

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before we get into the complication of AIADMK - DMK issues in the House, let me announce the decision of the Business Advisory Committee.

ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee, at its meeting held today, the 1st March, 2001, allotted time for the Government Legislative and other Business as follows:-

Business	Time allotted
(1) Consideration and passing of-	
a) The Uttar Pradesh Sugarcane Cess (Validation) Repeal Bill, 2000	Half-an-hour
b) The Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision (Repeal) Bill, 2001	Half-an-hour
c) The Electricity Regulatory Commission (Amendment) Bill, 1999 after it has been Passed by the Lok Sabha	Half-an-hour
d) The Banking Companies (Legal Practitioners' Clients' Accounts) Repeal Bill, 2001 after it has been passed by the Lok Sabha.	Half-an-hour
(2) Statutory Resolution seeking disapproval of the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 2001	Half-an-hour
(3) Consideration and return of the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2001 after it has been passed by the Lok Sabha	(To be discussed together)
(4) General Discussion on Railway Budget for 2001-2002	4 Hours (to be discussed together)
(5) Consideration and return of the following Bills after they have been passed by Lok Sabha:	

- a) The appropriation Bill relating to the Demands
for Grants on Account (Railways) for 2001-2002
- b) The Appropriation Bill relating to the
Supplementary Demands for Grants (Railways)
for 2000-2001

The Committee recommended that the sittings of the House fixed for Monday, the 5th March, 2001 and Monday, the 30th April, 2001, be cancelled and the House may have a sitting on Saturday, the 28th April, 2001, to transact Government Business and that there would be no Question Hour on that day.

The Committee also recommended that answers to Questions for 5th March, 2001 may be laid on the 7th March, 2001 and the Notices of Questions for 30th April, 2001 may be treated as lapsed.

The Committee also recommended that in order to complete the listed Government Business, the House should sit upto 6 p.m. daily and beyond 6.p.m. as and when necessary.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS-CONTD.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, Mr. Apte has been very kind to give you his place to speak. But there is one condition that you will take only ten minutes.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Madam, I am thankful to you, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Apte and in fact, everybody. Madam Deputy Chairman, at the outset I congratulate you for the well-deserved honour bestowed on you by His Majesty, the King of Morocco. Coming to the subject at hand, I would say that Rashtrapatiji indeed is a beacon of light and hope. He speaks with luminous clarity and where his advice is being heeded by this Government, there would be no question as to the security of this country, as to the unity of its people and as to the prosperity of this nation. But as we all know, this Address is the address of the Government. The President or Rashtrapatiji merely reads the Address. It is one of the longest ever, perhaps the longest ever address, long in words but short in substance. I would like to say, Madam Deputy Chairman, that

the Address of the President is expected to really lay the ideological framework to provide the direction of governance at a particular point of time. It is not expected to be a compilation of the Annual Reports of the Ministries. Therefore, I would submit with great respect that as far as fundamental matters are concerned, really this report has very little to say. There is deafening silence indeed. I think one of the important aspects at this point of time today is the question of education and culture. This is important at all points of time because education and culture, the direction of the Government in education and culture really mirrors the ideological framework of the Government at a point of time. It provides what the Government wants the people to think and what it wants the people to act.

I would like to say that for fifty years, we have had our education and cultural policies linked to the Nehru-Gandhi framework. This was the framework which was predicated on secular nationalism. A framework which was predicated on multi-culturalism, on democracy and on scientific temper. Now, we are at a point of time when we have winds which are different. The winds are of cultural nationalism. The words 'cultural' and 'nationalism' are very nice words. But 'cultural nationalism' means 'mono culturalism.' It means, an unscientific temper. Because, what else can you make when Palmistry is sought to be taught in universities, when Astrology is made a subject of study at higher levels of education, when all sorts of mathematics which are no more relevant to the third millennium are sought to be studied and made compulsory subjects? I would, therefore, say, to begin with, the hidden agenda -- I say 'hidden' -- does not have what it should have -- the sanction of Parliament. We have the National Education Policy passed by Parliament in 1986. The National Education Policy itself provides that in every six years, Parliament must review it. And, accordingly, it was reviewed in 1991. But, it could not be reviewed in 1997, obviously, because of the political instability. Why is the Government not reviewing, bringing before this House, for the last two years, the National Education Policy? The National Education Policy itself mandates that it must be reviewed every six years. Sir, ten years have passed. Why are you not discussing this? I urge and demand that Parliament should no more permit this silence about the direction that the education and cultural policy of the Government is taking. Let Parliament, at least, respect the legality. Let us respect what the National Education Policy says. Let us get it reviewed by Parliament. Let us have a discussion on this, and that is my demand. I am entitled, as a Member of this House, to demand for clarity. I would demand that the hidden hand be shown and that a discussion be

held in this House on the National Education Policy and the new direction that it is taking. It is in the direction of cultural nationalism. The winds, after the end of the Cold War, in many parts of the world, have, really, led to the triumph of this cultural nationalism. With the result, they have proved to be a disgrace for those countries and a disaster for those countries, particularly, countries which are multicultural. You go to Yugoslavia. It was one of the most beautiful and prosperous countries of the world -- taking advantage of both the East and the West. That is how President Tito evolved the Non-alignment Policy which was of great benefit for that country. And, today, that country lies in ruins because of cultural nationalism of the Christian-inspired Serbs. The Christian-inspired Serbs went on 'cultural-nationalist rampage.' They destroyed the country. And who is the greatest victims of this cultural nationalism of the Serbs? The Serbs themselves. In our terminology, the majority community of Yugoslavia. That is a lesson there. But why do we have to go to Yugoslavia? We have, in our neighbourhood, an example of the vibrant people - the people of Pakistan - who were divided once with Bangladesh. The partition movement continued. I had been there just a couple of months ago. There are Baluchis, Sindhis, and everybody else, fighting to divide that country further. It is a country of vibrant people, as vibrant as their counterpart from this side of the border. Now, today, the life is stagnant at its best and, as I could witness it, we are on a downslide which can only be called the downslide of a failing State. So, that is there.

Let us look at the newspapers of today. Today and yesterday the newspapers have been reporting about the destruction or the proposed destruction of the great heritage of mankind -- Buddha statues -- in Bamiyan. That is, again, cultural nationalism. I had been to Afghanistan. I went to Kabul and stayed in the only luxurious hotel but there was not even water to drink, something that I needed very much. The water was calcareous. There was no mineral water. I went to Mazar-e-Sharief and other places. There was a lot of destruction and, practically, Kabul is no more. Even where our Embassy was there is destruction all round. Our Embassy itself is half destroyed.

