APPENDICES
APPENDIX-I

ABOLISHING PRIVY PURSES

MY REPLY SHOULD have been an opportunity to answer the major arguments raised in this debate, but in spite of what my Hon. friend opposite, Shri S.N. Mishra, has so graciously described as my minute observation, I was not able to discern any such major argument put forward against this Bill. We found the venerable Member, Shri Ruthnaswamy, of the Swatantra Party teaching us what socialism is. We found Shri Babubhai Chinai trying to interpret my own father to me. I think Hon. Members here and the people of Bombay know how ardent a follower he was of my father and my father's policies.

When one takes Shri Mishra's wayward rhetoric seriously, what his party said today is such a clear and blatant repudiation of what they have so openly professed only yesterday that I wonder whether they have elevated pointlessness into a programme. We have heard long

From reply to debate in Rajya Sabha on the Constitution (24th Amendment) Bill, September 5, 1970
quotations from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Those who have quoted them could have used the same quotations a little earlier, perhaps in the AICC meeting. It is quite some time since this resolution was passed in Delhi. It is true that when it was passed, I was not present. It is true that I was a little disturbed at it passing, not because I was against the resolution but as Shri Mishra would say, at the manner of its passing.

Those who have since opposed it had many an opportunity to reopen the issue in the Working Committee and in many subsequent sessions of the AICC or the plenary sessions of the Congress. But it was not brought before those bodies for a very good reason, because they knew that if they brought it back, it would be passed again and over again. So now, just because there is a division in the party, to go back on their own commitments may be somebody's version of honesty or integrity but I do not think that is the way the world or the people of India will look at this matter. Now, somebody else also said that the wisdom of the Agreements was not questioned at that time. My Hon. friend, I think it was Shri Goswami, who said that
he himself had questioned it. I certainly know that I questioned it, and the States' Peoples Conference in every State had questioned these Agreements. I know that in every province there were many who questioned the wisdom of these Agreements, and I can say that I was amongst those who questioned these Agreements. And most of the Youth Congress at that time had questioned this as indeed we questioned many other things that happened. I had also questioned the manner in which we kept the administrative system as I do question it even now.

There was a body of the Congress youth of which I was a member. Now, whether we had one name or they had something else added to the name, I do not know. But we certainly regarded ourselves as Congress youths. Whether there was a registered name or not is not the point here. The point is that the younger people of the Congress did exist, that they did meet in a separate body, apart from the AICC and other Congress bodies, and that I was a member of those groups. Surely, I know of the meetings I attended.

So these things were questioned then, but now we know that many more people question them, as we can see; at that
moment we also wondered that perhaps this is the right way, we might think differently, the elders are proposing something. They know better. They have more experience. They think this is the right thing to do.

Having once expressed our views, we did not make an issue of it, or even broadcast it. But now that we look back at it, what is the view, what is the view not only of those of us who were involved then but of the many people who were not asked for their opinion or who were not involved in these questions then? This is the question before us today, and it concerns the nation. Well, it is the nation’s desire that as things have changed we must change with the times. My Hon. friend, Shri Raj Narain, never loses an opportunity to snipe at me, but this time I will say that there is some truth in what he said. And it is not he who is saying it; I have said it from the public platform on almost every occasion in every public meeting since our Bangalore session. I have said that it is not I who am showing a new light to the people, it is the people who are showing a new light to us. I have said on countless occasions that the time has come when we must follow the people’s light. But why is it that we have this
great division in our party? I think everybody knows why it really happened. Everybody knows that the seeds of it were there from the time of these Agreements and before. Everybody knows that there was a division in the thinking of the party. There was one section which wanted socialism, which wanted major changes, and there was another section which thought that independent India could grow and prosper within the old structure. There was that division, and it does not matter who gets up and says that it was not there. They cannot change the fact. This is what came to the fore in our party, in our times. It does not mean that we can do some magic, or that by using the word "socialism" we think we can change everything. We know we cannot and we have said so, but we do know that we have made a beginning. We do know that we have taken steps which will make it difficult for anybody to reverse the trend, no matter who runs the Government tomorrow, and that is my concern. It is not my concern that I shall stay in power or be the Prime Minister. Had that been my concern, I would not have taken the number of risks which I have taken. But why am I taking these risks? It is because I know that each one of these steps, once taken, will be
irreversible, no matter what happens, and that is the important fact. Nobody is going to change what we do here.

