

is 'small scale industry' or 'ancillary industry'. On further consideration the facility of Credit Guarantee scheme has been extended to cover 'ancillary units' with investment in plant and machinery beyond Rs. 10 lakhs but not exceeding Rs. 15 lakhs in line with the general definition of 'ancillary industries'.

Sugar Cooperatives

787. SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: Will the Minister of INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES be pleased to state :

(a) The number of sugar cooperatives, in different States, with their fixed assets financed from their internal resources;

(b) the number of sugar cooperatives running at a loss ; and

(c) the amount of financial assistance Government have so far given to these cooperatives ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI A. C. GEORGE): (a) 97 cooperative sugar factories were in production during the sugar season 1974-75. A State-wise statement regarding the number of cooperative sugar factories and their fixed assets covered by internal resources is enclosed. [See Appendix XCV, Annexure No. 60].

(b) Information is available only in respect of cooperative sugar factories in production on 30th June, 1974. Of the 91 cooperative sugar factories in production, 36 incurred losses during the year ended 30th June, 1974.

(c) The amounts contributed by the State Governments to the share-capital of cooperative sugar factories in production during 1974-75 season is given in column 6 of the statement referred to in reply to part (a) of this Question.

Foreign collaboration proposals approved with multi-national companies

788. SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : SHRI
INDRADEEP SINHA : SHRI
YOGENDRA SHARMA:

Will the Minister of INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that during the year 1975 a total number of 271 proposals for foreign collaborations were approved by Government;

(b) if so, how many of them are with multi-nationals;

(c) what are their equity shares;

(d) the names of the main Indian subsidiary companies which are involved in the collaboration ;

(e) whether Government have taken note of the recommendations made by the expert committee of the National Committee on Science and Technology regarding foreign collaborations; and

(f) if so, the reaction of Government thereon ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI B. P. MAURYA): (a) to (f) A statement is attached. [See Appendix XCV, Annexure No. 61].

FAREWELL TO RETIRING MEMBERS

MR. CHAIRMAN: As you all know, one-third of our Members will be retiring on the 2nd April this year. Many of them may return. I wish to bid farewell to all those who may not be coming back. I must first thank them for their unstinted co-operation extended to me in ensuring the smooth working of this House. We

•j-Transferred from the 29th March, 1976. (Previously numbered as unstarred Question No. 635).

have been functioning as members of one family.

Those who are leaving us are entering a wider sphere of activity. There is much to be done to change life in our cities, in our villages, in our desert areas and in our hilly regions and it is the duty of everyone, whether in Parliament or outside it, to try and help in this positive effort. The experience the retiring Members have gained of the working of Parliament and of the Government will, I am sure, stand them in good stead.

The need of the hour is to increase production which will bring about greater employment and better distribution. We have to alleviate the hardships of the poorer sections and middle-classes of our society. This is a time for unity and discipline so that the country will be strengthened. The sense of discipline which the Members have acquired during their Membership of this House will be of advantage to them in their future programmes, of national work. I wish them well. They have our best wishes in their endeavours to take the country forward.

सभा के नेता (श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी) : श्रीमन्, आपने एक बड़े महत्वपूर्ण अवसर पर मुझे अनुमति प्रदान की कि मैं अपने भाव व्यक्त करूँ। हमारे कुछ साथी जो इस माननीय सदन के सदस्य रहे हैं, जो आज विदाई ले रहे हैं, ऐसे वक्त पर जब कि इतने दिन काम करने के बाद वे बाहर जा रहे हैं, हम अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त करने के लिए आपकी आज्ञा से यहाँ एकत्र हुए हैं।

मान्यवर, इस संसदीय परंपरा की पद्धति है कि जो संसदीय संस्था होते हैं उनमें परिवर्तन होता है। इसी विचार से, विधान के अनुसार, नियमों के अनुसार, हमारी राज्य सभा के संगठन में भी समय समय पर परिवर्तन होता रहता है। अब इस परिवर्तन के फल-स्वरूप हमारे कुछ साथी अब अवकाश ग्रहण कर रहे हैं और कुछ नई मंडली हमारी राज्य सभा में बहुत शीघ्र ही आने वाली है।

मान्यवर, मैं जानता हूँ कि जो लोग आज अवकाश ग्रहण कर रहे हैं, कई वर्ष तक यहाँ रहे हैं और आज हम से अलग हो रहे हैं। अलग हो रहे हैं इस सदन में, हमसे तो अलग नहीं हो रहे हैं, तब भी थोड़ा सा हृदय का दुःख पहुँचता है क्योंकि इतने दिनों तक उनका हमारा साथ रहा है, हम साथ साथ काम करते रहे हैं। पर मैं जानता हूँ कि इनमें से बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने अपना सारा जीवन देश की सेवा में लगाया है। जब राज्य सभा नहीं थी तब भी देश के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में उनका योगदान रहा है। ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने बाहर साहित्य के क्षेत्र में, कला के क्षेत्र में, सार्वजनिक सेवा के क्षेत्र में काम किया है। ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने राष्ट्र की सेवा और देश की सेवा की है और बराबर करते आ रहे हैं। उन्हें अवसर प्राप्त हुआ कि हमारी राज्य सभा में आये जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने के लिए और वे यहाँ पधारें और यहाँ भी उन्होंने देश की सेवा का बहुत काम किया। अब वे बाहर जायेंगे, मान्यवर, तो उनका कार्यक्षेत्र विस्तृत होगा। देश के सामने बहुत सी समस्याएँ हैं। राष्ट्र का जीवन है, राष्ट्र की सेवा करनी है, देश के विकास कार्य में, उसके सुदृढ़ और प्रौढ़ बनने के कार्य में, उसकी सुरक्षा के कार्य में, उसकी आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करने के कार्य में उन्हें विस्तृत क्षेत्र प्राप्त होगा।

वे अपने स्वभाव के अनुसार, जैसे जीवन-पर्यन्त देश की सेवा करते रहे, आगे भी करते रहेंगे। हमारा विश्वास है कि समय-समय पर हमें उनकी सहायता मिलती रहेगी। उनके ज्ञान और उनके अनुभव से हम लाभ उठाते रहेंगे।

मान्यवर, जो लोग आज जा रहे हैं उनके प्रति हम अपना स्नेह और आदर व्यक्त करते हैं और अपनी ओर से कृतज्ञता प्रकट करते हैं कि उनके विचारों से, उनके कार्यों से हमें बराबर सहायता मिलती रही है और देश सेवा का जो कार्य इस सदन के ऊपर है, हम उसे पूरा करते हैं। हमें विश्वास है, हमें आशा है कि उनका सहयोग, उनकी सहायता और उनका