Therefore, there is a lesson there. The newspapers reported that yesterday, with great alacrity, with unusual promptness; our spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs denounced these proposed destruction of Buddha's statue, which really represents a cultural convergence of India and the people of Afghanistan. Well taken! But the spokesman does not seem

to know what is the mind of the Government, or what is the policy of the Government. And, what are they doing? They are doing cultural nationalism. They are saying that nothing that is pre-Islamic or non-Islamic should be allowed to be there. Then, we demolished the mosque also. We have people in high places, who are proud of the demolition of the mosque. We have people in high places, in the extended political family, who want to demolish more. Therefore, what I want to say here is, let us learn from the necessary consequence, the immediate danger that flows from the so-called cultural nationalism, which is the philosophy of the ruling party, within the ruling coalition. Look at Yugoslavia; look at Pakistan; look at Afghanistan; look at Sri Lanka, if you wish; and you must look at Sri Lanka. Therefore, what I am asking here and demanding here is, stop the Talibanisation of India, stop the destruction of this country. That is happening. The Talibanisation of India is happening, and it is happening in the field of education and culture. Madam Deputy Chairman, in this House, we had an opportunity to look at the NCERT; and, in this House, we mentioned about one Dr. K.C. Rastogi, who wrote in his autobiography, with great pride, that he had killed some Muslim women because he wanted to pacify those Muslims there, and they were diverting the attention. The people who had gone to kill the rest were being diverted by these beautiful Muslim women...*(Interruptions)* No, this is on record. *(Interruptions)* No, no; it is on record. *(Interruptions)* Yes, yes; this is on record. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI: Does it help to promote national harmony? *(Interruptions)* I can also produce what has been published in the same paper about what he has said - about Buddha - why has that been destroyed? *(Interruptions)* But how does it relate to...*(Interruptions)* But does it promote national harmony? I don't dispute...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: I will tell you, how it is related. *(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: About destroying the Buddha images, we should send a very strong message from our Parliament to the world that this is a 2000-years-old monument. It is not a religious structure. I have been to Bamiyan and I have seen that magnificent piece of art carved out of a rock. We should raise our voice and let the world opinion be built to protect that through the United Nations. But the objection he is raising is: if it is relevant, you substantiate it. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: I will mention. I will do it. I will be careful. That matter had been raised earlier, and it is on the records of the House. But, in the interest of my friendship and good relations with my hon. Colleague, I will not say anything more about this. Why I am raising this point, and why I am saying this is because this very gentleman is now teaching at the NCERT. Do you know what? He is teaching value education! This man is in charge of organising papers on value education! I am asking, are these the values of this gentleman which we want the people of India to have? That is the question. Now, the Chairman of the ICHR is a man who, at the World Archaeological Congress, defended the demolition of the *masjid*. Now, the point I am raising today is, the third major cultural organization has not figured in the records of this House so far. That is an apex organization on social science research in the country.

It is a huge organisation with a budgetary allocation of Rs.80 crores, plus a matching grant of about Rs.30/- crores, from the States. It is a huge organisation in the sense that it has about 26 branches all over the country. It is the Indian Council of Social Science Research. The Chairman of that Council, - I am speaking from what the Minister has said we all know, is a former Jan Sangh Member of Parliament in the other House. When the Minister was asked about his appointment, he said, "he is an eminent social scientist", which, in fact, I must admit, he is, because he was a senior Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. He went on doing what he had to do. As soon as he took to office, he started with the Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Centre, he went on to the Deendayal Upadhyay Centre and so on and so forth. But, at a point of time...(interruptions)

SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI: He also organised a conference on Dr. Karan Singh's contribution; he also organized a conference on Mr. Parthasarthy's contribution. There are a number of things...(interruptions)

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: That is the point. He also organised all these conferences...(interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't take his name.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: Whose name?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Whoever you are referring to.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: Whose name, Madam?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't mention the name of the people who are not present in the House.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: Why should I mention, Madam? That is not my intention. Therefore,-- let us put it this way --as the hon. Member says, while you did one thing, the conservative right wing line of thought; you also did the other things which showed a great spirit of tolerance. That is the point. It was not liked by many members of the Council. As a result, on 13th of February, they moved a no confidence motion and asked for a special meeting to see that this Chairman is removed. The behaviour of this gentleman --as it has appeared abundantly in the newspapers -- who was there in the Council, who behaved in that manner on 13th of February, was not becoming of an eminent social scientist. And the Constitution says, the Council must consist of eminent social scientists. But the way he behaved was not becoming of him. Therefore, I am asking the Government to put their deeds where their words are. I am asking the Government to remove this gentleman who behaved in a manner unbecoming of him, just because his extremist agenda was not being implemented, in toto, by the Chairman. Half of it and half tolerance was not good enough. They wanted the extremist agenda to be implemented. My demand to the Government is, remove these people and put their deeds where their words are because you have been speaking, Mr. Prime Minister has been speaking, about pluralism, about tolerance; the Minister of Human Resource Development has been speaking on the same lines. As my leader, hon. Shri Pranab Mukherjee mentioned, it is not just enough to speak. Action, in furtherance of the speech, is what is called for. Action in the case of ICSSR would call for removal of this member who behaved in a manner not becoming of him and to put in his place an eminent social scientist who will add dignity and prestige to this very prestigious organisation, which as the hon. Member says, had, at one point of time at its helm people like G.P. Parthasarthy, G.P. Naik and other eminent social scientists. Let us restore the Indian Council for Social Sciences Research to its pristine glory. Let us stop this Talibanisation of culture and education in this country. Let India live because if India does not live, Mr. Chaturvedi, you do not live,, nor do I. Thank you.

SHRI B.P. APTE (Maharashtra): Madam, I rise to speak with a sense of gratitude to the President for his Address and associate myself with the mover of the Motion, Shri Triloki Nath Chaturvedi. Madam, I, at

this point, would desist from converting this discussion on the President's Address into a discussion on cultural nationalism, which this House must consider at some time, because there are misconceptions about the concept, as it is looked at from a tinged point of view.

