India or abroad.

Taking Shri Vajpayee's statement regarding the elections to its logical conclusion, one would have to decide that there should be no elections, for then there would be no expenses, and this from one who is advocating fresh elections in Gujarat straight way. His statement that I have told any group of people that Uttar Pradesh would not get adequate Central aid if the people did not vote for the Congress, I would call very mischievous, malicious, politically motivated and entirely false.

श्री हुक्म चन्द कच्छबाय (मुरैना) : आपने कहा है । अखबारों में आया है ।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have always said—I think I speak quite distinctly—I have very distinctly stated in numerous meetings the disadvantages—I consider them disadvantages—of a coalition Ministry, especially one which does not approve of Plan, as passed and agreed to. For instance, certain parties have openly declared that they do not believe in heavy industries. Is this in the interests of U.P.? I put forward my point of view. At no stage have I said that this would make any difference. In fact, on the contrary, I have specifically stated that we have always helped any Government, regardless of party, once it is elected and is in power. The Centre has the same relationship with them as with any other Government. But if a Government basically disapproves of our policy, as some Governments and people have done in the past, then our assistance is not very useful to them. They may not want that type of help also.

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra):** Any-way, the question does not arise now.

श्री हुकूम खान कलबाय : कांग्रेस के गलावा और कोई सरकार बनायेगा तो सहायता नहीं मिलेगी केन्द्र से, यह साफ कहा है आपने।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : जी नहीं, मैंने नहीं कहा है।

His paper may have reported it. It is its usual misreporting.

Shri Vajpayee was perhaps so absorbed in his own eloquence that he forgot that he was not still addressing an election meeting in U.P. but he was here with us in Parliament. While some other Members of his party have complained of my blaming the Opposition or some of the Opposition parties for exploiting the people's discontent and troubles, Shri Vajpayee was honest enough in this one case in asserting that his party considers it their moral duty to mobilise public discontent. Now, in normal circumstances, it is the right of the Opposition to try and use discontent for their own purposes and their own advantage. The point that I made was not that they should not do so but merely that in the present situation, the economic crisis through which the country is passing is not a normal one. It is not a question of party; it is not even a question which affects the Government. It is a national crisis which affects millions of our people. If the Opposition hits the Government, it is understandable. We do not object, and we are able to put up with their hits. But in the present crisis, there is no doubt that these various agitations have hit the people and have, therefore, increased their suffering.

The Jan Sangh has made a fine art of distortion and of making false statements with great flourish. Shri Vajpayee has also misquoted me as saying,—and again, I quote; these are his words, not my words—

“Muslims should not divide themselves as they will grow weaker if they do.”

I have not used these particular words and what I said was in a particular context, when I spoke about Muslims standing together. It was in the same sense as I said that developing countries, for instance, should stand together. At the same meeting, I stated clearly that votes should be given on the basis of policies and programmes and not for individuals or according to one's religion or caste.

Speaking of the writing on the wall, in this debate, it seemed to be a favourite phrase of many speakers. Perhaps, they had discussed it together, I do not know. But we know that what is happening in Gujarat is a rehearsal of what is being planned on a larger scale. The democratic processes for which Shri Vajpayee was arguing here are being subverted by his partymen in Gujarat. From the speeches of the hon. Members of the Opposition it would seem as if the beginning and the end of life are concerned with who is in power, who is going to come into power or who is going to be removed from power. My own thinking, training and inclination is very different. To me it is more important what I stand for and what I struggle for, regardless of any question of winning or losing. If the people throw me out, I shall accept it with good grace. But I shall not give up the policies or the ideals which I consider right, for which I must continue fighting, regardless of position or lack of it, of people's praise or misunderstanding.

**SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Banka):** Shiv Sena.

**SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar):** Muslim League.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Shri Shamim thinks that the parliamentary system is becoming isolated from the people. Would it not be more correct to say that some MPs are getting isolated from the masses? Surely the people who have gone to the polls in their millions in the last few days cannot be accused of having lost faith in the system.



However, I do agree with him entirely about the dangers of communalism and casteism. These have to be fought with all our strength; and all those who hold the same view should get together, and combine their strength to do so. I can assure him that we have not made unprincipled alliances with communal parties or with others...

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: What about the Muslim League?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have explained about the Muslim League before...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: In West Bengal and in Kerala.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: When this happened, which was many years ago, first, this matter was gone into and explained to the public. I did not think then, and I do not think that the Muslim League as it functioned in Kerala was acting in any communal way...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about West Bengal?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: ...they lived in amity with others and they did not preach communalism. This is the point, that they neither preached nor practised communalism.