आशीर्वाद, उन लोगों के जो जाने वाले हैं और हम सब के जो यह माँजूद हैं, काम करने के लिए मिलता रहेगा। जब कभी भी उनकी आवश्यकता हमें पड़ेगी तो वे अपना सहयोग देने में पीछे नहीं रहेंगे, ऐसा मुझे विश्वास है। इन शब्दों के साथ अपने उन साथियों के प्रति अपना आदर, अपनी सद्भावना प्रकट करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि उनका सदा सहयोग और आशीर्वाद हमको मिलता रहेगा।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह (बिहार) : श्रीमान, 26 वर्ष 3 महीने हो गए हैं, जब से मैं प्राविजनल पार्लियामेंट में आया। मैं वहाँ थोड़े समय रहा। 19 वर्ष 3 महीने मैं इस हाउस में भी रहा। हम देखते हैं कि इन 26 वर्षों के अन्दर कितनी ही चीजें हो गईं। हमारे महान नेता वल्लभभाई पटेल से लेकर कामराज नाथ तक चले गये। इस बीच हमारे महान नेता पं. जवाहर लाल नेहरू भी गए, प्राइम मिनिस्टर लाल बहादुर शास्त्री, रफी अहमद किदवाई मॉलाना आजाद, पंत जी सभी चले गये, इसलिए रह-रह कर दिल रोता है यहाँ रह कर यह भी देखा गया था कि पीडित जी ने हम लोगों के सामने प्राविजनल पार्लियामेंट में खड़े हो कर प्रपोज किया था कि प्लानिंग कमिशन बनाया जाय। बड़ी सुन्दर चीज थी। वह स्वयं हमें याद है। यह काम बड़ी अच्छी तरह से चलता रहा। अगर चीन हमारे साथ दगा न करता, हमारे ऊपर हमला न करता तो हम उसी तरह से आगे बढ़ते जाते। हमारे प्लान्स भी उसी तरह से सफल होते रहेंगे। पहले डेवलपमेंट और डिफेंस था और अब डिफेंस और डेवलपमेंट हो गया पाकिस्तान से भी हमें लड़ना पड़ा, एक बार नहीं दो बार। कच्छ के लें तो तीन बार और उनके पहले कश्मीर के लेकर भी लड़ाई हुई। इन सब लड़ाइयों का हमें सामना करना पड़ा। बंगला देश की चीज भी आई और कर्ह करोड़ लोग हमारे देश में आए।

हमारी आदरणीय बहन इन्दिरा गांधी ने प्रधान मंत्री के पद पर आए हुए 10 वर्ष हो गए हैं और इन 10 वर्षों में इन्होंने बहुत से

काम किये हैं। मैं 1907 में जन्मा था जब कांग्रेस में स्पिलिट हुआ था। उस स्पिलिट का तमाश मैंने फिर देखा। बड़ी खूबी के साथ, बड़े अच्छे ढंग से प्रधान मंत्री महादया ने इसके ठीक किया। उनके ही कारण गवर्नमेंट भी रह गई और कांग्रेस भी पावर में रह गई। यह मामला सुप्रीम कोर्ट तक गया। वहाँ भी हमारी ही जीत हुई। इससे यह सिद्ध हो गया कि असली कांग्रेस यही है। इन सारी कठिनाइयों के साथ हमारा सम्बन्ध रहा है और रहेगा। पार्लियामेंट के 750 के लगभग मँम्बर हैं उनमें से मैं भी एक हूँ। जब मैं यहाँ आया था तो राज्य सभा उसके दो वर्ष बाद बनी।

तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि "मरा मिजाज लड़कपन से आशिकाना था"। सन् 1916 में जब मैं केवल 9-10 वर्ष का हुआ तो मुझे पर लोकमान्य तिलक का इतना असर हुआ कि मैंने उनकी तस्वीर अखबारों से ले कर और उनका नारा "स्वराज्य हमारा जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार है" के लिखकर अपने सारे कमीज पर चिपका लिया और उसी स्थिति में स्कूल में जाता रहा और वहाँ अपने साथी बच्चों से भी बात करता रहा। उसके बाद हमारे देश में 1920-21 में सहयोग आन्दोलन चला तो हम लोगों ने असहयोग आन्दोलन में भी भाग लिया। हमारे देश में आजादी के जितने भी आन्दोलन चले, सन् 1930 के आन्दोलन से लेकर सन् 1942 के आन्दोलनों तक, उन सब में हम भाग लेते रहे और उनमें काम करते रहे। उसके बाद मुझे जनरल सेक्रेटरी आफ द प्राविशियल कांग्रेस बनाया गया। सन् 1950 में प्राविजनल पार्लियामेंट का मँम्बर बना। ये सब बातें होती रहीं। आप जानते हैं कि श्री टंडन जी के साथ पीडित जवाहर लाल जी की कुछ खींचतानी भी चली थी। उसमें टंडन जी ने शिकस्त खाई और पीडित जी को कांग्रेस का प्रेजीडेंट बनाया गया। लेकिन आप पीडित का बड़प्पन देखिये। पीडित जी ने टंडन जी के अपनी वीकिंग कर्मटी में रखा और पार्लियामेंटरी बोर्ड में भी उनके रखा। लेकिन इसके विपरीत आप श्री निजलिंगप्पा साहब को देखिये। उन्होंने

[श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह]
हमारे राष्ट्र की सबसे बड़ी नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी के विरुद्ध डिप्लोमैटिक एक्शन लेने की बात कही। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि कांग्रेस (ओ) जीते ही बनना चला गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह हमारे देश के सच्चे संवक जिन्होंने अपने जन्म से लेकर सारी जिन्दगी कांग्रेस के लिए काम किया, उनके खिलाफ गलत ढंग से सांचने का ही असर है।

आज कुछ लोग इस सदन से रिटायर हो रहे हैं। इस बारे में मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि हमको इस सदन से जाने का गम नहीं है लेकिन मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें जाने की खुशी नहीं है, क्योंकि जिन लोगों को हम यहाँ से नज़दीक से देखते रहे अब उनको इतने नज़दीक से नहीं देख सकेंगे। अभी एक राज पहले जब हम लोगों को खाने पर बुलाया गया तो मैंने प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहा कि आप इसी प्रकार से हमें कभी-कभी खाने पर बुलाते रहा करें ताकि हम लोग आप से मिल सकें।

हम लोग पार्लियामेंट से जा रहे हैं। हमारा देश एक बहुत बड़ा देश है। बहुत से काम हमारे देश में अभी होने हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप हमें जिस काम के लयक समझें, उसके लिए जरूर बुलायें और हम उस काम को जरूर करेंगे।

एक बात मैं चायना के वार के वक्त की कह रहा हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि उस वक्त जो सबसे बड़ी बात हुई वह यह थी कि तमाम दुनिया की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियाँ ने चाइनीज वार को वार नहीं कहा, लेकिन हमारे देश की श्री भूपेश गुप्ता की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आफ इंडिया ने कहा कि चीन ने हमारे देश पर हमला किया है, एग्जेशन किया है। आज सी. पी. आई. कई मामलों में हमारे साथ काम कर रहा है। मेरा कहना यह है कि चाइनीज एग्जेशन के वक्त इन लोगों ने जो राष्ट्रीय सेवा की है उसको हमें नहीं भूलना चाहिए।