I desist from that, and I will concentrate on the Address of the President. Madam, the Address by the President is a comprehensive statement, touching the entire gamut of governance, including the traditional legal functions of the Government of protecting the people from internal disturbances and from external aggressions, and also the welfare obligations of a modern State to empower the people. I do not propose to deal with every aspect which the President has mentioned in his Address. But, highlighting some of them will be useful. It is unfortunate that our Republic Day celebrations this year coincided with the great Gujarat tragedy, and, in fact, this coincidence underscores the bottom line of our democratic polity that in such circumstances we must help ourselves. There is a guarantee that we will do it, because we are functioning as a country, as a whole. The natural unity of this country which is based on cultural nationalism has expressed itself again and again in times of distress and calamities. And, again, on 26th January and, thereafter, that unity expressed itself by the spontaneous action of the entire populace of the country in support of our Gujarat brethren. Now, the Address tells us that it is proposed to have a permanent National Disaster Management Authority. I believe this authority will not be another bureaucratic structure, but will be an active and imaginative agency which would encourage voluntarism. An authority creating rules for itself and binding itself with those rules will not help.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) in the Chair]

But a sense of voluntarism is necessary, and this voluntarism which I translated into Hindi would be स्वयं सेवक द; and in R.S.S., it is described as a नित्य सिद्ध शक्ति, energy which is ever ready. Any authority which seeks to deal with disaster management has to be in the nature of an energy which is ever ready. The efficiency and efficacy of such a नित्य सिद्ध शक्ति, such an energy, which is every ready, was seen in Gujarat, when people saw the organisation, the vision of R.S.S., in action. This disaster management authority has to be that kind of an instrument where voluntarism, where natural brotherhood, will prevail over our normal inactivity. The Address talks about the fact that we have completed 51 years of our vibrant Republic. We could be in a self-congratulatory mood and that mood is

justified, because, when democracy is crumbling all around, this Republic has survived 50 turbulent years. In spite of the limitations of the system, we continue to be a vibrant, live and - though I do not like the American word-kicking democracy. Therefore, we can congratulate ourselves. But, at the same time, it is time that we look back and find that everything is not well and that reforms are necessary. The President has asked us, Members of Parliament, to act in furtherance of the republican values enshrined in our Constitution.

While saying this, the President made two significant observations, which I want to point out. One is on page 3, where he says that we must remember Dr. Ambedkar who gave a caution to us. He has quoted Dr. Ambedkar:

"On January 26, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In political life, we will have equality; and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest."

I remember that, probably, in the same Address, Dr. Ambedkar had also said:

"This document, which we have drafted and adopted, is the thinking of this generation, maybe, the thinking of the Members of this august House, the Constituent Assembly. The generations that will come can have a new look at this document."

Probably, he said this in the same Address. But I am not on that at this stage.

"He has said, "Even though we have political equality, which has been guaranteed by the inclusion of those rights in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, we continue to be unequal in terms of social and economic levels, and that inequality is sought to be resolved not by making it a matter of Fundamental Rights but by including that in the Directive Principles of State Policy."

Some constitutional lawyers are angry with this. One of them has gone to the extent of saying that by making only political rights as

Fundamental and all other rights, only Directory, a fraud has been played on the concept of the Constitution.

Quoting Dr. Ambedkar, the President reminds us, "While congratulating ourselves on the success of this republic, probably, the time has come to reform this republic. Reformation is necessary because, without total reformation, change is not possible."

Then, the second most significant statement in the Address, which I would like this House to ponder over, is that, in spite of the economic progress and reforms, the President reminds us:

"The past decade's experience has clearly shown that economic reforms can yield desired results only if they are fully complemented by administrative, judicial, educational and labour reforms."

Without reforms, the success of the republic in the future is not guaranteed. We have talked about these reforms all these fifty years. We have had the Administrative Reforms Commission that produced, I think, 19 reports and about 582 suggestions. Almost none of them was implemented. Pt. Nehru, in 1946, had said,

"The civil service is fossilized to outdated ideas, and we cannot go ahead, after the Independence, with this kind of civil service."

He said this in 1946. But, maybe, the burden of governance was such that, in 1948, he said:

"We will not do anything much to injure the present system."

So, we did not injure the present system which it was our perception that was fossilised to outdated ideas. Now, in the New Millennium, the time has come to introduce administrative reforms and to change the manner of decision-making, where decisions will be taken not on the files, but for the purpose of implementation. Unfortunately, in this country, 'reforms' has proved to be a red rag to all those who claim to be revolutionaries. The discussion on reforms has demonstrated that all those so-called revolutionaries are really *status quoists*. They are afraid of reforms. They want the *status quo* to continue. Here I am referring to the Left ideologues. I do not know why they fight shy of reforms. The President has told us, "let us concentrate on reforms which are necessary for our Republic."

There is a reference to judicial reforms also. Pranabda expressly mentioned about the Judiciary. Somebody has mentioned about the manner in which decisions are given, where the Judiciary is seeking to usurp the role of both the Executive and the Legislature. And when we think and talk about judicial activism, I am always reminded of a cartoon by R.K. Laxman in *The Times of India* where which shows somebody rushing to the Chamber of a Minister. The chowkidar stops him and tells him, "Please wait. The Judge is sitting in the Minister's Chamber". The Judge has become so active! Somebody has talked about judicial reforms in this House also. Our Constitution guarantees independence of the Judiciary. In fact, that is the hallmark of our democracy. Checks and balances and the Judiciary functioning as a watch-dog are necessary for our democracy. But the independence of the Judiciary must be combined with the accountability of the Judiciary. Judicial reforms have to be looked at from this point of view. Thus, reforms are necessary for a resurgent India.

The Address gives the Government's assurance to the two sectors which are vital to our economy and which are greatly affected by the implementation of the various agreements under the WTO. The two sectors are : agriculture and small-scale industry. I believe, with the necessary ameliorating inputs, the small-scale sector which is a very important aspect of our economic existence will rise to the occasion and will meet the international challenges. But those ameliorating inputs are very necessary. There is an assurance in the Address. Therefore, the nation is thankful that the small-scale and the agricultural sectors will be looked after well by the Government.

Education is an area which has been neglected for the last 50 years. It has always been at the bottom of the agenda of all those who governed earlier. If there is going to a cut in the Plan expenditure, the first axe has always fallen in the first Seven Five-Year Plans on education. We find from the records that whatever had been allocated on education, whether 3 per cent or 3 1/2per cent or 2 1/2percent, it was never spent. Now, a new programme is being launched, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, which is going to make every effort to comply with the Constitutional mandate of providing free and compulsory education to all children.

There is a reference to vocationalisation. And there, I believe, much has to be done. In fact, the system of 10 + 2 + 3 was brought in, for

bringing in a core change in the +2 stage. But we have made only arithmetical changes and nothing was done to bring about vocationalisation which was envisaged to be to the tune of almost 80 per cent by the Education Commission. We have done nothing. Now, there is an express assurance that vocationalisation will be a matter of concentration in so far as the Plus Two stage is concerned.