श्री मधु सिन्घे : कोया माहज जी तो उत्तर प्रदेश के अध्यक्ष है ।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have spoken about this in U. P., now that they are trying to bring the Muslim League flag in the north. In the north, the Muslim League has played an entirely different role and that role cannot be ignored. But because of that, we cannot blame the Kerala Muslim League. So far as the past is concerned, this matter had been gone into in depth before the Congress split.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about West Bengal in 1971? It is a story of 'Heads I win, tails you lose'.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Shri Morarji Desai has spoken in the House after a long interval. Although I do not agree with most of his remarks, I was glad to note that his words were not coloured by the bitterness which we had noticed on some earlier occasions. Had he been in the House, I would have given him my birth-day greetings. But I find that I got mixed up about the dates, because his birth-day is on the 29th, which we have missed this year.

SHRI PILOO MODY: He has no birth-day this year.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: That is what I was saying. I had calculated it was the 29th February...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): He grows once in four years.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: This is how he can stay so young. I have been accused of many failings, but never so far of lack of courtesy, nor indeed do I think that I have been guilty of it. Shri Desai has accused us of ridiculing the suggestions of the Opposition. I am not sure who he means when he talks about the Opposition.

The main Opposition here, as we know, is the CPM. I do not know if Shri Desai has changed his politics. He used to be quite violently in words, of course,—opposed to the CPM point of view. It is not we, but the different Opposition parties and groups which ridicule and contradict each other.

Shri Morarji Desai also spoke of my blaming or our blaming the official machinery. I should like to distinguish between the individuals in the administration and the system. I have always stated that while there are dedicated and efficient officials, the structure of our administration is an outdated one. Many suggestions have been made by the Administrative Reforms Commission. In fact, we are still looking at some. I find that every now and then some other suggestions



which have been processed, are brought before us. Many of these suggestions have been acted upon. But they have not really made any difference. What is needed is not patchwork or a small change here and there but more basic transformation, which is not easy to do. My own view remains that it is a necessary thing to do.

On every possible occasion, there is talk of corruption. When Shri Morarji Desai was in Government, he disapproved of the habit of making sweeping charges of corruption. He now chooses to brand the whole system as corrupt and the whole nation as corrupt. It is certainly deplorable that corruption which was so widely prevalent in feudal and colonial days should continue to exist now when we are free. But we all know that during periods of growth and change, frailties of human nature often come to the surface. In a situation of shortages and scarcities, the temptation of what the Americans might call making 'a fast buck' seems to be irresistible to some people. In the capitalist system, where the acquisitive instincts are encouraged by competition, this tendency is much more marked and has even been elevated into a business ethics.

But even in non-capitalist systems, they have not been able to entirely eradicate this evil. That, of course, is no reason for us to be complacent or to tolerate such obvious anti-social behaviour. We must remove it. Many people who indulge in anti-social acts are discovered and dealt with. But I agree with the hon. Members that we should be far more prompt, thorough and strict in dealing with them. There are also allegations which are baseless.

The ultimate solution lies in removing shortages and scarcities. Greater production, particularly of articles of daily consumption and more equitable distribution will improve the situation. We must also curb the desire to imitate other modes of life and we must all try to create an atmosphere where, on the one hand, temptation is lessened and, on the other hand,

anti-social acts are disapproved by the neighbours and the community at large.

Shri Morarji Desai has made a comparison between the drought years of 1965-66 and the one we have gone through during the last two years. The manner in which he has added up the foodgrains output may create some confusion. I am afraid, these simple arithmetical comparisons are not very meaningful. For example, he has completely ignored the fact that between the two droughts, the population of India increased by 85-90 millions and that, while in the earlier drought we had to deal with Bihar alone, this time we had to maintain programmes of relief works in five States on a very intensive scale and in several others on a lesser scale. He has ignored the fact that we did not ask for concessional food imports or relief from abroad. I should like to remind the House that in the 1966 drought, 19 million tonnes of foodgrains were imported while this time we imported only 4 million tonnes and that too on commercial terms.

The internal procurement in 1972-73 totals 16 million tonnes as against 8 million tonnes in the two years of the earlier drought. While all this was happening, we terminated the PL 480 assistance and, at the same time, we had to provide food aid to our neighbours. All these are measures of self-help for which the people and the Government deserve a word of praise, not cynical condemnation.