कुछ दिनों पहले रात्रियत संघ के ला मिनिस्टर हमारे देश में आये थे तो उसके साथ हमारे ला मिनिस्टर साहेब की बातचीत हुई थी। यह

बात अखबारों में भी निवली। हमारे पहचान के एक बहुत बड़े प्रोफेसर हैं, उन्होंने इस बारे में कहा कि सिन्हा साहेब यह क्या हो रहा है, हमारे क्विस्टेशन्स के बारे में रीशियन लोगों से बातचीत हो रही है। क्या हम रीशियन क्विस्टेशन्स की तरफ जा रहे हैं? हमने कहा कि हमारी ग्राइम मिनिस्टर की तरफ से बार-बार यह कहा जाता रहा है कि हमारे देश में डेमोक्रेसी रहेगी, पार्टियाँ रहेंगी और हमारा विधान भी रहेगा। लेकिन यह नहीं हो सकता कि हमारा विधान किसी प्रकार से गरीबों की भलाई करने के रास्ते में आये। हम अपने विधान को जरूर बदलेंगे जिससे हम अपने देश के गरीबों का भला कर सकें। अन्त में कहना चाहता हूँ —

अगर खाँ गया एक नशमन तो क्या गम,
मुकामाते आहां फुगा और भी हूँ।
तरे इश्क के इतिहा और भी हूँ,
किनायत न कर मालमाँ रंग बू पर,
जमीँ और भी आस्माँ और भी हूँ,
सितारों के आगे जहँ और भी हूँ।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश) :
आदरणीय सभापति महोदय यह सभासद समझना चाहिये कि जिन 10, 12, 14 वर्षों में हम यहाँ रहे रहे हैं, वह एक ऐसी ऐतिहासिक समय रहा है कि जिसने प्रत्येक सदस्य, संसद सदस्य के हृदय में रोमांच पैदा किया है हमने यहाँ इस बीच में विश्व विभूतियों के दर्शन किये, उनसे मार्ग दर्शन प्राप्त किया, उनके काम देखे। इस देश को नवतुल्य देकर वह किस प्रकार ऊँचे-ऊँचे उठाते चले गये और वे हमारे देश की निधि बने। हमने यहाँ पर अनेक रोमांचक अनुभूतियाँ भी एकीकृत कीं। जो प्रश्न अभी हमारे बड़े भाई ने छोड़ा था और कुछ घटनाओं का उल्लेख किया था, वे सचमुच में सभी ऐसी रोमांचक घटनाएँ हैं जिन्हें कोई भूल नहीं सकता। मैं उनको फिर नहीं दोहराऊंगा परन्तु मैं इतना अवश्य कहना चाहूँगा कि हम जिस सीधे काल में, संख्या के अवसर पर यहाँ से बाहर जा रहे हैं तो उस समय हमें यहाँ से एक बड़ा मार्गदर्शन मिला है, 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का और यह कार्यक्रम

गठित होना है क्षेत्र में जाकर। तो ऐसे अवसर पर अगर हम लांग जा रहे हैं तो जो स्नेह का सम्बल हमें यहाँ से प्राप्त हुआ, आदरणीय विभूतियों के द्वारा और साधियों के द्वारा वही हमारे जीवन का आधार बनेगा। हम अपने क्षेत्र में जाकर अपने कर्तव्य पथ पर अवलंबित हों और जो काम हमने जीवन पर्यन्त उठाया है जैसा कि आदरणीय त्रिपाठी जी ने कहा, उसमें हम करते चले जायें।

मैं आपके माध्यम से आभार प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ परन्तु मेरे पास शब्द नहीं हैं। इसलिये मैं शब्द उधार लेकर कहना चाहता हूँ :

सुनां हो त्रिपुष्प हम पृथुप तिहारै अहँ
राखिहौं तमैं तो शांभा रावरी बड़ावंगे ।
तजि हौं करिये कौं तो विलग न मानौं कछु
जहाँ जहाँ अहँ तहाँ तैरो जस गालंगे ।
सुर न बढ़ावंगे, नर सिर न चढ़ावंगे, नित
सुकीव अनीरु हाथ हाथन बिकावंगे ।
दश में रहवंगे, परदेश में रहवंगे, काहु-
भय में रहवंगे पर रावरै कहावंगे ।

इसका जय थाड़ा रा अंग्रेजी में भी कह दूँ :

"Hear me, O, great tree !
We are small flowers of yours ;
If you allow us to remain with you,
We shall add to your grandeur.
If you are pleased to leave us out,
We shall not feel separated,
For wherever we shall go,
We shall sing your praise.
We shall be offerings to gods
And reach the heads of great men
And every day shall pass from hand
to hand. Whether here or
elsewhere, Whether in this form or
another, We shall always be yours."

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आभार प्रकट करता हूँ और मीर के शब्दों में यह कहना चाहता हूँ :

अब तां जातं हौं बूतकद से 'मीर'
फिर अयवंगे गर खड़ा लाया

अन्त में प्रणाम कहता हूँ खीन्त्र नाथ के शब्दों में :

मीत मेरे दां विदा मैं जा रहा हूँ,
सभी के चरणों नमन मैं जा रहा हूँ
मीत हूँ हम तुम पड़ोसी बहुत दिन के
दिया कम ओं लं चला मैं अधिक गिन के
हो गया अब तां सबेरा
मित रहा, रं, निमिरगूह के
दीप का वह किरन घंरा
हो रही हौं टंरे, लो मैं जा रहा हूँ
सभी के चरणों नमन ॥

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

मान्यवर, मैं इस समय जब सदन के सामने खड़ा हो रहा हूँ, तो मेरे सामने इस देश के हजारों वर्षों के इतिहास के पिछले 50 वर्ष मानस-पटल पर सिनेमा के चित्रपट की तरह तेजी से धूम रहे हैं। यह हमारा परम साँभाग्य रहा है कि इस देश के इतिहास के इस स्वर्णिम युग में हमारा जन्म हुआ जब कि हमारा देश अपनी दासता के बाँधने के काटने के लिए संसार में एक अद्वितीय प्रयास कर रहा था, एक महापुरुष के नेतृत्व में। मान्यवर हमारा यह भी परम साँभाग्य रहा है कि बालपन से ही उस महापुरुष राष्ट्रीपिता काए की पुकार ने हमें आकृष्ट किया और इस जीवन के सफल और सार्थक बनाने का अवसर दिया। दूसरा परम अहोभाग्य रहा है यह कि मेरा जन्म इलाहाबाद में हुआ जहाँ हमारे देश की बहुत सी विभूतियाँ हुईं। और मान्यवर, मेरा परम गौरव रहा है कि पिछले 50 वर्षों से जो एक परिवार हमारे देश का नेतृत्व करता चला जा रहा है, जिसमें एक नहीं तीन-तीन ऐतिहासिक विभूतियाँ हुईं हैं, उसके एक-एक जन से देश-सेवा की, अनुशासन की देशभक्ति की सच्ची निष्ठा से लोक और समाज की सेवा करने की मैंने दीक्षा ली। यह परम साँभाग्य रहा परम श्रेष्ठ पण्डित मोतीलाल जी के चरणों में नमन करके, उनके शाबासी के हाथों से, हमारे कंधे सबल हुए हैं, और परम पूज्य जवाहरलाल नेहरू की प्यार-भरी झड़पों ने हमें देशभक्ति की, अनुशासन की और निस्पृह लोक सेवा की दीक्षा दी है। मान्यवर, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री की स्नेहमयी, मृदुता और कृपा की मूर्ति माता जी के साथ भी मुझे काम करने का