Sir, when you talk about education, you naturally go to the explosion of knowledge which is part of the information technology. A National Mission on Technology Education is being set up. But we should appreciate that it is not merely a matter of knowledge economy. The entire gamut of information technology is a tool for change. Will Durant, way back in 1927, in his autobiography, talked about a third revolution saying that "that third revolution will be a revolution of knowledge, a revolution of science". And mind you, I am quoting Will Durant and I am not quoting any vocational futurologists who, in these years, have made futurology to be a productive business. I am quoting a historian of great perception who wrote the history of civilisation in 11 volumes. He said that the next revolution would be a revolution of knowledge and that revolution would encompass every aspect of human learning. The importance of information technology is vital to us because it will make that difference which we envisage between, what I term to be a "dot.com" generation and a "not.com" generation. I belong to the "not.com" generation. The next generation will not afford that. It will have to be a "dot.com" generation which opens up a vista of an unending highway. My generation, if we do not adopt it, will end into a *cul-de-sac*. Therefore, the "dot.com" revolution which really is a digital revolution has put us in a situation where an explosion of knowledge is flooding us. Everybody is enthusiastic about it. Some persons are even worried about it because knowledge has no limit, exposure has no limit; and as the human mind goes, misuse also has no limit. The human mind is such that where there is an excellence of goodness, there is always a perversity of badness. Therefore, good things, on many occasions, are misused. And this digital revolution is inviting misuse and we will have to be guarded in respect of this. It will not be possible by banning this or banning that. Banning things does not help. What is necessary is the approach to this entire flood of information which is coming through this information technology. And, here, I believe we have to consider seriously the input of spiritualism in our educational content. That can save us. Today, we have already gone ahead from the intelligence quotient to the emotional quotient. The time has come when we go to the spiritual quotient. IQ followed by EQ, must end in SQ, to

complete the education of a person. Sir, with the emergence of the new Government, the vision of this country is that of a resurgent India, a resurgent India which is peace-loving, prosperous and strong. The speaker before me talked about ideology. He said that the Address of the President must define the ideology of the Government. I believe, this is the ideology of this Government. Earlier, people did not talk about a peaceful, prosperous and strong India. The international community looks at us. Everybody is enamoured by what the international community will say. But the international community understands us, appreciates us, respects us, not by the mere chanting of Panchsheel, but by our being strong. History tells us this. History of the last two years tells us this. Therefore, when we talk about ideology, we must appreciate that we have gone far ahead of the last century. At the end of the last century, in the early eighties, people had started talking about a post-Communist world. In the early nineties, people had started talking about a post-capitalist world, and in the beginning of this Millennium, people have started talking about a post-ideological world. The American election last time between Clinton and Bush was fought in a post-ideological America. In this country also, a question arises whether we have come to the stage of a post-ideological political discourse, where what matters today is good governance, what matters today is economic reforms, what matters today is care for the poor. I believe, when we talk about the post ideological world, we talk about the post-dogmatic world. No dogma will succeed. What will succeed is a commitment to the national cause, commitment by Members of Parliament, commitment by ordinary people. The natural level of national consciousness, if it rises, the ideology becomes a peaceful, prosperous and strong country. Sir, when we talk about a strong India, when we feel good to tell ourselves that if the last century belonged to America, the next century belongs to us, it will belong to Asia. When we find that the Americans are also talking that the next century will belong to Asia, and since we are Asians, we believe that they are talking about us. I would like to say, Sir, that last year, the 'Time' Magazine's Asia edition completed fifty years. Therefore, it brought out a special edition. In that special issue of 100 pages, they talked about Asia, they talked about this that the next century, that is, the present century, will belong to Asia. But in the Asia which they see, where is our country? In that 100-page supplement, half a paragraph is devoted to India. So, the world's perception of India, as an Asian country, is half a paragraph out of 100 pages. If we want to change this, we will have to be a prosperous and strong country. I believe that the entire Address tells us that the endeavour of the

Government is to take us to that level. While addressing ourselves to this, the concern of the common man, the concern of a common patriotic citizen, is naturally in respect of national security.

The Address, with all peace efforts and with all possibility of success in those peace efforts, reassured the common patriotic man that intolerance will not be tolerated, terrorism will not be tolerated, and there will not be any compromise with national security. On these two aspects, which I have mentioned, I would like to quote from page 5 of the Address. While talking about the initiative in Kashmir, the Address assures us:

"The Army and our paramilitary forces are working under trying circumstances and the nation appreciates their supreme determination and sacrifice. Action against terrorist organisations will continue relentlessly."

Peace efforts ought not to be understood to mean that terrorism can get away with it.

Secondly, the Address assures us, in so far as our external security perceptions are concerned, that there will not be any lapse in the maintenance of a credible minimum nuclear deterrent.

Sir, the President, while addressing us on the entire gamut of governance, has said something on which we, Members of this House, must also ponder ourselves. At the end of the Address, he says that both the Houses have a lot of business to do and the people are expecting much from us and I quote:

"The people, who have elected you, have a high expectation that the precious time of Parliament is best used for the completion of the scheduled business."

I entered this House, probably, after all of you, and all along I have been asking a question to myself: Can't anybody do it better by argument than by shouting? I think the President has not said this. But, probably, he meant this. Thank you.

*मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : सर, अगर इजाजत हो तो मैं आगे से बोल लूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : इजाजत है।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : शुक्रिया वाइसचेयरमैन साहब। आपने खुतबा-ए-सदारत पर मुझे बोलने का मौका इनायत फरमाया है। सदर-ए-जम्हूरिया का खुतबा-ए-सदारत जिस पर लगातार चार-साढ़े चार घंटे से हमारे हाउस में बहस हो रही है, मुख्तलिफ गोशों से इसको तनकीदी तौर पर देखने की कोशिश की गई है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया (झारखंड) : सायरन तो नहीं बज रहा है।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : आप पीछे चले जाएं।

*मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : सारी दुनिया आगे जा रही है आपका काम यही है कि हमको पीछे कर दें। वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, सदर-ए-जम्हूरिया का जो एड्रेस होता है यह दरअसल सदर-ए-जम्हूरिया की भावना या सदर-ए-जम्हूरिया की अपनी कही हुई बातें नहीं होती हैं। हुकूमत अपना माफ़िज जमीर पेश करती है, अपनी पालिसी पेश करती है, अपना प्रोग्राम पेश करती है और अपने सारे प्रोग्रामात को जुबान सदर-ए-जम्हूरिया की देती है। अब कानूनी और उसूली तौर पर परम्परा यह बनी है कि गवर्नमेंट की बात सदर की जुबान से कहलवायी जाए। ...(व्यवधान)... महोदय, यह हुआ क्या है, जरा इस डिस्टेंस को देखने की गुज़ारिश कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : आप इतना खूबसूरत बोल रहे हैं कि म्यूज़िक भी अपने आप बज रहा है।

*मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : कम से कम इसका पता करवाया जाना चाहिए कि यह आवाज़ कहाँ से आ रही है। महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सदरे मुमलकत की जुबान से जो बातें हमारे सामने प्रेज़ीडेंट शल ऐड्रेस बनकर आती हैं, इस पर पूरे मुल्क के दिल-दिमाग को साफ रहना चाहिए कि ये प्रेज़ीडेंट की अपनी कही हुए बातें नहीं हैं, बल्कि मरकज़ी हुकूमत अपनी बातों को प्रेज़ीडेंट की जुबान से कहलवाती है इसलिए अगर हम खुतबा-ए-सदारत का तनकीदी जायज़ा लेते हैं तो हम अपने प्रेज़ीडेंट पर किसी तरह की तनकीद नहीं करते बल्कि हुकूमत अपनी नाकामियों को अल्फाज़ की शौबदा बाज़ी के पर्दे में छुपाने की जो नाकामयाब कोशिश करती है, हम उसका पर्दाफाश करते हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

*Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the Debate.