I was saying that these steps have taken the country in a particular direction and this direction cannot now be reversed. I will give one small example of this. Our Hon. Member from the Jan Sangh, even he who is opposed to the whole idea behind the things which we want to do, the direction in which we want to take the country, had to say here: We have no fascination for the princely order. He could not get up here and say: I support the princely order.

Our good friends, the Syndicate group, whether they are supporting the abolition or not, could not get up and say: We will oppose the Bill because we are opposed to the concept of the Bill. They do not have that courage. I would have admired them if, wanting to go back on their policy, they had got up and said: we oppose this bill. But no they want to please the princes and they want to please the people. You can fool some people for some time, but not all the people all the time.
As far as I am concerned, I have only one reply, that I am prepared for the people to judge. When the people say 'we do not want you', I will very gladly resign. I do not believe in the methods used by the Jan Sangh. I do not believe in rioting to win a free election. We are prepared to stand in front of the people with all our programmes, all our deeds. My friend, Shri Niren Ghosh, said, as if he was discovering some great dark buried secret, that transitional allowances are being made. Did not the President make this announcement in his opening Address to Parliament? Did I not write openly to the princes? Did I not say it in the other House that we have done nothing in secret? We have done nothing in such a manner. Everything we have done and everything we stand for is out in the open before the people of India and before this House. In this connection, I would also like to say that again my friend, Shri Mishra, said: "What was the necessity of bringing this to the House? The Government could have done it on its own." Certainly the Government could, and the Government still can do it on their own. There is nothing to stop it. But we think in a democracy it is better to bring this to Parliament. We think that it is better to see that the
majority is behind us. This we have now proved to the country.

Now the question was what would happen if the princes had not signed the Agreements. Mr. Chairman, is there any doubt about it as to what would have happened? In free India if they had not signed the Agreement, would not the Government have used all its strength to do something about it? Certainly there would have been bloodshed, certainly there would have been disturbances. But nobody can say that the princely states would have continued as they were continuing. I was surprised to hear the use of the word "sovereignty" in this connection. What does it mean? Can anybody in this House say that they were sovereign under British? What right did they assert except the right of making money? Did one of them go against the British Government in the smallest possible thing? How can they use this word in this connection and demean the word "sovereignty"? Let us see the reality of the situation. Are we living in 1970 or are we living in 1870? Some things have happened in the world, not only in our country but all over the world. I am not concerned with the quality of the princes. I know that like all men some were good, some
indifferent, some have even been bad, some have neglected their people, some have done good work for their States like education, health measures, roads, parks, and so on. I am not against the princes at all. I want to assure the Hon. House that this Bill is not directed against the princes individually or even as a group. This Bill is against a system. We are against the feudal system. It is not just something that has come to our heads today. This was the whole point of the freedom struggle. The question was not merely that we drive out the foreign government. It was that within the country all such feudal structures should be changed. If we have not been able to change them, I certainly say it was our mistake. I have no doubt about it. It was our mistake that for so many years we have not been able to change the feudal structure. It is not only a question of princes. That happens very much lower down the line also. That is why there is that treatment of the Harijans. It is the same attitude of mind that one man is superior to another man. Why? Because he has money, he has rank. Do we subscribe to this theory?

The ICS people will also be dealt with. It does not mean that if you have not dealt with all you cannot deal
with one thing. This is a new argument that we have heard today from some of the gentlemen opposite. If you cannot do the journey in one leap, then you cannot do the first phase also. Therefore, before there was the aeroplane nobody would have gone to any place. As I was saying, I hold no animus against the princes. That is why we tried to talk to them. As I made it clear in my opening remarks, I was not going against our commitment to this House or to commitment to our party. But we did feel that if we could come to some agreement, it would smoothen the path, it would make the change easier. Perhaps, they thought that by prolonging the agony of negotiations, the Bill would be postponed, although all along I had said that I wanted to talk, but we were committed to to bringing the Bill in this session. This was not kept in doubt at any meeting, in any session. I have no hesitation in saying that if this matter has come in this way, it is because of those amongst the princes who are known as the hardliners, those who wanted to hang on more tightly to whatever they had. Had those who were willing to talk been given their way, some understanding could have been reached in a much more graceful manner. This is not a new thing.
Sir, everywhere when something new happens, the people concerned try to hang on to the old. But nowhere have they been able to resist the new. The princes are very high-up people. The motor-car came in England. Perhaps you will remember that those people, who were concerned with horses and horse-carriages and everything that had to do with them, said that the motor-car should not be allowed. They were in danger. Many people helped them, the British M.P.'s helped them. But the wise amongst those people said, "No. This thing is here. We cannot stop the car. Let us learn something about it. Let us become mechanics. Let us become drivers". They took that path and they suddenly got new opportunities, new jobs, and they became high in the new hierarchy. And those who said they will have only the horse-carriages were little by little made jobless and finished off. This is the way of the world. It is not the way that I am advocating. It is the way of the world from time immemorial. The old has to give way to the new. And only those amongst the old who adapt themselves can find a place amongst them.
It is not I or any group who is removing them. These are the forces of history that march and make these changes.