During the drought this time, an intensive public distribution system was organised and considerable quantities of foodgrains to the tune of 22 million tonnes in the two years were distributed. This has been acknowledged all over the world. The allocations were somewhat reduced only after the last kharif harvest. Even now, over 8 lakh tonnes are being distributed every month. What has happened is that because of the general rise in prices and the big difference between the prices of Government-distributed grain and the grain in the open market and because of the existence of a wide net-work of public

distribution arrangements, the demand on it has not come down even after a good harvest as used to happen in earlier years.

Yesterday, I spoke about increase in production and the prospects this year. So I am not going into the details. I should like to say that the improvement in the working of public enterprises is particularly noteworthy. They turned the corner in 1972-73 and their performance this year is expected to be much better both as regards the quantum of production as well as the profits. This reassures us in our faith in the efficiency of the public sector as an instrument of growth.

Yesterday, my colleague, the Finance Minister presented the Budget. It is an anti-inflationary budget designed to stimulate production in essential sectors. The deficit has been kept low. The situation will be kept under constant watch and Government will see to it that the deficit is not allowed to increase. The Union Government and the State Governments must, of course, exercise stringent financial discipline. The Budget is only one of the instruments to deal with the situation. Other instruments will also be used in the effort to stabilise our economy.

Many members spoke of Gujarat with understandable pain and sorrow which I fully share. There was a complaint that the reference to Gujarat in the President's Address was too brief. But I am sure that members will understand that the situation was such a fast-changing one that it was not lack of concern that kept this reference short but merely the desire not to say anything which might aggravate the situation. When emotions are aroused, even a well-meant sentiment or word can be misconstrued or quoted out of context and can aggravate the trouble.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** Dissolve the Assembly there. That is what we want now.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : गुजरात जा कर लोगों को सान्त्वना दे कर आइये ।

श्री कूलचन्द वर्मा (उज्जैन) : एक बार वहां जा कर देखिये, सब ठीक हो जायगा ।

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** That is why, only the very essential minimum was mentioned, namely, the need to join hands to restore normalcy.

An hon. Member opposite remarked about my not going there, saying that perhaps I was afraid. This is another failing of which I have never been accused. Never has there been cause for such accusation either. May I tell him that, several times, I was on the point of dashing there, but the advice was that my going would not help; it would aggravate the situation. One goes only if there is a possibility of soothing the emotions, of bringing people together; but if one's going is to sharpen differences and aggravate the situation, then I am sure that hon. members will agree that, even though one's heart may be there and one may be wanting to go there, one has to postpone going. There is no doubt that there has been much suffering due to scarcity and also much suffering due to the rioting, the firing and the situation which has emerged because of all this.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** About dissolution of the Assembly, we want to hear from you. If you choose to keep silent, then we will think that you want to keep this dummy Assembly which does not enjoy the confidence of the people.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** My sympathy is with all those who have suffered. I have expressed my condolences and deep sympathy with the families of the bereaved, my sympathy with all those who have been injured or who have suffered from loss of property. We should also spare a word of sympathy for the police, who are also people and who, as I said the other day, are also sons of Gujarat.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : जिसको क्षति पहुंची है, जिनके लोग मरे हैं, उनको मुआवजा देना चाहते हैं—ऐसी घोषणा भी कर दीजिये ।

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** It has been said that Gujarat's case was one of spontaneous combustion of the people's anger expressing itself. Part is certainly true, but alongside it, other elements have been added. An Opposition Member of parliament spoke to me about the attack on banks and said that the manner in which a particular bank had been destroyed was done in a most professional manner. I doubt if any of the teachers and students who were in the struggle had this type of expertise. Obviously, somebody else is also involved. It is the high-minded and idealistic students and teachers who took the lead, who ought to realise that, perhaps without their knowing it, the situation is being exploited by others. From the reports we get, there seems to be a deep design at work and fascist methods are being used by coercive forces which want to subvert the entire system.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** Like Gaikhata.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** Teachers and students are the people who are the most concerned about tomorrow. That is why we say that today they must think deeply about the nature of the society and the system they want to build in Gujarat and in the country. Do they want to have a system where violence will call the tune? That is what has happened before when the idealistic urges of young people have been exploited and cleverly manipulated by various sinister organisations. A strange situation has arisen. The situation in Gujarat was complicated enough, but now we find that lots of people are jumping on to the band-wagon—even the very ones against whom the anger of the Gujarat people was first expressed. So, it is time for all thinking people to pause and consider the situation from all angles.