[श्री महावीर प्रसाद]

अवसर मिला है और उनकी बुवा और फुफा जी और भाई फोरोज जी भी मेरे साथ काम करते रहे हैं, और अपने राजनीतिक जीवन के इन अंतिम चरणों में जो ये हमारे देश के इतिहास के परम प्रणामय 10 वर्ष बीते हैं, इसमें मुझे उनके सहयोग और साथ में काम करने का जो अवसर मिला है वह मेरे ऐसे अकिंचन कार्यकर्ता के लिए परम गौरव की बात रहेगी।

मान्यवर, इस देश की स्वाधीनता संग्राम के इतिहास के 27 वर्ष गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में, और उसके बाद के स्वाधीनता के ये 27 वर्ष, इन का जिन आंखों को देखने का गौरव मिला है, वे अहोभाग्य आंखें हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि तब जन्म हमारे गुजरे होंगे पीछे, जितने जन्म आएं, आगे, किन्तु मानव शरीर को पाने का यह युग और इस युग में हमारा जन्म, यह स्वर्ग और अपवर्ग से भी अधिक सुखदायी रहा है।

मान्यवर, जो स्मृतियाँ मेरे सामने इस समय उठ रही हैं उनका जिक्र करना इस सदन के लिए आवश्यक नहीं है। यह हमारा सदन इस देश का एकदम सदन है और इराका सदस्य होने की एक बड़ी गौरव की बात है किसी देशभक्त के लिए इतने दिनों तक काम करने का अवसर मिलना। सन 1935 से जिला बोर्ड का सदस्य, सन 1952 विधान सभा का सदस्य, और सन् 1962 से इरा महान सदन के सदस्य के रूप में काम करने का जिस व्यक्ति को अवसर मिला है, उसके लिए यह समय विज्ञान का समय नहीं हो सकता। यह हमारे लिए हर्षोल्लास का समय है। मान्यवर मेरे जीवन का तीन चौथाई से अधिक समय देश-सेवा में बीता है, उसके बाद भी मान्यवर, जिस तरह ये मछली पानी में जिंदा रहती है, मैं तो देश सेवा में एक सच्चे कांग्रेसी की तरह काम करते हुए आगे भी जीवित रहूँगा और मैं आशा करता हूँ, उसी पानों से भाव तक जीता रहूँगा। माननीया हमारे देश को नेता प्रधान मंत्री जी सशक्त हों, बलवती हों, उनके कार्यक्रम देश को आगे चलाते रहें, उसमें आगे भी हमारा योगदान बना रहेगा, इस अभिलाशा और कामना के साथ मान्यवर, मैं आज इस सदन से विदा मांगता हूँ।

मान्यवर, सभी सदस्यों से निवेदन करता हूँ— हम यहां 14 वर्षों से रहे हैं, जानते हैं— संसदीय परम्परा में कभी-कभी एक दूसरे के प्रति कटुता के भाव भी उत्पन्न हो जाते हैं। मैंने चंष्टा की है, कभी ऐसा अवसर हमारे विरोधी सदस्यों को नमिले, परन्तु यदि कभी, इस 14 वर्ष की अवधि में ऐसी कोई कृति हो गई हो, तो उसके लिए हम सभी और के सदस्यों से क्षमा-प्रार्थना भी करेंगे। मान्यवर, इस सदन की परम्परा रही है कि न केवल सदस्य बल्कि हमारे सरकारी सहकारी भी सदैव सहयोग देते रहे हैं। उन सब के प्रति आभार प्रगट करना भी आज हमारा कर्तव्य है। मेरे काँच भाई, पं. भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी और हमारे आशिकाना मिजाज के भाई अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह जी ने काव्यात्मक शब्दों में इस सदन से विदा ली।

मैं आपकी आज्ञा से पुनः नमन करता हूँ अपने सदन के नेता और अपने प्रधान मंत्री जी का जिनके साथ पिछले 38 वर्षों से मुझे काम करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है। मैं उनका और श्रेष्ठिय श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी का आदर्श लेकर अपने जीवन का शेष भाग देश की सेवा में लगाता रहूँ। घर आशीर्वाद मैं उनसे चाहूँगा, आपसे चाहूँगा, इस सदन से चाहूँगा। और इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः आपको नमन करता हूँ, इस सदन का नमन करता हूँ। मैं केवल एक ही आशीर्वाद मांगता हूँ कि मैं जीवन की अंतिम सांस तक देश की सेवा में बना रहूँ और इस तरह की शक्ति यह सदन मुझे अपने उदाहरण से देता रहे।

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH (Gujarat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I stand here not to bid farewell, but to greet. For farewell causes a mist in the eyes and a heavy heart. This mist is not there because my eyes are shining and bright, though bespectacled. I have no heaviness in my heart as it is full of joy, like a lark circling out of its nest to come home to roost, if possible, as the doors of these two august mansions of liberty—the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha—are always open to any citizen of this great land of ours who may seek to serve by winning popular votes to enter these great Chambers.

Sir, India has been an ancient land of liberty and freedom. The Panchayati Raj, with its gaon panchayats, the Janapadas, the Jan Sansads and gurukuls, was born here. We are no bud or sprout of democracy but a mighty banyan tree of human freedom and human dignity pulsating with life. Republican democracy was launched here centuries and centuries before The kings and emperors, more often than not, Sir, ruled here with the consent of the people; this is the land of Diwan-e-am and Diwan-e-khas, now symbolised in these two great Houses of our Parliament with our people as our emperors. Let not the newcomers to democracy of the oceans beyond, who are babes in democratic functioning, ever worry about the Indian Republic.

Sir, in this land, the sun of liberty is ever shining; and a galaxy of saints, poets, warriors and statesmen have trodden this holy land throughout India's glorious history, epitomised by Lord Buddha and Mahavir of old and, of recent years, by Acharyas like Swami Ramakrishna Para-mahansa and Vivekananda, poets like Tagore and Ghalib, philosophers like Shankaracharya and Kabir, warriors like Shivaji and Prithviraj, great builders like Sardar Patel and emancipators of humanity like Gandhi and Nehru and ablest leaders like Lai Bahadur Shastriji and our great Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Sometimes, rarely a dark cloud may pass over our horizons only in order to bring back the rule majesty; for the populace in its full majesty; for the heavily-ridden cloud will pass away shedding its life giving waters to unable human liberty and human dignity to blossom on an even breeze. Violence we have eschewed, but we are no cowards. Gandhi told us not to fear.