Pushpabenji, in her usual quiet and effective manner, suggested that there should not be only one-sided criticism, that there should be a balanced appraisal. How I wish that she could have given that advice to some of her party members who were speaking about us!

Incidentally, Sir, I was deeply shocked to hear from the opposite side—I do not remember which party—that the princes are being brought down to the level of ordinary citizens. I might say that nobody should use a phrase like this. What can be better than being a citizen of this great country of India? Does a person become greater because he is called His Highness? This is the mentality that we are fighting and which we will continue to fight while it exists in any corner of India. And this is what we endeavoured to fight during the freedom struggle.

Now I come to Shri Raj Narain’s amendment, the SSP amendment. Several other Members have also urged that no compensation should be paid to the princes on the abolition
of their privy purses. Now, it is our opinion and the legal opinion also that the privy purse is not a property and thus there is no question whatsoever of paying any compensation. However, there is the human aspect. I do not think it would be fair to put an abrupt end to the payment of the privy purses without providing some means for the families and the dependents of these former rulers to adjust to this new situation. And it is in that light that the transitional allowances should be viewed. The same holds good for the date, i.e. the 15th October, when it comes into effect.

Now, Sir, as I said earlier, this Bill is not in any way against the princes. On the other hand, I would very humbly suggest that I think it is in their interest, because in a free country, I think it is the duty of every man and woman to stand on his or her feet, by his or her own merit. This is the great opportunity which we are giving to them. They are not poor people, nor do we wish to make them poor. They have great advantage of having had the best of education. We want that education to be used for the welfare of their own people and their own country.
I think, Sir, as I have said on an earlier occasion, there can be no greater gift to anybody than this, that they use their energy, their wealth, their talents for the good of the nation. This is our intention in this Bill. So, I hope that those Hon. Members who are making an excuse that merely because they do not like the manner of it, therefore, they would rather defeat and wipe off the whole Bill, will reconsider the matter and will vote at least for the first phase. About what they do in the next phase, of course, it will be debated all over again.

Now, one point which was constantly made was that we have delayed bringing the question of allowances here merely because we want to do something underhand. Sir, this is very unworthy of the Members who have made such a remark, because whatever allowances are made, the matter will come before the House, and again it will be before the Hon. Members to accept or to reject, and there will no doubt be a full and frank debate. I hope that the Hon. Members from the SSP will, therefore, withdraw their amendments, since I have made it clear that it is not compensation which we are giving. Now, Sir, it was
understandable that so many of the speeches should be concerned with the past. But, Sir, this Bill is opening one of the gates towards a more egalitarian future for our people. Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.
APPENDIX-II

BANGLADESH

We have heard much talk of democracy. The Allies claimed that the Second World War was fought to save democracy. But when democracy is so flagrantly and so brutally being destroyed, we do not hear much comment, nor do we see the sort of spontaneous strong responses which the situation warrants. Could there be a greater or a clearer expression of democracy than the one we witnessed in the elections in Pakistan? Let me remind the house that although the elections were held under the rules formulated by the military regime, immediately afterwards military repression was used mercilessly to halt the process leading to the formation of a democratically elected Government in Pakistan.

We are told by some countries that while they may disapprove of what is being done by the military rulers they cannot be a party to the disintegration of Pakistan. Is it suggested that we wish the disintegration of Pakistan? Have we not, as many members have pointed out, at every step tried not only for propriety in our
relationship but also for friendship? If there is a struggle between the two parts of Pakistan, it is certainly not of our making but of the rulers of Pakistan. It is anybody’s contention that the methods being used today can achieve any integration or stability worth the name now or in the future?