Our intentions are quite clear. We want peace. We want sanity. We want order in the State. We want a calm atmosphere in which the administration

can fulfil its essential task of supplying the essential commodities and needs—as Shri Mavalankar was requesting just now. But, in the present situation, it is extremely difficult to do so. The shops of small shop-keepers have been burnt. Whatever rations or other goods that were there, were all destroyed. It is impossible to replenish those stocks and they are afraid to do so even if they had a place to put them in. I am not saying that this is the whole of the situation. Obviously, in a speech like this, I cannot go into details. I am merely pointing out that the situation is far more complex than it seems on the surface. (*Interruptions*). What is needed is a frame of mind in which all suggestions can be discussed and discussions can take place without anger, bitterness or re-crimination.

Many people have made the demand for dissolution. I have already explained that we are not against dissolution on principle or as a matter of policy. It is not a question of policy. But the point is whether it can be accepted under coercion when many MLAs are being intimidated to resign or when we see sudden somersaults which we cannot take for a genuine change of heart. Stories have appeared in the newspapers. An MLA's son was kidnapped and he was told that unless he resigns, the boy would not be returned. Then there are stories of people's houses being burnt. There are stories that when one or two MLAs came to Delhi, their families frantically telephoned, 'You have gone away, the children and we are being threatened. Please come back'. Naturally, they did go back. (*Interruptions*). I have they did. These are some of the factors which we must all discuss before we take any final decision.

We should also like to have a clearer understanding of what is to come after. Some groups which demand dissolution have expressed themselves against our entire system of elections and against parliamentary democracy itself. In all conscience, this is either too naive or there is some method in this sort of madness.



Why don't we give the people in general the opportunity to go about their work? Then we can sit down, to discuss all aspects of the matter. President's rule will remain in force so long as it is necessary. It is obviously not possible to instal any government in the State nor have we any intention of doing so.

I want to say a word about the brief but very refreshing speech of Shri Rana-bahadur Singh, who lifted us above all the problems and difficulties, of today into the realm of fundamental thought of what he called Greeko-Roman political thought. He wanted Parliament to discuss the issue to see how far this old European tradition, was relevant not just to India; but to whole world, I must say I enjoyed his speech. It would make an interesting debate if hon. Members would like to have it here.

Shri Madhu Limaye raised a point which has nothing to do with the President's Address, But I should like to deal with it, with your permission, Sir. This is about inter-caste marriages. He knows, and I presume the House knows, that I have very strong feelings on this question I believe that such marriages should be encouraged and commended and the young couple congratulated. It is a matter of sorrow that they should have to suffer for it. I do not know the facts, but if it is true they have been dismissed only for this reason, we have to look into it. If the institution, is a private one, I don't know what we can do. But we certainly will look into it.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** The private institution should be taken over.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** I don't think taking over institutions is the answer to all problems.

On a previous occasion also I have said to the House that all matters concerning Harijans and so on which come under the purview of the Centre—although incidents take place in the States—can be dealt with

only with the cooperation of the opposition, regarding what attitude to take, how much the Centre can interfere and so on. We cannot do this by ourselves. Some Governments are Congress Governments, although that does not mean that they listen to us more than the others do. But even so, some are ours and some are not ours. If we can all come to an understanding, then we shall be in a better position to enforce our decisions.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) :** Does that apply to the Shiv Sena's doings in Maharashtra also? Can the Centre do anything about it, because they are State Government matters?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** An ally of the Congress.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** It was not an ally of the Congress.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** An employee of the Congress.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** Neither an employee nor an ally. It is a phenomenon which is very dangerous to the unity of the country. It has tarnished the fair name of Bombay as one of our most beautiful, cosmopolitan, progressive cities. We are all interested in ensuring that such tendencies, any parochial, communal tendencies, should be curbed.

I now come to international matters. The President's Address has reiterated our desire to enter into negotiations with Pakistan to implement the remaining parts of the Simla Agreement. The recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan, as expected, has been widely welcomed as a step towards further normalisation on the sub-continent. There will soon be tripartite talks to devise further measures of co-operation. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh, as you may have seen in the papers, will be here later this month. I am sure he will receive a very warm welcome. Very recently we have had the privilege of welcoming President Sadat, Sardar Naim

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

and the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Emirates. I should like particularly to draw attention to our growing economic relations with Iraq and Iran.

13 hrs.

As regards military bases, I do not wish to enlarge on this theme, but I shall touch upon it because I have spoken about it outside the House.