So, we fight our way on. These two Houses will ever defend our freedom if ever threatened from within or from outside our frontiers.

Sir, democracy here is safe with a noble presiding deity like Mr. B. D. Jatti, you

Sir, with an occasional firmness of a jat and of an ever gentle smile like a morning rose, with a Pradhan Mantri in her personified benign gentility and nobility, who, even in her rare fighting and challenging speeches like a vertitable Joan of Arc, seeks to persuade and persevere for the emancipation of her down-trodden people, with a shining Leader of the House, Kamalapati, whose speeches, such as the one he delivered on the Railway Budget debate, full of humour and mirth, with an ever friendly Om Mehta who manages this House with chumminess, sometimes seen sitting with an Opposition leader gently hinting to him not to oppose, laying a detractor so that he may not be present in the House on a crucial occasion of vote and who manages when every effort fails, to put up challenging speakers from this side in a combat with the Opposition, and with the great parliamentarian like our dear friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, whose perorations even when they are vehement are thoughtful and thought-provoking. My only request to him is to perhaps limit his speeches to 30 minutes and a little more apiece because, after that, he reappears in his boring bachelor self. These benches have been adored by a saintly statesman— politician like Nana Saheb Goray; with the ever vigilant and thundering Ranbir Singh and Sultan Singh ; with studious home working friends like the Kulkarnis, Sumitra and Arvind ; with scholars like V. P. Dutt; sagacious leader like V. B. Raju; a born Kulapati like Prakash Veer Shastri; a penetrating analyst like Om Tyagi who is a cub in Jan Sangh clothes; with feeble voice like mine and many others. Who, Sir, can ever doubt that voice of the people can ever be stifled in this great country of ours ?

Whatever the Constitution of our country, let it be reiterated that it will never be altered by the hand of a tyrant or a despot because the Sun and the Moon of this universe are reflected in the Tin Murty—Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh—the creator, provider and slayer (of evils) of our nation in the form of these two

[Shri Manubhai Shah]

Houses of our Parliament. We in these Houses shall defend our liberty inspiring people to stand united. Our Parliament shall never waver even if it may cost our lives in defence of our democratic freedom.

Sir, I take this opportunity to pay homage to you for your great sagacity, love and affection, to our Prime Minister for her great leadership of this Nation, to our Leader of this House and to all the revered members of this honourable assemblage.

We have travelled just over a mile in India's hard won freedom from British imperial yoke only recently. The emancipation, both social and economic, of the millions and millions of our countrymen requires great and mighty efforts of India's 600 million population. Every time we speak in this Chamber, let us remember that each one of us holds in trust the faith of our people, because sometimes we have seen in the past that some friends, for one reason or another, have tried to reduce the level of this House to one which is not so desirable. Every time we speak in this Chamber, let us remember that each one of us holds in trust the faith of our people in this great assembly of men and women of India who travel like pilgrims onto the great march towards strength, unit and prosperity of our motherland. I am full of confidence and optimistic vision because only dreamers can make a country great, however much pragmatism and practical exigencies sometimes tend to waver us from the path to carry this torch of freedom, unity and progress.

Sir, in conclusion, I do hope that sooner than later all the vestiges of emergency, which was not of our seeking or our choice but which we had to bring as a shock therapy and which has done tremendous good will disappear soon enabling us once more to bubble forth and go forward with vigour towards full social emancipation and well-being of our people whom we all and

I have sought to serve and will continue to serve within and outside the precincts of the Rajya Sabha.

We have to continue our struggle and not rest till poverty is eradicated and knowledge prevails.

Thank you.

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): With your permission. Sir, I will speak while sitting.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, listening to various friends who are also retiring along with me, the memories of long, long past, of many, many years ago, came back to me. There is Shri Jairamdas Daulatramji, the veteran leader, who is the eldest amongst us, sitting here. He was a member of the Congress Working Committee when I was a mere Congress volunteer. How dare I say anything about the political situation or political affairs when such persons are there. But Sir, old habits die very hard. I have been a politician worker and a politician since the age of 16 years. And, therefore, if I talk of politics, I hope you will please show me indulgence.

Sir, I joined the movement of Gandhiji in 1921 more than 55 years ago. My friend, Shri Kamlapati Tripathi, who is sitting in front of me, was also one of those who joined that movement in that year. That great revolution, India saw beginning of which in 1921-22, ultimately resulted in our getting 'swaraj'. Sir, I have been looking at the writings of Gandhiji off and on. I read through one of the small books which has been brought out and which is titled as "India of my dreams". I have read through that book many times. Sitting here I was thinking whether the dreams that Shri Kamlapati Ji, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha and some of us had in 1922 are coming true. Sir, I think it is time when we should take stock of the situation.

At this hour of parting, I have no desire to find fault with anybody. I must make it clear. I am old enough not to think of these small differences at this hour of my life. But I must say and everyone who joined with me in 1921-22 will agree with me, that the dreams we had 55 years ago are yet far far away from us. Many of the dreams and ideals have even receded too far. Many of the ideals seem to have been abandoned also.

Sir, when Gandhiji asked us to join his movement in 1921, he told us to go to the villages. Now, instead of elite and the leaders of the people going to the villages, there is an exodus to the towns, to the capital cities of the States and here. Our villages are in a bad condition today. I do not deny the progress that we have made. But should we be satisfied with whatever has happened? Are twenty five years of 'swaraj' not sufficient to have resulted in much greater achievement than what we have achieved so far? I have myself been a party to many of the things which the Government and I in the Planning Commission tried to do. I fully know my share of the responsibility and my failures. I am saying all that with humility. But that does not mean that I should not be frank enough to say here and tell you of some of things that I consider to be mistakes.

Sir, the fact is that our economy has hardly grown at a little higher rate than the rate of growth of population. This has been happening all these years. Every year, two per cent or three per cent or less has been the rate of growth and the population has also grown at the rate of more than two per cent or more per year. So, we are not overtaking the problem generated by the growth of population so far as our economic well-being is concerned.

The other day, some time ago, I pleaded with the Prime Minister that we need to change the strategy of planning. Today, if you ask me as to what I would say

as one of my last wishes here, sitting in this House, it is this that we must change the strategy of our planning to a very great extent. I tried to plead with the Prime Minister in one of the Consultative Committee meetings. Unfortunately, I was taken ill. I again plead today. The Consultative Committee has not met since then. I thought I would again urge in that Committee. Failing that, I plead before this House, and the Prime Minister is sitting here, I urge upon her to give another look at the entire strategy afresh and not brush aside this plea of mine simply because it is one T.N. Singh, sitting in the Opposition, saying it. I am saying with some experience, after a great deal of thought and with all my background and knowledge.