The question of secession is also raised, if I may say so. This is distortion of facts. It is conveniently forgotten that the majority of Pakistan’s people live in the eastern region. In a democratic system, the majority does have certain rights. They cannot be accused of secession if they assert those rights. However, if today there is such strong feeling amongst our people, it is not merely because the democratic rights and liberties of 75 million people are being crushed but because of the demoralizing effect which this cruel tragedy is having on our entire country economically, politically and socially.

This is the reality of the situation. It is not propaganda or the figment of anyone’s imagination. Our experience of the influx of refugees and the preposterous propaganda by Pakistan has reinforced the fact that what is
happening in Bangladesh does have many-sided repercussions on our internal affairs. That is why I have said that this cannot be considered merely as an internal problem of Pakistan. It is an Indian problem. More, it is a worldwide problem. The international community must appreciate the very critical character of the situation that has now developed. Any failure to do so may well lead to disastrous consequences. For what is happening in Bangladesh is not just a political and economic problem. It is a problem of the very survival of the people of that whole area, the people of Bangladesh.

It is a problem created by calculated genocide that is resulting not only in the murder of tens of thousands of men, women and children but also forcing many more to seek refuge and shelter in India. It is a problem that threatens the peace and security of India and, indeed, of Southeast Asia. The world must intervene to see that peace and security is re-established and maintained. (Speech in Parliament, May 26, 1971)
WAR WITH PAKISTAN

This morning the Government of West Pakistan has declared a war upon us.

Last evening the West Pakistan Air Force violated our air space wantonly and attacked a large number of our airfields. Simultaneously their ground forces shelled our positions along the western border. Their propaganda media have made totally baseless allegations that India had launched an assault.

The news reached me just as I was leaving Calcutta. Immediately on my return I took counsel with my colleagues and with the leaders of the opposition parties. We were all of one mind and united in our resolve that the nation's freedom should be defended, and unanimous that the aggressor should be beaten back.

I am sure that the same sense of solidarity will mark our work in the difficult days ahead.

A state of emergency has been proclaimed. We are approaching the house to adopt the Defence of India Bill.
Our feeling is one of regret that Pakistan did not
dissist from the ultimate folly and sorrow that at a time
when the greatest need of this subcontinent is development
the peoples of India and Pakistan have been pushed into war.
We could have lived as good neighbours, but the people of
West Pakistan have never had a say in their destiny. In
this grave hour our own dominant emotion is one of
confidence and faith.

For over nine months, the military regime of West
Pakistan has barbarously trampled upon freedom and basic
human rights in Bangladesh. The army of occlusion has
committed heinous crimes, unmatched for their vindictive
ferocity. Many millions have been uprooted; to million have
been pushed into our country.

We repeatedly drew the attention of the world to this
annihilation of a whole people, to this menace to our
security. Everywhere the people showed sympathy and
understanding for the economic and other burdens and the
danger to India.

But governments seemed morally and politically
paralysed. Related efforts to persuade the Islamabad
regime to take some step which would lead to a lasting solution fell on deaf ears.

The wrath of the West Pakistan Army has been aroused because the people of Bangladesh have stood and struggled for values which the army is unable to comprehend, and which it has suppressed in every province of Pakistan.

As the Mukti Bahini's effectiveness increased, the West Pakistani Army became more desperate. Our tradition is to stand not with tyrants but with the oppressed. And so their anger has been turned upon us.

West Pakistan has escalated and enlarged the aggression against India.

War needs as much patience and self-restraint as does peace. The military regime of West Pakistan will go all out to sow suspicion and rumour in the hope of fomenting communal tension and internal trouble. Let us not be taken in by their designs. We must maintain unity and a sense of high purpose. We should be prepared for a long struggle. High production, agricultural and industrial, is the foundation upon which defence rests. The courage and
fighting capability of the jawans have to be backed by the
dedication of the farmer, the worker, the technician and
and trader.

The business community has a special responsibility to
resist the temptation to hoard or to charge higher profit.

Artists and writers, teachers and students, the nation
looks to you to defend our ideals, to keep high our
morale.

To the women of our country, I make a special appeal
to save every possible grain and rupee to avoid waste. The
sacrifice of each of us will build the nation's strength
and enduring power.

We have stood for peace, but peace itself has to be
defended.