श्री गांधी आज़ाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय, यह आवाज़ जो आ रही है, यह खतरे की घंटी बज रही है कि हाउस ऐडजर्न कर दिया जाए।

*मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : खतरे की घंटी अगर बज रही हो तो हाउस कतई ऐडजर्न न किया जाए क्योंकि :

इंसान नहीं जो घबराए, माहौल के खुनी मंजर से।

उस वक्त पे जीना लाज़िम है, जिस वक्त कि जीना मुश्किल हो।

तूफानों का मुकाबला करना चाहिए। खतरात के सामने खड़े होना चाहिए। वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, सदरे जमहूरिया के खुतबे का मतलब होता है कि हुकूमत साल भर में जो काम कर चुकी है और आने वाले साल के लिए जो प्रोग्राम बनाती है, उस प्रोग्राम को मुल्क के सामने, पार्लियामेंट के सामने, देश के सामने और पूरी दुनिया के सामने रखना। यकीनन ये खुतबा-ए-सदारत जो हमारे सामने वज़नदार बोझ के तौर पर सामने आया है, अपने अमल से वज़नदार हरगिज़ नहीं है। इस खुतबा-ए-सदारत में कथनी और करनी का बुनियादी फर्क हमें देखने को मिलता है। सबसे पहली बात मैं इस पर किसी तरह का तबसरा करने से पहले गुजरात के सिलसिले में कहना चाहूंगा। गुजरात में हमारे भाइयों पर जो कयामत टूटी, जिस हद तक अशकसूई कर सकता है हिन्दुस्तान का इंसान, उसने पूरी ताकत के साथ गुजरात के भाइयों के गम में अपने आपको बराबर का शरीक साबित किया। गुजरात की सरज़मीन पर इस आने वाले तूफान से हमें बहुत कुछ सबक सीखना चाहिए। खुदा करे, आने वाले दिनों में हम अपने मुल्क में सतर्क रहकर अपने मुल्क को कष्ट के माहौल से निकालने में सक्षम साबित हों। मैं गुजरात के अपने उन तमाम भाई-बहनों को खिराजे-अकीदत पेश करता हूँ जो इस दुनिया से जा चुके और उन तमाम भाई-बहनों की पीड़ा में अपने आपको बराबर का शरीक करता हूँ जो आज भी मुसीबत के माहौल में अपनी जिदंगी गुज़ार रहे हैं। जिनके लबों का तब्बसुम रुठ चुका है और जिनका दिल हसरत-ओ-अरमान का भज़ार बन गया है। वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, खुतबा-ए-सदारत के कुछ पैराग्राफ सामने रखकर मैं बात करना चाहता हूँ।

पैराग्राफ नम्बर आठ में बाबा साहब भीमराव अम्बेडकर के 26 जनवरी 1950 को दस्तूरे-हिंद पेश करने का एक कौल पेश किया गया जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि बाबा साहब ने कहा था "हम एक अंतर्विरोध के जीवन में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं जहां राजनीति में बराबरी होगी और सामाजिक और आर्थिक जीवन में गैर बराबरी होगी। हमें जल्द से जल्द इस अंतर्विरोध को दूर करना होगा।" और बात यहीं खत्म कर दी गयी। क्या ही अच्छा होता कि आगे भी जो कुछ बाबा साहब ने कहा था, वे सारी बातें भी इस खुतबा-ए-सदारत में इंदराज कर दी गयी होतीं ताकि उनके कहने का मफहूम मुक्कमल तौर पर वाज़ह हो गया होता। आगे की बातें छुपा ली गयीं। मैं नहीं समझता कि हुकूमत की क्या मसहलत थी। बाबा साहब के इस कौल को कुछ तो बयान किया गया और कुछ छुपा लिया गया। बाबा साहब ने आगे यह भी कहा है कि अगर ऐसा नहीं

*Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the Debate.

किया गया तो इस मुल्क के वंचित और महरूम लोग लोकतंत्र को उखाड़ फेंकेंगे और बगावत पर आमादा हो जाएंगे। हम जब उनके इस कथन पर गौर करते हैं तो आज 53 साल की मुल्क की आजादी के बाद भी यह साफ तौर पर महसूस करते हैं कि इस मुल्क में करोड़ों गरीब लोग आज भी अपने खानदान के गुजारे के लिए दिन भर मेहनत करने के बाद भी इतनी रकम इकट्ठा नहीं कर पाते जिससे वे अपने बाल-बच्चों को सम्मानपूर्वक दाल रोटी खिला सकें और दूसरी तरफ इसी मुल्क में ऐसे मुट्ठी भर लोग भी हैं जिनकी आमदनी रोजाना लाखों में गिनी जाती है। डा. अम्बेडकर की इस चुनौती के बाद भी अगर ऐसा बजट आता है जो रोजाना लाखों की आमदनी हासिल करने वाले खानदानों को किलो और क्विंटल में सोना खरीदने का मौका देता है तो ऐसे बजट की रोशनी में सदर-ए-जमहूरिया की खुतबा-ए-सदारत की क्या अहमियत रह जाती है, यह बजट बजाते खुद पर्दाफाश करता है। सोना सस्ता किया जा रहा है और गरीबों का मोथा हराम हो गया है। वाइस चैंसरमैन साहब, ऐसे आलम में अगर गरीबों के साथ इसाफ नहीं होता तो बजट में या सदर-ए-जमहूरिया की तकरीर में उनके लिए आने वाले दिनों में उनके लबों पर मर्शरत का फूल खिलाने वाली कोई पेशगुई नहीं की जाती तो कहने वाले ने यह बात भी कही थी कि **"आजादी रोटी नहीं मगर दोनों में कुछ बैर नहीं, भूख अगर बेताब हुई तो आजादी की खैर नहीं"**।

इसी तरह से डा. इक़बाल ने भी यह बात कही थी कि :