Sir, today we are talking of the population problem. The population growth is not due to any higher increase in the birth rate. The fact is that there has been a decrease in the death rate. Birth rate has also decreased, but the death rate has decreased much more. Whatever we have to do, we shall do and we shall continue to take all such measures to see that people do not die. And, therefore, the pressure on population will continue for some time, whatever we do, I am really amazed and rather sickened and pained at the large number of foreign experts and advisers coming here and trying to advise us. One of them came and told me only a few months ago, "Don't you think that the only remedy for your well-being and your good is to stop the growth of population and have a zero growth here? I urged that we cannot treat our people as animals and castrate them. Therefore, this problem will remain in some form. So, we have to think how we are yet going to solve the problem. I am sure, after a time, the population will stabilise itself, the growth rate will not be as high as today. But all that we may do, our safety measures, health measures, will result in a lower and lower death rate. They should. Why should they not? Therefore, the population problem will remain a problem with us for some time to come.

[Shri T. N. Singh]

Then, what should be our strategy / That is what we have to think. I have just indicated the lines on which we have to think. It is not the time, Sir, to go into that question but I will not get any opportunity to talk all these things, and I must say it here. I am wondering today, I wish I could talk about these things in detail. But with the restrictions on freedom of expression, I doubt whether I can speak even on economic issues as to what should be done, freely and frankly. Sir, I am very much pained at time in foreign newspapers that India is not fit for democracy. Outsiders, some of them, are saying that do you think it is any good to hear—because under Gandhiji's leadership we fought for democracy and swaraj—and to be told by these foreigners, who, while leaving us in 1946, said that our democracy will not function and that we will not be able to manage our affairs, to be told today and to see many of our own people coming round to the view that democracy is not suited to us? I feel very pained. The India of my dreams, of Gandhiji's dreams seems to be receding.

I want to urge that if the delicate plant of democracy is to subsist—you can do whatever you want for your administrative reasons etc., I do not want to quarrel with it—I do feel that unless we maintain a system where there is freedom of expression, this country cannot progress, what to say of democracy existing. Therefore, I want to urge today—the Prime Minister is sitting here—with all the sincerity that I possess—the need of immediate restoration of freedom of expression I want to say this also because I began as a journalist, I earned my living as a journalist from 1925 onwards, I worked in the 'National Herald' of which the Chief Editor was Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and we fought against all restrictions on the freedom of expression by the alien Government in those days. I do not say that people have not many times misused it; I do not say that. I think somebody said

I that Shri Bhupesh Gupta monopolised all the debates here and a poor man like me I cannot speak. But let that apart, we have not grudged it; somebody has freedom of expression. Freedom of expression is essential for the very delicate plant of democracy to enable it to grow, to get nurtured, to get strengthened. It is very necessary.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are some others also to speak.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Just a minute please. I will not take more time. So I want to urge that freedom of expression should be re-established. I am here reminded of a couplet which Shri Lai Baha-durji, my boyhood friend, used to repeat to me :

दूर से आए थे साकी ! सून के अफसाने को हम,
बस तरसते ही चले अफसांस पँमाने को हम ।

It can be translated in English as follows : "I have come here from long, long distances, many many years ago. I who was drunk with the dreams of swaraj and freedom came from long distances, and I am returning today disappointed having nobody here who could distribute the intoxicant" which enthused me to struggle for swaraj.

Sir, you have rightly warned me that I am exceeding my time-limit but this is the last time that I will exceed the limit and I think you will show me some indulgence. I am sorry, those who have to speak are my valued colleagues. I am just a very very humble worker in the political field and I wish for myself the same treatment as given to many of our friends, many of our unknown soldiers who battled for swaraj, fought and died unknown, unwept, unhonoured and unsung. I do not want anything. So, I am not speaking here for that. But I do want that you should listen to something which experience has taught me all these years in my association in political life. So, I have dared to talk about it.

Secondly, I would say, Sir, that this Delhi is a place or the capitals of the various States are places, where once you go, you forget the village. The gap between the village and ourselves has grown. I admit today that by living in Delhi, the distance between me and my village people has grown. I wish something would be done in this regard. These palatial buildings, these airconditioned rooms, these thousands and thousands of cars running one after the other in the streets and roads of Delhi, do make one forget our poor village. This is a fact. And I admit my share of guilt in this regard. I wish something would be done. Gandhiji said that if you want to rule India, administer India, live in a Harijan colony. I think he was right. I wanted to say this particularly here. I do not know how to do it or what to do about it. I do not know ; I have no solution to offer. But I only wanted to remind you of what Gandhiji said. That is what why those dreams come back to me.

Just one word, Sir. You have advised me to speak less. Gandhiji said the same thing. I am sorry, I have spoken for such a long time. But, I think, on the whole, during all my association of several years, nearly two decades of parliamentary life, I think I have tried to be as quiet as possible. I have not been a very vociferous member unlike Bhupesh Gupta and Raj Narain. And I am a believer in that. I will recite one of the poems, a couplet which Lai Bahadurji often used to repeat. I would like to repeat here and conclude. The couplet is by Iqbal:

नहीं मिनत्त कश ताबे शूनीदने दास्तां मेरी
खामोशी गुफ्तगू हूँ बेजुबानी हूँ जुबां मेरी ।

(No persuasion is needed to make me relate my story; for my silence is my talk and voicelessness is my voice.)

That is all, Sir. You do not want me to speak. I will not speak. I hope whatever little I have said, will be listened to, heeded to by the Government.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI (West Bengal) : Sir, first of all, I must express my gratitude to my hon. colleagues who were always ready, all of them, to give me a patient hearing.

Secondly, Sir, I wish to thank the Rajya Sabha Secretariat as well as the Lok Sabha Secretariat. I felt that the Parliament Secretariat in India is an unique institution, discharging its responsibilities efficiently. There is no better institution than this from the point of view of politeness, and efficiency.

Finally, Sir, I would say that my party has always stood, and will always stand, for the unity of India with more State autonomy. My experience in Parliament has convinced me that there is no danger to this unity and there is no danger of this basic unity ever being destroyed, however, bitter the political differences may be. I am going away convinced happily and quite assured that our independence and unity shall be ever-lasting. Thank you.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): I have no sense of retiring and I do not speak as a retiring Member. There is vast work lying ahead before the country, whether here or anywhere else. That work calls us and we should do our duty. I respectfully request that we should not delay the work, the public work of the House, any further.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been here for the last 12 years. I saw four Chairmen : Shri Zakir Hussain, Shri V. V. Giri, Shri Pathak and yourself. I also saw three Prime Ministers—according to some Members, four—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. But 'three or four' does not matter. When I look back at these 12 years, I can tell my friends here that possibly no 12 years have been so very thrilling in this Parliament as these 12 years since 1964. Nobody before me

LShri Dwijendralal Sen GiiptaJ

would have ever had the occasion to see these four Chairmen and four Prime Ministers ; and so those after me. I had the occasion to get the blessings of great men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, by just putting one supplementary question in 1964, during his last days. I remember I was sitting in a corner as a newcomer. There was a question from the opposition bench as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, had sent a letter to Sheikh Abdullah who was a prisoner at that time on a charge of treason. Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, the Minister without Portfolio, replied to that question. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was sitting by his side. Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri replied that it was a personal letter and the supplementaries were replied H> similarly. I as a lawyer, with the permission of the then Chairman, Shri Zakir Hussain, put this question : 'May I know who was entrusted with the delivery of this letter, whether he was a personal servant of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or a personal friend of his, or an officer of the Government of India or the State of Jammu and Kashmir ?'. The answer came that the letter was entrusted to the Joint Secretary attached to the Ministry of External Affairs. After that, the House burst with anger that this was a misleading answer. Then, the Question Hour was over. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called me in his room, strethced out his hand, asked me to take my seat and said 'I wish you all luck ; you are a promising young man'. I shall never forget that.