We are fighting to safeguard our territorial integrity
and national honour. Above all, we are fighting for the
cause of human freedom. (Statement in Parliament, December
4, 1971.)
SURRENDER

Mr Speaker, Sir, the West Pakistani forces have unconditionally surrendered.

Dacca is now the free capital of a free country.

The instrument of surrender was signed at Dacca at 16-31 hours (IST) today by Lt-Gen A.A.H. Niazi on behalf of the Pakistan Eastern Command and Lt-Gen Jagjit Singh Aurora, GOC-in-C in command of the Indian and Bangladesh forces in the eastern theatre, accepted the surrender.

This house and the entire nation rejoices in this historic event. We hail the people of Bangladesh in their hour of triumph. We hail the brave young men and boys of the Mukti Bahini for their valour and dedication. We are proud of our own army, navy, air force and Border Security Force who have so magnificently demonstrated their quality and capacity. Their discipline and devotion to duty are well-known.

India will remember with gratitude the sacrifice of those who have laid down their lives and our thoughts are with their families.
Our armed forces are under strict orders to treat Pakistani prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva convention and to deal with all sections of the population of Bangladesh in a humane manner.

The commanders of the Mukti Bahini have issued similar orders to their forces. Although the Government of Bangladesh has not yet been given the opportunity to sign the Geneva Convention, they have also declared they will fully abide by the convention.

It will be the responsibility of the Government of Bangladesh, the Mukti Bahini and the Indian armed forces to prevent any reprisals.

Our objectives were limited to assist the gallant people of Bangladesh and their Mukti Bahini to liberate their country from the reign of terror and to resist aggression on our own land.

Indian armed forces will not remain in Bangladesh any longer than is necessary.

The millions who were driven out of their homes across our borders have already begun trekking back.
The rehabilitation of this war-torn land calls for dedicated teamwork by its government and the people.

We hope and trust that the father of this new nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, will take his rightful place among his own people and lead Bangladesh to peace, progress and prosperity.

The time has come when they can together look forward to a meaningful future in their Sonar Bangla. They have our good wishes.

The triumph is not theirs alone. All nations who value the human spirit will recognise it as a significant milestone in man's quest for liberty. (Statement in Parliament on ceasefire in Bangladesh, December 16, 1971.)
APPENDIX - III

THE PRIME MINISTER SPEAKS WHY EMERGENCY

Prime Minister’s broadcast on June 26, 1975

The President has proclaimed emergency. This is nothing to panic about.

I am sure that you are all conscious of the deep and wide-spread conspiracy which has been drawing ever since I began introducing certain progressive measures of benefit to the common men and women of India. In the name of democracy, it has been sought to negate the very functioning of the democracy. Duly elected governments have not been allowed to function and in some cases, force has been used to compel members to resign in order to dissolve lawfully elected assemblies. Agitations have surcharged the atmosphere, leading to violent incidents. The whole country was shocked at the brutal murder of my cabinet colleague, Mr. L.N. Mishra. We also deeply deplore the dastardly attack on the Chief Justice of India.

Certain persons have gone to the length of inciting
our armed forces to mutiny and our police to rebel. The fact that our defence forces and the police are disciplined and deeply patriotic and therefore, will not be taken in, does not mitigate the seriousness of the provocation. The forces of disintegration are in full play and communal passions are being aroused threatening our unity.

All manner of false allegations have been hurled at me. The Indian people have known me since my childhood. All my life has been in the service of our people. This is not a personal matter. It is not important whether I remain Prime Minister or not. However, the institution of the Prime Minister is important and the deliberate political attempt to denigrate it, is not in the interest of democracy or of the nation.

We have watched these developments with utmost patience for long. Now we learn of new programmes challenging law and order throughout the country with a view to disrupting normal functioning. How can any government, worth the name, stand by and allow the country's stability to be imperilled? The actions of a few are endangering the rights of the vast majority. Any
situation which weakness the capacity of the national
government to act decisively inside the country is bound to
encourage dangers from outside. It is our paramount duty
to safeguard unity and stability. The nation's integrity
demands firm action.

The threat to internal stability also affects production and prospects of economic development. In the
last few months the determined action we have taken has
succeeded largely in checking the price rise. We have been
actively considering further measures to strengthen the
economy and to relieve the hardship of various sections,
including the poor and vulnerable, and those with fixed
incomes. I shall announce these soon.