Military bases and the accumulation of arms around us have caused us concern and focussed attention on the need for constant vigil. Despite the detente which we so warmly welcomed, we find that tensions are still building up and new dangers are lurking. This does not mean that we, as a nation, should be afraid of anything that is happening outside. It does mean that we must concentrate on stabilising our economy and achieving greater discipline as a people. These are basic to national strength and to energise our people to meet the great challenges which confront us and, which, even if we overcome the present difficulties, with the whole changing world, will always present some crisis, some dangers to us and, unless, we are vigilant and strong enough to face them, we will not be able to hold our own.

This is a time of trial and testing of our capacity to bear hardships and sacrifice, rather than succumbing to a defeatist attitude which, I am afraid, many of us, on both sides of the House, sometimes are given to. Let us combine to promote self-confidence and determination. And now that there are no major elections immediately round the corner, it may be more easy to do so.

I request all of you. We have quarrelled, we have fought and we should always have differences of opinion, there will always be differences on major issues—but when we realize what challenges we are facing, not only within the country but in the international sphere, is it not time for us to seek some common ground, as we

did during the war and the Bangladesh crisis, where we can say that on these major issues we shall cooperate and attempt to find a solution?

We have done so before; I know that it is possible. So, the only thing is to have the will and the desire. I personally do not think that there is any danger or difficulty which the Indian people cannot face with courage.

In our long history, we have had many dark periods, but we have come through them and we have emerged without being in any way debased or humbled. This is the time when all the inner resources of the country are needed, all our unity is needed, to face the present crisis. I am sure that if we do face it unitedly, this is a period of opportunity. This is an opportunity in a very practical sense also. I think this has been stated in the House, with regard to exports and so on, that in spite of all the international difficulties, it is a period when we could increase our exports and make more money and therefore have more to help the people.

(interruptions).

It is one thing for a person to be acquisitive and it is another for the people as a whole to want to have the resources to undertake various essential programmes. So, I am not talking of the type of acquisitiveness which, the hon. Member, Shri Mody, has in mind. I am not talking of something which we want to keep in banks, but that which will go immediately to the people in the shape of productive, creative programmes which can improve conditions.

AN HON. MEMBER : Oil.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Well, oil is part of creative programme just now.

Sir, I thank the hon. Members for listening so patiently to me. Even Shri Jyotirmoy Bose is much tamer than he has

usually been. I hope that this remark will not be a provocation to him.

I commend that the Motion of Thanks to the President be accepted by the House.

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put the amendments to vote.

First, I shall put Shri N. Sreekantan Nair's amendment, namely amendment No. 1.

*Amendment No. 1 was put and negatived.* Division No. 3]

13.13 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put Amendments Nos. 2 to 55 by Shri Jagannathrao Joshi to vote.

AYES

*Amendments Nos. 2 to 55 were put and negatived.*

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put amendments Nos. 57 to 68 by Shri Mohamed Koya to vote.

*Amendments Nos. 57 to 68 were put and negatived.*

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put Shri C. K. Chandrappan's amendments to vote.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: (Telli-cherry): I would like to have division on amendment No. 94.

MR. SPEAKER: In that case, I shall put amendments Nos. 84 to 93 to vote.

*Amendments Nos. 84 to 93 were put and negatived.*

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put amendment No. 94 to vote.

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 that the Govern-

ment will take steps to ban semi-fascist and para-military organisations like Shiv Sena and R.S.S. which are threatening the very unity of the country and nation."  
(94)

*The Lok Sabha divided:*

Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
Bhaura, Shri B. S.  
Bosu, Shri Jyotirmoy  
Chandra Shekhar Singh, Shri  
Chandrappan, Shri C. K.  
Chinnaraji, Shri C. K.  
Durairasu, Shri A.  
George, Shri Varkey  
Gopalan, Shri A. K.  
Gowder, Shri J. Matha  
Gupta, Shri Indrajit  
Joseph, Shri M. M.  
Kalingarayar, Shri Mohauraj  
Kiruttinan, Shri Tha  
Manjhi, Shri Bhola  
Mohammad Ismail, Shri  
Mukerjee, Shri H. N.  
\*Nimbalkar, Shri  
Pillai, Sri R. Balakrishna  
\*Reddy, Shri K. Ramakrishna  
Saha, Shri Ajit Kumar  
Sen, Dr. Ranen  
Shastri, Shri Ramavatar  
Ulaganambi, Shri K. P.

\*Wrongly voted for AYES