Then, I remember what happened thereafter. There was the Congress split in 1969. In between, there was a war with Pakistan. There was another war again with Pakistan in 1971. I saw these things. I saw the division of the Congress.

I do not know whether the Congress will be united again. I saw the I P.M. era of nationalisation, I saw how the minority Government func-

tioned in this House with the support of the Opposition, and it goes to the credit of the Opposition that it supported the Government on all progressive measures. I am proud to say that though a Member of the Opposition, I supported the Government on all progressive measures, and I am sorry that on one particular occasion, that is, on the 5th September, 1970 when the Privy Purses Abolition Bill was lost here, I could not vote. It was Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who came to my defence by stating before the Congress Parliamentary Party the same evening, that because of a delayed flight "our friend, Mr. Sen Gupta, could not come and vote for us ; otherwise he would have voted for us and we would have **won**". I am grateful to her. I did not expect that she would come forth with such a statement. In fact, the plane was delayed by twelve hours on the 5th September, 1970—an unusual delay. On the 4th evening the plane was cancelled. I had to go to Calcutta to attend on my ailing mother who was in hospital. So, the position is that excepting on that one particular occasion, I supported this Government on all progressive measures. Of course, I did not expect any favour ; I did not seek any favour.

I had to oppose this Government when they imposed the emergency, because I know my conscience. If I owe anything, I owe it to my conscience. I did not support the emergency. I could not support the emergency and the arrest of so many men, the ban on the Press and so on. But it should be taken as a matter of honest difference of opinion. It is not as if all those who support the Prime Minister and the Government are friends and that all those who oppose them are enemies. Even among those who oppose, there are many friends. That is the attitude which a democratic Government should take.

I have no regrets for what all I did here in this House. I had great respect for Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. I had written a letter to the Prime Minister and

pleaded that he may be released. The Prime Minister, unfortunately, could not agree with me but I have no grievance about it. The letter that she wrote was an angry letter. I am sorry for that.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not like to dilate. All I have to say is, I joined the national movement by following the footsteps of my father who joined it in 1921 and continued since then, suffered and suffered heavily. I have also suffered. I was for many years in goal. From my school days I have been in politics. But our politics was not in expectation of coming here as a Member of Parliament of things like that. If it were so, I could have changed over when the Congress was in minority and would have become a Minister. I did not do it, I did not defect. I have been an independent Member here for the last 12 years and, before this, for a period of four years as a Member of the Legislative Council, West Bengal. For sixteen years in all, Mr. Chairman, Sir, if I had hurt any Member in the Government by my honest speech, let them forget that; let them take it that I have done it only in the public interest and not because of any personal anger. I expected from them a sense of accountability without which democracy cannot function. So, Sir, if I had offended anybody, I extend my sincere apologies to him.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI A. K. A. ABDUL SAMAD (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I stand up here only to thank you for the kind sentiments you have expressed about the retiring Members. Touching references were made by the Leader of the House, Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi.

Undoubtedly, this is the most dignified House in our country. Though Lok Sabha has got some more powers than Rajya Sabha, nobody can dispute that this is the most dignified House in our land. In this House many of the members are derived from the retired people. Those who were Ministers, Governors, Vice-Chancellors,

occupying high positions in public life, after their retirement, become the members in this House. This is known as the House of elders.

Sir, everybody was narrating his past history but my story is entirely different. I entered this House when I was a young man of 38. Now, when I am qualifying as an elder for reaching 70, I am retiring. Sir, I am retiring from this House not as a spent-force or a frustrated politician but as a person, as a citizen who has gained much wisdom to work in the field of the country for the upliftment of the poor.

I have also very good memories of the past days. As recalled by Mr. Sen Gupta, I also entered the House in 1964 when Dr. Zakir Hussain was our Chairman. He was succeeded by our respected Giri Sahib and by Pathak Saheb and now by your honour, Sir. And when Panditji was the Prime Minister I had the honour to sit in the House with him also. In those days the Congress was a majority party, having one-third majority. As Mr. Sen Gupta mentioned, we used to sit only in the corner. Now, when the days have passed on I have the rare opportunity of sitting in the front bench leading the minority community, the largest minority in the country, Sir.

There are many critics about the functioning of democracy in this country but I must say without fear of any contradiction that although there were a very few people here—I was representing, leading those people—we had our fullest say here. And we are proud of one thing. Though we had some differences, as being a different political party, with the ruling Party, we are proud, you can see in the record, we with all the progressive measures that were brought forth in this House. Only at one time we differed strongly and vehemently in this House. This was during the term when the Aligarh Bill was brought in. Even at that time we were heard with when we walked out, that was also respected. Yet, I am happy, though we were voted down that day, all our wishes

[Shri A. K. A. Abdul Samad]

are carried on even today. So, we are thankful to the Government that they are respecting the minority point of view also.

Sir, somebody referred that there was a minority Government here. I do not think so. They had a slender majority in this House. In spite of this, they had carried on with many votes all these measures because of the persuasion of one man, that is Shri Om Mehta. He entered this House as Om Mehtaji and now he has become Home Mehtaji.

When I recall to my memory about the presiding officers, I recall vividly that gracious lady, that indomitable lady Margaret Alva.

AN HON. MEMBER: Mrs. Violet Alva, not Margaret Alva.

SHRI A. K. A. ABDUL SAMAD: Yes, Mrs. Violet Alva. Perhaps, Smt. Margaret Alva would also occupy the same seat one day. Coming to Mrs. Violet Alva, Sir, that lady conducted the House, with all dignity. She was able to control not only the unruly members but also the unruly husband who raised so many questions. Sir, I have spent 12 years in this House. I vividly remember this illustrious Prime Minister now—today she is occupying such a high position in our country—when she entered this House as a Member and then Minister. This period has been referred to by a journalist as a difficult decade. No doubt, it was a difficult decade but it was a dynamic decade. Now, so many people have said—and there are so many people's views—about the functioning of democracy here. I remember the reference made by our Prime Minister that "Democracy is not destroyed in the country; it is only derailed." I have got every hope that she will put it on the right track and we will have the fullest freedom in the country as desired by our respected senior Member, Shri T. N. Singh.

Sir, with these words, I once again thank my senior colleagues. I am leaving

this House, this small House, so that I can work in the larger house of the country, and *Insha Allah*, we will play our part full well with your blessings.