I should like to assure you that the new emergency
proclaimed will in no way affect the rights of law-abiding
citizens. I am sure that internal conditions will speedily
improve to enable us to dispense with this proclamation as
soon as possible.

I have been overwhelmed by messages of good-will from
all parts of India and all sections of people.

May I appeal for your continued cooperation and trust
in the days ahead?
ECONOMIC REFORMS AND PROGRAMMES

Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Broadcast Talk on July 1, 1975

I am going to speak to you today about some economic programme which the government processes to follow. Some of them are new. Others were set forth earlier but required to be pursued with greater vigour and determination. Please do not expect magic remedies and dramatic results. There is only one magic which can remove poverty and that is hard work, sustained by clear vision, iron will and the strictest discipline.

Each one of us in our place should determine to do more for our fellow citizens, not only for ourselves.

There must be greater respect for state property. Its destruction will be visited by punitive fines.

We also need to follow a far stricter code of austerity all around. Government has its duty to curb conspicuous consumption, but citizens also have responsibility. That is the only way to better the life of the nation.
The campaign of law-breaking, paralysing national activity and inciting our security forces to indiscipline and disobedience would have led to economic chaos and collapse and our country would have become vulnerable to factional tendencies and external danger. With the fumes of hatred cleared somewhat, we can see our economic goals succeed with greater clarity and urgency. The Emergency provide a new opportunity to go ahead with our economic tasks.

The first and foremost challenge is on the price front. In the last five days, prices of many articles have shown a downward trend. This trend will have to be maintained. To this end, government will take a series of steps to stimulate production, speed up procurement and streamline the distribution of essential commodities. Stay orders have prevented procurement of paddy in West Bengal and Orissa.

Our outlook in regard to foreign exchange resources is reasonably satisfactory. Therefore where necessary, imports will be arranged so that supplies are sufficient.
State Governments have already been asked to advise dealers to display lists of prices and statements of stocks. Hoarders and those who violate the rules will be severely punished.

This anti-inflation strategy has to be continued. Credits must be carefully regulated on a selective basis. Government departments and public enterprises have now orders to cut out an essential expenditure.

The vast majority of our people live in the rural areas. We must implement ceiling laws and distribute surplus land among the landless with redoubled zeal. We want the help of the local people in completing land records. Special care will be taken to ensure that tribal people are not deprived of their land.

The programmes of providing house-sites in the rural areas will be vastly expanded. Laws will be introduced to confer ownership rights on landless labourers who have been in occupation of house sites of their landlords over a certain period. Resort to evictions will be sternly dealt with.
The practice of bonded labour is barbarious and will be abolished. All contracts or other arrangements under which services of such bonded labour are now secured will be declared illegal.

We propose to take action by stages to liquidate rural indebtedness. While new schemes will be drawn up to device alternative agencies to provide institutional credit to landless labourers, rural artisans and small and marginal farmers who own less than two hectares, there will be a moratorium on suits and execution of decrees for the recovery of debts from such groups.

Debts from co-operatives, commercial banks and governments will be excluded from this scheme.

Agricultural labour is among the worst exploited sections of our society. A review of the existing legislation on minimum wages for agricultural labour will be undertaken and action will be initiated for suitable enhancement of minimum wages, wherever necessary.

We must go all out to increase production. Water and power hold the key to higher agricultural and industrial
output. Steps are being taken to bring under irrigation at least five million more hectares of land. Proven underground water resources will be immediately harnessed and further surveys taken up for irrigation and for the provision of drinking water, especially in drought-prone areas.

The power position has somewhat improved. Action is being taken to generate further 2,600 megawatts. Adequate funds are being provided to implement power projects. For long-term needs, super-thermal stations under the Central Government are being planned. State Electricity Boards are being streamlined.

The handloom industry is next only to agriculture in the number of people employed. Supplies of inputs will be ensured to weavers at reasonable prices. A separate Development Commissioner for Handlooms is being appointed. The policy of reservation for handlooms is being rationalized to give greater protection to weavers.

In the mill sector, the controlled cloth scheme is being improved, so that dhotis, saris and cloth will be of better quality and are sold through a larger number of outlets in rural and urban areas.
Fortunes have been made out of urban land and at the nation's expense. Speculation in land and the concentration of urban property have led to glaring inequalities and to a great deal of haphazard urban growth. Legislation is being initiated to impose ceilings on the ownership and possession of vacant land, to acquire excess land, to restrict the plinth area of new dwelling units and to socialize urban and urbanizable land.