*"जिस देश के दहका को मयस्सर न हो रोटी
उस देश के हर खुश-ए-गुदुम को जला दो।"*

आज किसानों के जो हालात हमारे सामने हैं वे किसी से छिपे नहीं हैं। किसान खुदखुशी करने पर मजबूर हुआ, यह हमारे ही मुल्क की बात है, उसके अनाज सड़ रहे हैं यह इसी देश की बात है, सब्जी और दूसरे अजनास को वह पैदा तो करता है मगर बाजार में उतनी कीमत उसे नहीं मिलती जिसकी बुनियाद पर उसके बाल-बच्चों का भविष्य अंधकार में पड़ा हुआ है। उसके लिए कोई भी ऐसा प्रोग्राम सदर-ए-जमहूरिया के इस खुतबे में हमें देखने को नहीं मिलता जिसके जरिये जिस तरह इस मौजूदा बजट पर इस देश के पूंजीपतियों ने खुशी का इजहार किया है, काश कोई ऐसा बजट भी इस देश में आता, काश ऐसा भी सदर का खुबता-ए-सदारत इस मुल्क में आता जिस खुतबे को सुनने के बाद सदर के फरमान को जारी करने के बाद इस मुल्क का गरीब एक मर्तबा हंस लेता, इस मुल्क का गरीब एक बार मुस्कुरा देता इसलिए कि इस देश के निर्माण में अगर अमीरों ने अपने रुपये-पैसे से कुछ योगदान किया है तो उनका योगदान बहुत थोड़ा-सा है मगर गरीब का योगदान इस देश को उसके खूने जिगर की कहानी सुनाता है, गरीब का योगदान इस देश की तरक्की और सम्मान को सारी दुनिया में फख से ऊंचा कर देता है। मगर आज जिस माहौल में हम सदर के खुतब-ए-सदारत पर बहस अपनी पार्लियामेंट में कर रहे हैं इसी माहौल में जाड़े के जमाने में इस देश का किसान बिना कबल के मरता हुआ दिखलाई देता है, बिना रोटी के बच्चे भूखें ही इस दुनिया से चले जाते हैं, बिना दवा के एक गरीब आदमी सिसक-सिसक कर दम तोड़ देता है। इलाज के लिए उसके पास पैसा नहीं है और जमाना भी उस पर नजरे करम डालने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। जिसने इस पार्लियामेंट की रचना की है उसमें किसी अमीर के हाथ इसके पीछे नहीं हैं बल्कि गरीब, फाकाकश, लेबर और हिंदुस्तान के मजदूर का हाथ इस पार्लियामेंट की खूबसूरती के पीछे छुपा हुआ है। जिसने ताजमहल पर फख करने का

मौका हमें अता किया है उस ताजमहल की बनावट और सजावट में किसी अमीर की कोई कहानी नहीं छिपी हुई है बल्कि उसके पीछे भी गरीब के फन को निखरते हुए हम देखते हैं और एक लेबर और हिंदुस्तानी मजदूर के दिलो-दिमाग के नक्शोनिगार के जरिए हिंदुस्तान की खूबसूरती में चार चांद लगते हम देखते हैं। मगर आज जब इन गरीबों पर हिंदुस्तान के इन परेशान, मेहनतकश, जफाकश लोगों पर नजर डालते हैं तो हमारी समझ में बात आ रही है कि जिन लोगों ने हिंदुस्तान के अमीरों को चलने के लिए अच्छी सड़क दी, जिनके हाथों ने हिंदुस्तान के अमीरों को अच्छी गाड़ियां दी, जिनके हाथों ने हिंदुस्तान के अमीरों के मुंह तक अन्न और पानी पहुंचाया, ये नहरें जो खुद रही हैं उन्हें कोई अमीर नहीं खोदता, ये फावड़ा एक गरीब हिंदुस्तानी ही लेकर खड़ा होता है।

पानी के फव्वारे जो चल रहे हैं यह किसी अमीर की मरहूने भिन्नत नहीं है। यह इस देश के गरीब के हाथों की मोहतरम कहानी है। यह फसल जो लहलहा रही है इसमें अमीरों का योगदान नहीं है। इस देश के गरीब, मजदूर और जफाकश इंसान की कहानी है। मगर उनका हाल क्या है? आज हम कहते हैं बड़े गर्व से कहते हैं कि हमारा भारत महान। हमारा भारत महान के पसमंजर को जरा देखते जाइए कि कैसे भारत को महान आपने और हमने बनाया है। गवर्नमेंट की गलत नीतियों ने भारत को जिस तरह का महान बनाया है मैं एक शेर में उस महानता को आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं। जिस किसान, जिस गरीब, जिस जफाकश मजदूर और लेबर ने हिंदुस्तान को मान और सम्मान दिया वह जाड़े के जमाने में कम्बल के वगैर मर गया, गर्मी के जमाने में लू के थपेड़ों ने उसे मौत का निवाला बना दिया और बरसात के जमाने में पानी उसकी झोपड़ी को बहाकर ले गया। वह फुटपाथ पर पड़ा था वह भूख से मरा था, कपड़ा उठाकर देखा कि पेट पर लिखा था कि सारे जहां से अच्छा हिन्दुस्तान हमारा, हम बुलबुले हैं इसकी, ये गुल्लियां हमारा। सारे जहां से अच्छा हिन्दुस्तान हमारा। आपने भारत को ऐसा महान बनाया है। गवर्नमेंट अगर ईमानदारी के साथ नीति लागू करती, समता के साथ नीतियों को लागू करती, इंसानियत की बराबरी को सामने रखकर नीतियां लागू करती और भेदभाव से अलग हटकर नीतियां लागू करती तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि मुल्क के गरीबों के लवों पर मुस्कान न खिलती। मगर उन गरीबों के लिए लगता है कि सरकार न बजट बनाती है और न हमारी गवर्नमेंट और न खुतबे सदारत में किसी तरह से कोई बात कही जाती है। ये खुतबे सदारत सिर्फ लफ्फाजी का एक पुलिन्दा है इसके अलावा इसकी कोई हैसियत नहीं है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि खुतबे सदारत में या गवर्नमेंट की योजनाओं और गवर्नमेंट की पालिसियों में इस तरह की बातें सामने आनी चाहिए कि गरीब ऊपर उठे, गुरबत का खात्मा हो जाए। बड़े फख्र के साथ कहा जा रहा है कि गरीबी में कमी आई है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि अमीरों और गरीबों के बीच फासला कितना कम हुआ है जरा इसका ब्योरा दे देते तो बड़ी मेहरबानी होती। बहरहाल मैं कहना चाहता हूं, मैं टी.वी. पर भी देख रहा था कि देश के पूंजीपति किस तरह से फिक्की ओडोटोरियम में मुस्करा रहे थे, किस तरह से जाम पर जाम छलकाए जा रहे थे कि इससे अच्छा बजट कभी नहीं आया। लेकिन गरीब रो रहा था कि इस तरह से किस्मत को मारने वाला बजट भी कभी नहीं आया। मैं यह अर्ज करता हूं कि इस खुतबे सदारत में डा. भीमराव अम्बेडकर की उस चेतावनी को गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को मद्देनजर रखनी चाहिए जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर गरीब को मान सम्मान नहीं मिला तो सरकार के शीश महल चकनाचूर जायेंगे। सरकार को यह समझ लेना चाहिए, पढ़ लेना चाहिए और उनको इन गरीबों के साथ खिलवाड़ नहीं करना चाहिए।