SHRI B. P. NAGARAJA MURTHY (Karnataka): I fully associate myself with the sweet sentiments expressed by the previous speakers of this House and I do not like to repeat what they have already expressed and take the precious time of the House.

Sir, I have spent nearly 29 years in the political field. But out of these 29 years, this period of six years in this House is a very memorable one in my political life. In this term of six years I have gained much experience and my wisdom has been enriched and my vision has been broadened. I do not regret having to retire at the end of the sixth year, because I am one of the disciples of the great social reformer of the 12th century, Shri Baseveswara, who preached the 20-Point Programme enunciated by the Prime Minister to the conducted the House, with all dignity. She was able to control not only the unruly members but also the unruly husband who raised so many questions. Sir, I have spent 12 years in this House. I vividly remember this illustrious Prime Minister now—today she is occupying such a high position in our country—when she entered this House as a Member and then Minister. This period has been referred to by a journalist as a difficult decade. No doubt, it was a difficult decade but it was a dynamic decade. Now, so many people have said—and there are so many people's views—about the functioning of democracy here. I remember the reference made by our Prime Minister that "Democracy is not destroyed in the country; it is only derailed." I have got every hope that she will put it on the right track and we will have the fullest freedom in the country as desired by our respected senior Member, Shri T. N. Singh.

Thank you.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Chairman, Sir, parting is always a matter of sorrow. Our friends who have spoken have been eloquent in recalling the events of past years, remembering the sacrifices and services, highlighting the spirit of comradeship and cooperation, of standing together in times good and bad. I have been—and I am sure all hon. Members who have listened have been—greatly moved by the sentiments expressed. Many of the hon'ble Members who are leaving the House have added to the dignity of the House and the quality of its debates. This is not an occasion for discussion although my senior

friend, Shri T. N. Singh, has raised various points about planning and other matters. I should like to point out that we do not write on a clean slate. Whatever we do today has to be based, whether we like it or not, on what has gone before, on the situation which exists, in our country on the circumstances which surround us and outside and what is taking place in other countries. Not only the population problem, but other problems also will remain with us for many years to come. I do not think any of us have any illusions that these problems can be removed as if by magic.

Shri Singh has also mentioned something about what foreigners say. The question arises : Which foreigners ? The question also arises: What have these particular people said on other occasions? Not only about democracy. They have questioned our fight for freedom, they have questioned our ability to remain independent, they have questioned our capacity to plan, they have questioned our ability to be democratic, and they have questioned even our survival. I have seen headlines several inches high in Western newspapers and magazines : "Can India Survive ?" We are used to such propaganda and we take it in our stride. We should not be unduly agitated or angry or upset. When people say anything pertinent to our conditions and what can be helpful to us, we certainly take note of it.

Freedom of expression or other freedoms are not threatened. There are certain curbs. Those who say that democracy is not suitable know neither democracy nor do they know India. If democracy is not exactly as it was before, this is because it was being misused. The main question which I have put many times in this House and outside, is: Democracy for whom? Justice for whom? Freedom of expression for whom? Sometimes we are confused in our minds. We think that the freedom of a few journalists is more important than the freedom of the vast majority of Indians to go ahead. Are these two incompatible? A particular atmosphere developed and I hold myself guilty of allowing it to develop as it did. Had we taken RSS/76—5

steps in good time, the situation would not have deteriorated as it did. But now and always we must consider first the good of the Indian people. I was happy to hear my friend opposite speak about the unity of India, because that is the first essential. And that unity had been threatened.

Several quotations have been cited, I also should like to quote a few words from Mahatma Gandhi. They are from Tendulkar's *Mahatma*, Vol. VIII. When a group of socialists full of vituperation against the Congress High Command for the situation at that time which was mainly regarding the partition, went to see Mahatma Gandhi, he said and I quote:

"Note down these words of an old man past the age of three scores and ten. In the times to come, people will not judge us by the creed we profess, or the label we wear or the slogans we shout, but by our work, industry, sacrifice, honesty and purity of character. They will want to know what we have actually done for them. But if you do not listen, if taking advantage of the prevailing misery and discontent of the people, you set about to accentuate and exploit it for party ends, it will recoil upon your head and even God will not forgive you for your betrayal of the people."

With regard to freedom of expression also, I would like to give one small quote which you have probably heard before. Justice Holmes of the U. S. A. said that freedom of expression does not mean the freedom to shout fire in a crowded hall. Whatever we say is to be viewed in the context and conditions of the time.

Sir, we have a tradition in this House and in the country of not allowing political or personal differences to come in the way of human relations during these years, there have been acrimonious speeches in the House generating an atmosphere of heat and bitterness. But it has been our effort not to let this affect our relationship outside. I am sorry that I wrote what the honourable Member opposite has called an angry letter. I thought that I did not get angry. But, obviously, he must have written something

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

which agitated me and if he has freedom to express his views, so have I the freedom to express mine. But if this was anger, it was not directed against him personally, but against some words which he might have used. I am not willing to concede that it was an angry letter.

As the honourable Member, Shri Jairam-das Doltaram has remarked there is plenty of work to be done outside and I am sure that all our retiring Members will continue to serve in their different ways. Wherever they are, they will have our sincere good wishes. Thank you, Sir.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

Notification under the Essential Commodities Act, 1955

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI B. P. MAURYA): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (6) of section (3) of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Industry and Civil Supplies (Department of Industrial Development) Notification S. O. No. 1036, dated the 13th March, 1976.

I. Statements showing Action taken by Government on various Assurances, promises and undertaking given during different sessions.

II. Notification under the AH India Service Act, 1951

III. Cabinet Secretariat (Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms Notification

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA):

I. The following statements (in English and Hindi) showing the action taken by Government on the various assurances, promises and undertakings given during the sessions shown against each :

(i) Statement No. XIX-Eighty-fifth Session, 1973.

(ii) Statement No. XVIII-Eighty-sixth Session, 1973.

(iii) Statement No. XV-Eighty-ninth Session, 1974.

(iv) Statement No. XI-Ninetyeth Session, 1974.

(v) Statement No. X-Ninety-first Session, 1974.

(vi) Statement No. VIII-Ninety-second Session, 1975.

(vii) Statement No. II-Ninety-fourth Session, 1976.

(viii) Statement No. I-Ninety-fifth Session, 1976.

II. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notifications of the Cabinet Secretariat (Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms), under sub-section (2) of section 3 of the All India Services Act, 1951:

(i) Notification G.S.R. No. 233(E), dated the 17th March, 1976, publishing the Indian Administrative Service (Fixation of Cadre Strength) Fifth Amendment Regulations, 1976.

(ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 234(E), dated the 17th March, 1976, publishing the Indian Administrative Service (Pay) Sixth Amendment Rules, 1976.

(iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 235(E), dated the 17th March, 1976; publishing the Indian Administrative Service (Fixation of Cadre Strength) Sixth Amendment Regulations, 1976.