Tax evasion is a crime. A great deal of black money so evaded goes into luxury housing. Urban property is grossly undervalued. Special squads will be set up forthwith to take up property valuation. Punishments will be stern. We are thinking of summary trials.

Our campaign against smugglers will be intensified. It was thwarted by their release on technical points. In some cases they even got anticipatory bail. The properties of smugglers will be confiscated whether held in their own name or benami.

Licensing procedures have come in the way of new investment causing delay. These will be simplified. The
investment limit of those industries which need no import or government help, will be raised.

At the same time, I must point out that licences are being unissued. Import-export regulations are being amended. There will be speedy trials and penalties for breaking rules and it will include confiscation of goods.

Schemes for workers' participation in industries, particularly at the shop floor level and production programmes, will be introduced.

The movement of food-grains, coal, steel and cement by railways has improved in the last few months. Constraints on the movement of goods by truck will also be removed. For this purpose, we are introducing a system of national permits.

People with fixed incomes have suffered severe hardship in the last few years. They need immediate relief. The minimum exemption limit for income-tax will be raised from Rs.6,000 to Rs.8,000.

Students from poor families face special difficulties if they pursue higher studies away from their homes. To
help them, essential commodities will be supplied at controlled prices to all hostels and approved lodging houses.

Another important measure in the educational field will be to ensure that text books and stationery are available at reasonable prices to all school, college and University students. Prices will be strictly controlled and book banks established.

As one of the measures to increase employment opportunities for educated young people, the Apprenticeship Act for educated young people, the Apprenticeship Act will be suitably amended so that the managements in the organised sectors of our country take a larger number of apprentices for a specified period. Special care will be taken to ensure a fair deal to scheduled castes and tribes, minorities and handicapped persons in the recruitment of apprentices.

I have only briefly outlined various parts of the new programme which will be taken up in the coming weeks. Other matters are being looked into and further measures will be announced from time to time.
I have no doubt that together they will make a difference to the country’s economic outlook. What is most urgent is that collectively we should shake off any sense of helplessness. The worst feature of the crisis, which was building over the last few months, was that it spread cynicism and sapped national self-confidence. There is a chance now to regain the nation’s spirit of adventure. Let us get on with the job. Jai Hind.
AGENDA FOR THE NATION

THE NEW 20-POINT PROGRAMME

Today is the harvest festival in many parts of India—a day when new rice is cooked and the fragrance of new gur permeates the air. My good wishes for Bihu, Pongal and Bankranti.

Two years ago on this day, my party took over the heavy burden of government. We found the economy in utter shambles. True and tested policies had been cast aside in the three years of drift. The production system—and even the very stability of the country—was in peril. Inflation was at a dangerously high level.

Our efforts and concentration on repairing the infrastructure have made a visible difference and brought about improvement in the last nine months.

Power generation has gone up by 11.1 per cent, coal production by 11.4 per cent, saleable steel output by 18.9 per cent, nitrogenous fertilizer by 54.8 per cent, cement
by 13.9 per cent and railway freight movement by 15.5 per cent.

Petroleum production has increased. Our oil technologists promise further gains. It has been a good year for crops in spite of the normal share of drought and flood.

This is a big help in our fight against inflation. The rate of increase in wholesale prices has slowed down. The supply of essential requirements, through fair price shops, has improved. Even retail prices show signs of coming under check, because of better monitoring. The economy has almost regained the vigour it had in 1976-77.

Had Pakistan not chosen this time to acquire such sophisticated arms, 1982 would have been a year of even greater advance for us. As it is, we have to spend more on defence. In this, the nation cannot slacken. All the greater reason for us to work harder and with fuller efficiency. We must get more out of every acre under the plough, out of every spindle and machine, out of every technologist and worker, out of every rupee spent.
FOR GREATER PRODUCTIVITY

We have declared 1982 as Productivity Year. We are particularly intent on improving the working of public enterprises. I hope that our offices and courts will also make a special effort to make up arrears of files and cases.

I have asked all Ministries to carry out exercises speedily to search out the factors which hamper production and to take corrective steps. Productivity goes hand in hand with economy in expenditure. All agencies of government must observe greater discipline and economy. State Governments, in particular, must avoid overdrafts.