सर, एक पैराग्राफ पर मैं आपकी तवज्जह चाहूंगा, जो बड़ा ही अहम पैराग्राफ है और हमारे बहुत सारे साथियों ने कमोवेश में उस पर रोशनी डाली है। पैराग्राफ 16 को मैं पेश करने जा रहा हूँ। पैराग्राफ 16 में सदर जम्हूरियत ने अपने ख़ुतबे में कहा है कि हुकूमत सेकुलरिज्म के तर्ज अपनी बावस्तगी पर मजबूती से कायम है और फिरकावाराना जात-पात के मुत्तलिक तस्सद्दुत लगातार घट रहा है। इस सिलसिले में सदर मोहतरम से हिन्दुस्तान में फिरकावाराना गड़बड़ी फैलाने के लिए सरहद के पार से की जा रही लगातार कोशिशों का जिक्र किया है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि हमने फिरकावाराना और इतिहापसन्दाना जमातों के खिलाफ अपनी निगरानी बढ़ा दी है। गड़बड़ी करने वालों के खिलाफ सख्त और गैर जानिबदारा तौर पर कार्यवाही करने के संबंध में कानून अपना काम करेगा। जहां तक बाहर से हमारे मुल्क में दरन्दाजी का सवाल है उसके खिलाफ जितने कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाए जायें इसमें हम अपनी हुकूमत के न सिर्फ साथ हैं बल्कि अमली कदम उठाने के साथ साथ हम हुकूमत और सदरे जम्हूरिया को भी मुबारकबाद देने के हक में हैं। इसलिए कि हर हाल में हम जी सकते हैं मगर मुल्क के बकार के साथ समझौता करके हम कभी नहीं जी सकते। "गैरों को गंगो-जमन वतन दे नहीं सकते हम अहले वतन खाके वतन दे नहीं सकते। भारत तो बड़ी चीज है क्या देंगे किसी को हम देश के दुश्मन को कफन दे नहीं सकते"। हिन्दुस्तान की सरजमीं के साथ खिलवाड़ करने वालों के खिलाफ कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाना यही हुकबुल वतन की दलील है और उसके साथ हिन्दुस्तान का हर हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई और हर भारत नागरिक बकार के साथ, सम्मान के साथ और वफादारी के साथ खड़ा हुआ दिखलाई देता है। जनाब वाइस चेयरमैन सर, मगर इस सिलसिले में मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहूंगा कि पिछले कुछ अर्से में फिरकावाराना तस्सद्दुत घटा नहीं है बल्कि बढ़ा है। मुल्क में जगह जगह ईसाई और उनके इदारों में मुस्ससल इजाफा हुआ है।

कश्मीर की सरजमीं पर हमारे सिख भाइयों का कत्ल हुआ है। इस तरह मुल्क की कुछ फिरकापरस्त जमातों ने जो हुकूमते हिन्द पर पूरी तरह असर-अंदाज हैं, बिलखसूस मुसलमानों के खिलाफ जहरअफशानी तेज कर दी है और जिसके नतीजे में मुल्क में फिरकावाराना तनाव बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। ईसाई चर्च और इस्लामी तंजीमों को गैरमुल्की ताकतें करार दिया जा रहा है, दीनी मदारिस पर आई.एस.आई. की सरगर्मियों का अड़्डा करार दे कर उनके चलाने वालों को परेशान किया जा रहा है, करवाया जा रहा है जिसमें पुलिस के लोग भी बराबर के शरीक दिखाई देते हैं। मुस्लिम तुलबा और नौजवानों को हरासां करने, उन्हें आई.एस.आई. से जोड़ कर मुल्क में मुस्लिम मुखालिफ जज़बात को भड़काया जा रहा है। अभी हाल ही में हिन्दुस्तान की एक फिरकापरस्त तंजीम के सरबराह ने मुसलमानों को मशविरा दिया है कि वह अपने इस्लाम का स्वदेशीकरण कर ले। अफसोस की बात यह है कि हुकूमतेहिन्द इन फिरकपरस्त ताकतों को खुली छूट दे रही है और इस हुकूमत से हरगिज़ यह त्वक्को कम से कम मेरे जैसा आदमी तो अब नहीं कर सकता कि वो फिरकापरस्त इतिहापसंद जमातों के खिलाफ कोई भी कदम उठाएगी क्योंकि खुद इस हुकूमत का वजूद और उसकी जिन्दगी इन्हीं फिरकापरस्त तंजीमों की खुशनुदी पर मुनहसिर है।

जनाब वाइसचेयरमैन साहब, मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आई.एस.आई. क्या हो गई है। यह एक ऐसा होवा बना कर के आई.एस.आई. को हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के सिरों पर मुसल्लत कर दिया गया है कि उससे नाजायज फायदा उठाते हुए कुछ देश दुश्मन अनासिर देश को नुकसान भी पहुंचा रहे हैं। जब कोई बात समझ में नहीं आती है लोग कहते हैं कि भगवान

जाने और गवर्नमेंट का जब किसी पर काबू नहीं होता तो गवर्नमेंट कहती है इसमें आई.एस.आई. का हाथ है। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा हकूमत को इस बात का अच्छी तरह से सबूत देना चाहिये ...**(व्यवधान)**... मैं अपनी बात पूरी कर लूं ...**(व्यवधान)**...

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मीलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : मेरी बात को अच्छी तरह से ज़हन में रख लीजिये। मेरी बात को टविस्ट करने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं किसी से हिन्दुस्तान की वफादारी का सबूत नहीं मांगना चाहता। ...**(व्यवधान)**... मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : आप भगवान से कंपेयर मत करिये। ...**(व्यवधान)**... यह गलत बात है ...**(व्यवधान)**...

मीलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : जब कोई बात समझ में नहीं आती है तो कह दिया जाता है भगवान जाने। गवर्नमेंट जब देश के दुश्मनों को पकड़ने में नाकाम होती है तो अपनी नाकामी पर पर्दा डालने के लिए आई.एस.आई. का सहारा लेती है। यह गवर्नमेंट पकड़ती क्यों नहीं है आई.एस.आई. एजेंटों को? यह गवर्नमेंट अपनी नाकामी पर पर्दा डालने के लिए दूसरों के सर पर इल्जाम ठोकने का तीर तरीके अपनाए हुए है। यह देश के साथ वफादारी का सबूत नहीं है बल्कि देश के साथ खुल्लमखुला देश को बदअमनी के जहन्नुम में डालने की कोशिश की जा रही है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : राजीव गांधी के टाइम ऐसा कहा जाता था ...**(व्यवधान)**... इंदिरा गांधी के टाइम में ऐसा कहते थे ...**(व्यवधान)**...

मीलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : जनाब वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मैं इसी के साथ यह अर्ज करना चाहूंगा कि ऐसे आलम में सरकार बताए कि आतंकवाद क्या है, किस चीज़ का नाम आतंकवाद है आतंकवाद की परिभाषा को समेट कर रख दिया गया ज़ात बिरादरी का आतंकवाद, यह भी आतंकवाद है, धर्म के नाम पर लोगों को बरअफरोखता करना, यह भी आतंकवाद है, देश की सरहदों को छेड़ना, यह भी आतंकवाद है, एक आदमी का हक मारने के लिए अपने किसी आदमी की तरफदारी करना यह भी आतंकवाद है। इसलिए आतंकवाद की परिभाषा पर भी डिटेल् के साथ रोशनी पड़नी चाहिये ताकि मुल्क में रहने वाले इन्सानों को इन्साफ मिल सके। जनाब वाइसचेयरमैन साहब, पैराग्राफ 30 को ज़रा मुलाहिज़ा कर लीजिये।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI O. RAJAGOPAL): Sir, how much time is allotted to the hon. Member?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): Sixteen minutes. *(Interruptions)* Mr. Azmi, please continue.

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : यह मैं आखरी बात कह रहा हूँ। यह आखरी पैराग्राफ है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... खुली दाढ़ी और बंद दाढ़ी का टकराव कोई आज की बात नहीं है। अर्ज यह कर रहा हूँ जनाब, पैराग्राफ 30 में अपने खुतबे में सदरे जम्हूरिया ने फरमाया है कि दूरदर्शन ने कौमी इकजहती के फरोग में जो किरदार अदा किया है इससे सभी लोग अच्छी तरह से वाकिफ हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : दूरदर्शन अब भी डायरेक्ट दिखा रहा है।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : अरे हज़ूर दूरदर्शन डायरेक्ट दिखा रहा है, मैं कोई दूरदर्शन की बुराई नहीं कर रहा हूँ। आईना यूँ भी झूठ नहीं बोलता।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पघौरी) : आजमी जी।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : मैं इसको कोट कर के खत्म कर रहा हूँ। दूरदर्शन ने खसूसी तौर पर जम्मू और कश्मीर के लिए कशीर चैनल और शुमाले मशरक के लिए 24 घंटे के नशरियात वाला चैनल शुरू किया ताकि उन सूबों और मुल्क के दीगर हिस्सों में रह रहे हमारे भाइयों के बीच जजबाती सकाफती इत्तेहाद का रिश्ता मजबूत किया जा सके।

मुझे इस सिलसिले में यह कहना है वाइस चेयरमैन साहब और आपकी खुसूसी तवज्जह भी चाहता हूँ ...**(व्यवधान)**... मैं इस सिलसिले में सिर्फ इतना पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मुल्क के तूलोराज में रहने वाले करोड़ों उर्दू बोलने वाले लोग क्या हमारे भाई नहीं हैं। क्या उर्दू बोलने वाले इन करोड़ों हिंदुस्तानियों और दीगर लोगों के बीच इत्तिहाद और इत्तिफाक का रिश्ता मजबूत करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है? अगर है तो मौजूदा सरकार का रवैया तो यही साबित करता है कि इसे मुल्क के उन करोड़ों उर्दू बोलने वालों और दूसरे अहले वतन के बीच जजबाती या सकाफती रिश्ते को मजबूत बनाने में इस हुकूमत को लगता है कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं है, वरना क्या बात है कि जहां-कई हिंदुस्तानी जुबानों के अलहिदा अलहिदा चैनल्स शुरू किए जा चुके हैं वहां उर्दू के लिए अब तक कोई चैनल शुरू नहीं किया गया है, जबकि हैरत की बात यह है कि इस सरकार में शामिल कुछ अनासिर उर्दू बोलने वाली आबादी के एक बड़े हिस्से के लोग यह तलकीन करते नहीं थकते कि उन्हें कौमी धारा में शामिल हो जाना चाहिए। मगर मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि खुदा के फजलो करम से हम अपने देश के ऐसे मुहिब्बे वतन साथी हैं कि न सिर्फ यह कि कौमी धारा में शामिल हैं लेकिन जो हमें कौमी धारा में शामिल होने का मन्धिरा देते हैं वे अपने कैरेक्टर पर निगाह डाल लें तो ज्यादा बेहतर होगा।

हमने साइंस का शोबा किया आबाद यहां।
हमने मिताइलो-राकेट किए ईजाद यहां।
फौज को फिक्र से हमने किया आजाद यहां।
है कलाम ऐसा कोई जहने खुदादाद यहां।
अग्नि व पृथ्वी जैसा कोई शहकार नहीं।
फिर भी हमसे यह गिला है कि वफादार नहीं।
खुदा हाफिज।

श्री राजीव शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश): सब मानते हैं कि वफादार हैं।

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I begin my speech on the President's Address by thanking him for his Address. His speech, as has been brought out by a number of Members, is really a statement of Government's policy and, as such, it has to be seen in the context of the previous such speeches that have been made; because they indicate the course the Government's policy has been following from time to time and from year to year. His first mention, amongst the earliest mentions, is his appeal, or the appeal of the Government, to all political parties to allow adequate representation for women. This is an issue which has been coming up before Parliament almost for the last two years; and, always, under one pretext or the other, this Bill, which is essential to our social well-being, has been put off. As a matter of fact, the Chief Election Commissioner had even made a proposal to the political parties that instead of trying to build a consensus on a Bill which will never come, all the political parties, on their own, should ensure 33% or 30% seats reserved for women. This has also not found favour among political parties. I think, therefore, it is right to see this as an expression of hypocrisy by all political parties across spectrum.

The President's Address goes on further to address the question of Kashmir to which it devotes three paragraphs. Immediately following that, there is a mention of the North-East to which the speech devotes one paragraph. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the amount of space devoted in the President's Address, or in the Government's policy statement, to these two problems itself, shows the priority the Government of India--the previous Governments as well as, unfortunately, the present Government--places...

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, it is already 7 o'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): It is 7 o'clock now. Mr. Shankar Roy Chowdhury will continue his speech tomorrow. The House is adjourned till 11 a.m. tomorrow, the 2nd March, 2001.

The House, then, adjourned at seven of the clock,
till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 2nd March, 2001.