In this task of increasing production and productivity, we also welcome the contribution of Indians abroad. The Government is working out a special scheme to enable them to assist us in investment, enterprise and technology.

Much Achieved

The improvement of people's lives is the first duty of a government. All our plans and programmes have been
undertaken to strengthen the nation and to take it further on the path of self-reliance so that it can solve its old and new problems. In addition to general programmes of development, in 1975 we undertook a special activity to lighten the hardship of various groups. This was the 20-point programme.

Many of its objectives have been accomplished. Legislation for the abolition of bonded labour was adopted in 1976.

Steps were taken to confiscate smugglers’ properties. Lakhs of people of lower and middle income groups have been exempted for income tax. The national permit scheme for road transport has been enforced. The target of providing irrigation to five million hectares has been fulfilled. A national scheme for the use of ground water has been taken up. Super thermal power stations are being established. Even in the other items of the 20-point programme, substantial progress has been made.

The fulfilment of several targets, the changes that have subsequently taken place in the economic and social life of our people, and the new challenges that have
arisen, make it necessary to recast and redefine this programme. After careful thought and discussion within the Government, we have now prepared a new programme which I should like to share with you.

NEW 20-POINT PROGRAME

under this programme, we propose to:

(1) increase the irrigation potential, develop and disseminate technologies and inputs for dry land agriculture.

(2) take special efforts to increase production of pulses and vegetable oil seeds.

(3) strengthen and expand coverage of integrated rural development and national rural employment programmes.

(4) implement agricultural and ceilings, distribute surplus land and complete compilation of land records by removing all administrative and legal obstacles.

(5) review and effectively enforce minimum wages for agricultural labour.

(6) rehabilitate bonded labour.
(7) accelerate programmes for the development of scheduled castes and tribes.

(8) supply drinking water to all problem villages.

(9) allot house sites rural families who are without them and expand programmes for construction assistance to them.

(10) improve the environment of slums, implement programmes of house building for the economically weaker sections, and take measures to arrest the unwarranted increase in land prices.

(11) maximise power generation, improve the functioning of electricity authorities and electrify all villages.

(12) pursue vigorously programmes of afforestation, social and farm forestry, and development of biogas and other alternative energy sources.

(13) promote family planning on a voluntary basis as a people's movement.

(14) substantially augment universal primary health care facilities and control of leprosy, tuberculosis and blindness.
(15) accelerate programmes of welfare for women and children and nutrition programmes for pregnant women, nursing mothers and children specially in the tribal, hill and backward areas.

(16) spread universal elementary education for the age group 6-14, with special emphasis on girls, and simultaneously involve students and voluntary agencies in programmes for the removal of adult illiteracy.

(17) expand the public distribution system through more fair price shops, including mobile shops in far-flung areas and shops to cater to industrial workers, students' hostels and make available to students text books and exercise books on a priority basis, and to promote a strong consumer protection movement.

(18) liberalise the investment procedures and streamline the industrial policies to ensure timely completion of projects; give handicrafts, handlooms, small and village industries all facilities to grow and update their technology.
(17) Continue strict action against smugglers, hoarders and tax evaders and check black money.

(20) Improve the working of public enterprises by increasing efficiency, capacity utilisation and generation of internal resources.

This agenda for the nation has been dovetailed into the overall plan of development. It pinpoints areas of special trust which will show immediate tangible results for various segments.

HARMONY AND HARD WORK

All our efforts to invigorate national life will ultimately depend on our ability to maintain harmony among various sections of our population. It is imperative to ensure that Harijans, Tribals and minorities have the fullest protection.

When the 20-point programme was first announced in 1975, I had cautioned you not to expect miracles. Then, as now, there is only one magic which can remove poverty— and that is hard work, helped by a clear sense of purpose and discipline. On a sleep road, there is no time or place for
pause. Our national motto is "Satymevajayate" (truth alone
wins). In our daily lives, we should adopt an additional
motto: "Shrama Eva Jayate". Dedication to truth and toil
is the bedrock of respect, progress, and prosperity.

Our economy is on the move. It is in our hands to
maintain the improvement to lighten the burdens of our
millions. This programme is for each one of you, and for
this nation which is ours to serve, to cherish and to
build, I seek your whole-hearted co-operation in making the
programme a success.

Broadcast to the Nation by the Prime Minister, Shrimati
Indira Gandhi, 14th January, 1982.